The Other and the Construction of Cultural and Christian identity:

The Case of the Dutch Reformed Church in Transition

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The research in this thesis, unless indicated, is all my own work. No research utilised has been used without proper reference.

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Abstract

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The aim of this thesis is to explore the interaction between cultural and religious identity, and more especially, Christian identity; how they develop in relation to each other, and how they differ.

This thesis takes as its, starting point the conviction that the understanding of, and the relationship to, *the other,* is what both develops and distinguishes Christian identity from cultural identity. In order to come to a better understanding of this complex set of relationships, the case of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa has been examined. The role of the Dutch Reformed Church in the cultural construction of Afrikaner identity has been examined both in the formative stages of Afrikanerdom until the demise of Apartheid, and then in its more recent role in the deconstruction and reconstruction of Afrikaner identity since the transition to democracy in 1994, tracing both continuities and discontinuities between the earlier and later periods under review. Several *others* have been considered critical for the construction of Afrikaner identity. Finally, having considered the global upsurge of ethnic and religious fundamentalist identities and the effects of this on Afrikaner identity, the message for the future both

locally in South Africa and globally is one of Christian humanism, in conjunction with a general need for global ethics, protecting and celebrating our full humanity, irrespective of race, gender, culture and religious conviction.

This thesis is interdisciplinary, examining the issues both from a socio-historical viewpoint and from a theological perspective drawing, in particular, on the work of Mary Douglas and Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

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world and never let me doubt that I was equal to anybody. It is my hope that I have been able to pass this on to my special girl Cassandra, so that she will never doubt herself as a woman, and that I will able to pass this on to future daughters.

Abbreviations

Afrikaner Broederbond:	AB
Afrikaansche Christlijke Vrouwen Vereeniging:	ACVV
African National Congress:	ANC
Church and Society:	CS
Dutch Reformed Church:	DRC
Dutch East India Company:	VOC
Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners:	GRA
Human Relations and the South African Scene – In the light of Scripture:	H&R
Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference:	SACBC
The Christian Institute:	CI
The London Missionary Society:	LMS
The Truth and Reconciliation Commission:	TRC
Nasionale Pers:	NASPERS
National Party:	NP
Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk:	NHK
Uniting Reformed Church in South Africa:	URCSA
World Council of Churches:	WCC
World Alliance of Reformed Churches:	WARC
Zuid Afrikaansche Boeren Beschermings Vereeniging:	BBV

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Introduction

"The flower of religion is one of the blossoms in our post-modern anthology", says John Caputo in his book that simply bears the title On Religion[1], in which he welcomes back religion with the phrase *the death of the death of God.* Religion has once again become a significant factor in the world today, but too often, as we increasingly witness, it causes division and strife. The peace of *Westphalia* that ended the "Wars of Religion" in Europe has been interrupted as culture and religion globally merge to exclude those outside the ethnic group sanctioned by belief in divine righteous action.

This thesis explores the interaction between cultural identity and religious identity; how they develop in relation to each other, and how they differ. In contemporary use the notion of religion and culture is multiple and complex, and even to some extent contradictory. At times religion is to culture as part of a whole, at other times the synecdochic relation amounts to a plain equation, with the result that religion and culture more or less become synonymous. However, according to Masuzawa, religion from a theological perspective is something that is considered to be that which always and necessarily exceeds culture, something distinctly separate from "mere" culture, although the intimate relation between the two may be acknowledged.[2] Yet it must be kept in mind that religion is an anthropological term and not a theological one, says Smith.[3] This indicates that

[1] Caputo, J (2002): *On Religion*. Routledge. p. 66
[2] Masuzawa, T (1998): "Culture" (ed.) Taylor, M: *Critical Term for Religious Studies*. The University of Chicago Press. p. 70
[3] Smith, J (1998): "Religion, Religions, Religious", in (ed.) Taylor, M: *Critical Term for Religious Studies*. The University of Chicago Press. p. 271

religion is closer to the cultural identity of the individual than to an actual *religious* identity, whether Christian, Muslim, Hindu, etc.

This thesis takes as its starting point the conviction that the understanding of and relationship to *the other* both develops and distinguishes Christian identity from cultural identity. It is therefore necessary to understand the connection and interaction between these two identities in their relationship to *the other.* But how are these three identities, cultural identity, Christian identity and the identity of *the other,* to be defined both individually and in relation to each other, not only in terms of past legacies, but also amidst the challenges presented by global forces that dispute the inherited character of them all?

Hypothesis

My hypothesis, then, is that it is only in the meeting with *the other* that identity is developed, and that it is this relation to *the other* that differentiates Christian identity from cultural identity. Or, to frame my research question: What is the relationship between cultural identity and Christian identity today in relation to *the other,* and how does this determine their respective character?

To answer this question I will make use of four different perspectives.

1. In order to be able to define how cultural and Christian identities differ, theories concerning the development of individual and collective identity will be examined, from traditional Organic or Essentialist identities to those associated with Post-Modernism. As part of this, I will consider how Globalisation has contributed to the upsurge of religion in the world today and what its consequences for this enquiry may be.

2. To better understand the complex relationship between cultural and Christian identity, I will examine the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in South Africa. The role of the DRC in the cultural construction of the Afrikaner identity touches upon the complex relations and interactions between cultural and Christian identity. The historical role of the DRC as it scripturally legitimised the Apartheid ideology adds the perspective of *the other* as anyone outside the Afrikaner *laager*. The case study will be viewed from two different perspectives: a historical and sociological perspective, analysing the factors that were involved in the cultural construction of Afrikaner identity, and a theological perspective debating how this cultural construction has influenced the theological discourse of the church both before and after the Apartheid era.

3. The thesis will be divided into two parts in order to explore the development over time that has influenced Christian and cultural identity, and how this development has affected the relation to *the other*. This exploration adds to the value of the DRC case study given that the political transformation in South Africa has had far reaching effects on the identity of the Afrikaners both within and outside the DRC.

4. The interdependent relationship between the Christian and *the other* plays an essential part in this thesis and must be understood in different senses; for example:

    - *The other* within the dominant patriarchal DRC, e.g. women, homosexuals;

- *The other* within the larger Dutch Reformed family, e.g. "Coloured" and "black" Christian;
- *The other* as people of other faith traditions;
- *The other* as oppressed, victim or oppressor;
- *The other* as anybody outside the cultural community of Afrikaners.

Each of the different senses in which *the other* relates to individuals affects the character and the dynamics of the relationship as well as the implications for understanding both cultural identity and Christian identity. Yet in the meeting with *the other* the basic relationship and obligations between the *I* and the *You* will never be altered. The key concept is that of "difference", for not all differences are the same, but all differences matter. The failure to recognise and deal responsibly with difference in relating to *the other* is the nature of cultural, religious and ideological fundamentalism.

Methodology

My methodological approach is interdisciplinary. Using a phenomenological analysis facilitates an understanding of the development of cultural and religious identity in terms of the study of the DRC, while church history and systematic theology together with cultural theories identifies the complexity of the socio-religious development of the construction and re-construction of Afrikaner identity.

In pursuit of understanding Christian identity I will draw on the Christological insights of the German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, and especially his understanding of the church as "Christ existing as a community of persons" and "the church existing for others." Bonhoeffer's theology is rooted in his understanding of personhood, and of identity as coming into being in and through relationship to *the other*. In seeking to understand *the other* in relation to cultural identity and community, I will draw on Mary Douglas' "enclave theory", a useful theoretical tool for understanding the construction of identity within Afrikanerdom, both in its formative stage and its transformation to democracy.[4]

Personal Perspective

My choice of case study is both a reflection of my own academic background and, perhaps even more, my own identity as a person and a Christian. Before reflecting on the academic issues, I wish to indicate why this thesis has become a personal quest affecting the way I look at my own identity as a Dane, a woman, and a female Lutheran theologian living in South Africa. I have no doubt that my experiences in South Africa have made me more capable of writing this thesis and comprehending the different facets of cultural and Christian identities both in South Africa and globally. After having spent an extensive time, almost seven years, in a foreign country, I have become aware of a number of things. In South Africa I am a foreigner. My cultural background on which my identity is founded is different, determining my actions and views and the way I interact with others. Not only have I had to learn the ways of South African society, I have also had to wrestle with my own identity and perceptions in a different cultural setting. Who am I in South

[4] The enclave is but one of three different social contexts pointed out by Douglas. The remaining two identified are *the Market* and *the Hierarchy*.

Africa? Living and studying here I have suddenly become aware of all the things I am not. I am not a South African, I am not a man, I am not an Afrikaner or a reformed Christian, but rather as a Danish woman and Lutheran theologian, an *objectified other*. It was in the meeting with *the other, the stranger,* with *difference* that I have now clearly come to understand my own cultural identity. In South Africa I am the *cultural other,* moreover *the other as a woman* in a strongly patriarchal society. My female and professional identity was especially challenged in the meeting with South African society. However, the question that more than anything influenced this thesis was this: Am I also different in my Christian identity coming as I do from a different cultural and ethnic group?

Being a child of the Enlightenment I never questioned that I was not equal to any other human being. I never questioned my feminine identity or my choice of study in combination with it. I never before understood or felt grateful to the generations of women before me who fought for equal rights in the private as well as the public (or cultural) sphere. Yet in the meeting with the still strong patriarchal structure of South African society within all the different cultural groups, I have had to reaffirm my female identity and what it means to me. This experience has been invaluable to my studies of cultural and Christian identities. My meeting with *difference* and the experience of being in the position of *the other,* obligated me to explore my own background and culture as well as my identity as a woman and as a woman academic.

My experiences in South Africa has also made me rethink my Christian identity, asking what influence my cultural and female identity has had on my identity as a Christian in the Danish

Peoples Church, the Lutheran state church in Denmark. This Church has much in common with the DRC, sharing traits in terms of structure and status as a church serving a specific cultural group of people.

As a minister in the Danish Church I have had to question what it means to be a Christian in the Danish context. This is partly due to the results of secularisation but more especially my questioning began with the increasing number of refugees in Denmark. Initially, when a person of a different nationality was granted citizenship in Denmark, he or she automatically and irrespective of religious conviction, became a member of the state Church. Any person not wanting to be a member had to formally apply to leave the church. Like any foreigner must, I have asked myself whether it is actually necessary to be part of the church to be a Dane, and what it means to be a Christian in the Danish Peoples Church. The growing xenophobia in Europe has made this issue a more vital question for the church than ever. So has the growing unrest between "non-ethnic Danes" with a Muslim background and "ethnic" Danes. The so-called *Cartoon crisis,* or the *Muhammad Crisis,* as it was called in Denmark, not only put Denmark on the map in 2006 as a potential target for Muslim radical groups, but highlighted the troublesome existence between cultural and religious identities. Today with the many attempts to keep Denmark to the Danes, Danish society, and therefore the members of the church, are in many cases more likely to state *Danish* first and *Christian* second. So I ask myself what it means to be a Christian and what it means in a Danish context.

Case study and cultural theory

My case study focuses on major developments within the DRC, especially in the Western Cape, insofar as they have relevance to the subject of this thesis. Therefore, I will not investigate the regional differences that may have occurred over time between the Western Cape and the northern parts of the country in their attitude to racial questions. Furthermore, although there are presently initiatives in place to commit to a unification between the DRC and the Uniting Reformed Church of South Africa, this is not yet a reality and will therefore not be used as part of the empirical data that supports this thesis.[5] My use and analysis of the DRC is not founded on my knowledge of the Church from the *inside*, irrespective of the aggregated fieldwork I have conducted over the last four years, but from the perspective of *the other*, as a Danish woman theologian standing on the *outside*.

Many of the questions put to the Danish church I can also ask of the DRC, still struggling with the transformation of South African society since 1994. What does it mean to be an Afrikaner and a Christian in the DRC today? Is it necessary to be an Afrikaner to be a true member of the DRC today? How do the members inside the DRC, old and young, relate to and embrace *the other* whether English, Zulu or Danish speaking? Who is *the other* in the Afrikaans community today, how does the DRC look at *the other,* and how is this reflected in the nature of the DRC today?

The influence of culture and language, politics and other social forces on the life of the church and how these relate to theology, makes the DRC and the Afrikaner an interesting case for the study of

[5] DRC (2007): *AGENDA – vir die dertiende vergadering van die Algemene Sinode van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk*. pf. 382-407

culture and religion. As the Christian church is in fact an empirical reality in its historical context, it is when the community of the church fails to stay open and *inclusive* that the nature of the Church is threatened and the Church becomes a sect or an *exclusive* religious society. This happened to the DRC as it became increasingly involved in the ethnic struggle of the Boer community, thereby adopting the racist and religious ideology of this group. It became even more prevalent when the DRC acted as a cultural entrepreneur, drawing on both reformed tradition and civil religious beliefs to work for a distinct Afrikaner identity with a past and present directed by God.

The initial construction of the Afrikaner identity and the role of religious elements form a web of causes and effects, influenced by cultural, political and religious matters in the historical context of colonial South Africa. The construction of a unique cultural entity, later known as Afrikanerdom, was the outcome of the traditional combination of culture and religion. This again can be translated into the challenging relationship between not only the Boer and the British, but also between the Boer community and "people of colour," as well as between male and female within the gender structure of the community itself.

The enclave theory of Mary Douglas is a useful tool to understand the *exclusive* nature of such a community. The characteristics of an enclave are those of structure, geography and boundaries, all of which are based on a religious foundation. The structure of the enclave will be egalitarian by nature but often with a strong main leader. The geographical space will primarily be local, as the egalitarian and moral nature of the enclave depends on the boundaries of group pressure. The enclave being egalitarian by nature must rely on moral persuasion to keep its members inside the group. In order to keep people from breaking away from the group, the notion of *purity* plays an

essential part. The *outside* is perceived as being polluted whilst the *inside* is pure. The members are to stay in the enclave to remain pure. As the enclave is traditionally ethnically or culturally bound, marriages outside the enclave are particularly condemned. The social context under which an enclave is formed will usually result from a response to community problems. As the enclave takes form, a divine purpose is most often the core of the newly formed society. This sanctification of the enclave gives it a purpose in the historical context as *chosen* people, with a special aim. The formative sacred period in which the enclave is formed will illustrate God's divine providence for the chosen people. These are the characteristics of the Douglas Enclave Theory.

Some may argue that the Enclave Theory was useful in unravelling the past but not in illustrating the relationships of the DRC and Afrikanerdom and *the other* in present day South Africa. Yet although different factors were influential for the model then and today, it is my intention to show that the effects of globalisation has made the Enclave Theory useful in a contemporary context, not only for understanding the dynamics within the DRC but also at a global level for understanding the Church as a whole.

After 1994 Afrikaners lost political power and the once powerful DRC not only lost most of its political influence, it was also left with a theological void after the renouncement of the Apartheid-theology. As will be illustrated in the latter part of this thesis, this void has caused the DRC at community level to go in different directions, both inside particular congregations and from congregation to congregation. The fact is that the DRC today has not developed any coherent

theological discourse to replace the former Apartheid theology. Consequently the forces of globalisation and the spread of a more conservative Charismatic theology have become the major influence on the DRC outside the reformed tradition, inspiring a new form of religious enclave.

Emmanuel Sivan and his co-authors show how religiously determined enclaves are appearing rapidly at a global level.[6] Common to these global enclaves is a religious foundation, irrespective of national or cultural belonging. Whether of Hindu, Jewish, Muslim or Christian origin, the emergence of enclaves is on the upsurge. The structures of these "modern" enclaves are the same as described by Douglas; however as part of the global process these enclaves now have the possibility of expanding their geographical reality from a local to a global space. This means that an enclave can reach out to a larger crowd, across national borders and continents. It means that children in a mosque in Cairo, during the Yugoslavian war, declared Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Philippines, and Burma to be countries "close to their hearts", regardless of the fact that they were ignorant of the location of these countries.[7] This sort of *imagined community,* to use the terminology of Benedict Anderson, has in the modern world expanded the borders of an enclave that earlier would have been confined to a local geographical space. But what are the implications of this phenomenon for the reconstruction of the Christian and cultural identity of the Afrikaners inside the DRC and their ability to deal with difference and otherness?

[6] Sivan, E et al. (2003): *Strong Religion – The Rise of Fundamentalism around the World.* The University of Chicago Press. p. 9
[7] Sivan, E et al. (2003): *Strong Religion – The Rise of Fundamentalism around the World.* p. 71

What I intend to demonstrate is how this global development is in fact playing a part in the present reconstruction of the identity of DRC members since 1994. It is my postulate that, as an increasing number of DRC congregations during the last decade have gradually been influenced by a Charismatic type of theology, the move from the heavily politicised theology under Apartheid to an apolitical theology is in fact a move from one enclave to another. It is a change of comfort zones. At the same time, although the un-dogmatic teachings behind the Charismatic theology can be read as an attempt to escape the burdened past of the DRC, the fact is that the global increase of Charismatic theology, in the shape of Pentecostal teaching, is becoming more and more politicised. A strong example of this can been seen in the popularity and growth of the *new-right* in America which is strongly influencing the political scene and power structure, not only in the United States but also at a global level. Fascinatingly, in the United States this has given power to civil religious inclinations, which according to Robert Bellah were also part of the initial construction of American society and culture.[8]

Case study and Christian theory

The historical development of the DRC shows great potential in the search for the unmasking of what it means to be a Christian today and how this reflects on the nature and development of the church. It is not my intention to determine whether or not the DRC over time has or has not been true to the Christian message, but rather to use the historical context of the DRC to analyse the relation between the Christian and *the other*. How did the historical circumstances under which Afrikanerdom was constructed determine the view of *the other*, and what effect did this have on

[8] Bellah, R (1970): *Beyond Belief – Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World.* Harper & Row Publishers. p. 168-186

the nature of the *Christian identity* of the DRC members? By analysing the relation to *the other* inside the DRC before and after 1994, it is possible to discover if and how the demand on the Christian church changes within its historical and social context.

The DRC and the Afrikaners are an interesting case when one looks at the relation between religion and society. If one accepts the concept that society is a human construct, the problem focuses then on the role of human and religious agency.[9]

The question is, on the one hand, does society as a human construct exclude the intervention of transcendent principles? On the other hand, if society is the revelation of a supernatural reality, based on a sacral structure alone, does that exclude the human agency entirely? Religious faith and the way it is practiced is a human experience completely. Yet it is the way faith is practiced that may give to human relationships a religious or divine dimension. This must be true if the identity of a Christian is to be found in the relation to *the other.*

The theory of the German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer will serve as the main theological theory in the identification of Christian identity. Bonhoeffer's Christological theory concerning the basic relation between the *I* and the *You* serves as the theoretical tool identifying Christian identity in relation to *the other.* In the meeting with *the other* we are faced with what is different from our own selves. We form a relationship to this other person that will determine our identity as Christians. On what do we base this relationship to *the other* person? For Bonhoeffer it is the

[9]Davis, C (1994): *Religion and the Making of Society.* Cambridge University Press. p. 4

responsible relationship between *I* and *You,* creating a relation of interdependence to *the other* as an equal, and therefore to Christ. Only through the relation to *the other* can we meet Christ and therefore identify our Christian identity. This creates a relationship of interdependence and pushes us as Christians into dealing responsibly with *otherness* and into a community with *the other* and with Christ. But Bonhoeffer goes even further. Only in the meeting with the strange *You* does my *I* arise. For Bonhoeffer there is no relation to *the other* if not through God, and no relation to God if not through *the other*; only our relationship to Christ provides us with the basis for both a relation to God and to *the other*. This effectively makes the *I* as equally responsible to Christ as to *the other*. The barrier between *I* in the meeting with the other as *You* will always be sealed, as *the other* will always remain *the other*; it is only though Christ that we can truly see *the other*. Only with Christ will the *You* no longer be objectified by our personal perceptions but transformed into an equal *I*. This makes *You* the divine *You*. The *I-You* relation is what Bonhoeffer calls a *basic social relation*.[10]

In a South African setting theologian Denise Ackerman has pointed out that one of the failures of the Apartheid era was the failure to recognise *the other* as an equal human being, whether *the other* was a "person of colour" or a woman, viewing *the other* as a threat one needed to separate from.[11]

For Ackerman we are first and foremost humans and as such connected to our bodies, traditions, cultures, ideologies and beliefs. Our difference is usually first detected through our language and our appearance, whether psychological or culturally noticeable. Therefore, says Ackermann, it is in

[10] Bonhoeffer, D (1998): *Sanctorum Communio*: *A Theological study of the Sociology of the Church.* Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works. vol.1. Fortress Press. pf. 48

[11] Ackermann, D (1998): "Becoming fully Human: An Ethics of Relationships in difference and otherness", in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa.* Vol.10. p.15

our human form that we must be recognised as equal *others*: "The call to full humanity is a call which takes place within the reality and the challenge of difference and otherness".[12] Therefore, says Ackermann, it is our ethical responsibility as faithful Christians to open up ourselves to understand and deal responsibly with otherness and difference by engaging in mutual relationships. This makes Bonhoeffer's theory interesting within a cultural setting. As Emeritus Archbishop Desmond Tutu points out:

> We will grow in the knowledge that they (white people) too are God's children, even though they may be our oppressors, though they may be our enemies. Paradoxically, and more truly, they are really our sisters and our brothers, because we have dared to call God "Abba", Our Father. Therefore, they belong together with us in the family of God, and their humanity is caught up in our humanity, as ours is caught up in theirs.[13]

What both Ackerman and Tutu are pointing to is the importance of the relationship between us, and those who are different from us. How do we deal responsibly with difference and otherness and how does it affect our own identity as humans and Christians? What the three theologians have in common is the belief that being a Christian is and must always be a matter of engagement in a relational community, being socially and ethically responsible. The nature and definition of the church should always be founded on this belief and on the *true* Christian relation to *the other.*

From the onset of the early church, the question of *inclusiveness* and *exclusivity* has been of great importance. As the global society changes, this places a demand of greater openness, responsibility and inclusiveness on the church, to the extent that the nature of the church as an exclusively Christian community will even be challenged. In the meeting with *the other*, as Christians we are

[12] Ackermann, D (1998): "Becoming fully Human: An Ethics of Relationships in difference and otherness". p. 16
[13] Tutu, D quoted in Battle, M (1997): *The Ubuntu Theology of Desmond Tutu*. The Pilgrim Press. p. 47

obligated to meet him/her as an equal human being and add to that person's full humanity. In this relationship we must acknowledge that person is of equal importance to God and this is what binds us in an interdependent relationship, irrespective of that person's cultural or religious belonging. As Christians we are bound by God's inclusive commands to relate to any person, engage in relationship and include him/her in our community. Bonhoeffer's question of *who is Jesus Christ really, for us today?* evokes the question underlying my thesis.

Terminology

When working with the history of South Africa one is always challenged on the use of terminology. It is difficult to do justice to the history of the former disadvantage groups if they cannot be named; yet by naming these groups of "Coloureds", Blacks and Asians one can be accused of reinforcing this separatist terminology. This thesis will therefore make use of the collective term of "people of colour" when speaking of the people that were not classified as "white" during the Apartheid era. Furthermore when speaking about cultural groups that are either "white", "black" or "Coloured" inverted commas will be used to support that these racial makers are indeed constructs.[14]

Another term that is sensitive is that of *Boer.* Given the history and the legacy of the Apartheid era, this name does often have a negative connotation. Yet if one looks at present developments,

[14] Dolby, N (2001): *Constructing Race – Youth, Identity and Popular Culture in South Africa.* State University of New York Press. p. 1-5

mainly amongst Afrikaner youth today, this name is being *reclaimed* in a positive sense as young people try to reconstruct their identity as Afrikaners. Partly for this reason and partly for the sake of correctness I will use the term *Boer* when referring to the community of Dutch, German and French descent that was later known as Afrikaners. This is an important distinction in this thesis as the first part of the thesis concerns itself exactly with the construction of Afrikaner identity. To call the culture now known as Afrikaner culture anything but *Boer* before 1875, with the first attempt to construct a collective term for the *Boer* community, would in this thesis be incorrect.

Another problematic term is that on *Afrikaans*. With contemporary attempts to reconstruct Afrikaner identity, the term *Afrikaanses* is today often used as an inclusive term to cover all Afrikaans speakers, from both the "Coloured" and "white" communities. It would be more correct to use the term for example "Afrikaner culture" as oppose to "Afrikaans culture". The problems of terminology can be seen as a sign of the contemporary identity crisis that is unfolding within Afrikaner culture. Although this thesis tries to follow today's use of the term, it must be kept in mind when a quote is used in the thesis, that not all scholars agree on this term and often refer to the culture of the "white" Afrikaans speakers as Afrikaans.

Chronology

Due to the nature of this thesis, the chronology of events has at times been condensed for the sake of the argument. But as this thesis is not strictly speaking historical in character I have taken certain liberties with regard to chronology especially in relation to the development of Afrikaner history, culture and identity. The liberties are not inaccurate but could be misunderstood without a basic knowledge of Afrikaner history which I have had to assume on the part of the reader.

Chapter One

The construction of Afrikaner identity

Afrikaner identity in South Africa has been historically constructed in relation to several *cultural others*. In this chapter we briefly consider three of the outsider *cultural other* as well as one insider *cultural other*, indicating how each made its impact on the shaping of Afrikaner identity. The issues have previously been exhaustively examined by many analysts, and from many different perspectives. The aim of this thesis is neither to provide a further detailed account or to contribute a radically different position, but to provide a platform for the discussion that follows in the subsequent chapters. Although the impact of each *cultural other* can be located within particular historical frameworks, in one form or another each is present throughout the period in which Afrikaner identity had been constructed.

The primary *cultural other*, one that pervades the whole historical development of Afrikanerdom, is represented by indigenous African people. The second is the British imperial and colonial *other*, and the "white" English-speaking settler community. There is, however, a third *cultural other* that must be considered in seeking to understand the construction of Afrikaner identity, namely the insider *cultural other*, Afrikaner women. Afrikaner women represent a significant *other* given the patriarchal character of Afrikanerdom. Exploring what this means in relation to the other *cultural others* is an essential part of the contribution this thesis seeks to make.

The forth *cultural other* is that of the *religious other*, typified by Roman Catholicism, from which Afrikanerdom distanced itself by developing a form of civil religion in which neo-Calvinism provided the theological basis for legitimating Afrikaner Nationalism as the ruling power under God. This development will be considered later in an Excurses.

"People of colour" as the *cultural other.*

When studying the earliest history of the Afrikaners, the Great Trek is an obvious place to begin, as the Trek can be said to have visualized the beginning of a shared cultural consciousness amongst the Boer population.[15] The reason for the Great Trek of 1836-38 was to a large extent found in the relationship between the Boer community and "people of colour".[16] According to Hermann Giliomee, the foremost reasons for the Great Trek were the continuous lack of land, labour, and security coupled with a feeling of being marginalized from the official British society.[17] Piet Retief, later to become an important person for the migrant community, stated in the *Grahamstown Journal* that in spite of the sacred ties that bind a Christian to his native soil, the Boer had to leave the colony because of the vexation and severe losses they had experienced for

[15] The name *Africaander* or Afrikaander was only used in 1800 as a general name for the "white" colonists to distinguish themselves as a group. Although the main cultural descendents of the Afrikaners today are to be found within the three cultural groups of German, French and Dutch origin, it has after 1994 become "common knowledge" that many "white" South African today trace their foremothers/fathers back to the Khoi or slave groups of the early colonial South Africa. As Landman states: "*The Khoi and slave women had black, white and coloured children. Many South African women today can trace their ancestry back to a Khoi or slave foremother*". Landman, C (1997): *Deconstructing Pre-colonial Religiosity or Deconstructing my Mother's Gods*. UNISA. p. 9. The main commonality amongst the Boer population at this stage was not yet one of ethnic belonging but rather one of material interest. The sharing of a common religious heritage in the form of Calvinistic beliefs will be debated later in this chapter under the controversial theme of *Afrikaner civil religion.*

[16] Two streams of people left the colony as part of The Great Trek. Whereas the first group known as the *Trekboers* most often left the colonial borders for individual reasons, such as lack of pastures or in search for material improvement, moved only gradually; the second group of *Voortrekkers* left the colony in big parties with their family, ready to trek deep into the interior. Giliomee, H (2003): *The Afrikaners.*Tafelberg Publishers Limited, Cape Town, South Africa. p. 144

[17] Giliomee, H (2003): *The Afrikaners.* pf. 144

Part One:

The Construction of Cultural and Christian identity

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The DRC pre - 1994

many years under the British authorities.[18] Beyond doubt the financial difficulties the farmers experienced was a determining factor for the Great Trek. However this fact cannot be separated from the changed position of "people of colour" in the Cape caused by the liberal waves from Europe threatening the worldview of the Boer. Three reasons were paramount: (1) The increasing lack of security at the frontiers[19]; (2) The policy of The London Missionary Society (LMS) personified in John Philip, whose missionary work amongst the Khoi was a source of great bitterness amongst the Boer [20]; (3) *Ordinance no. 50* and the abolition of slavery. *The Ordinance no. 50* that was put into practice in 1828 by the British, resulting in the equal status between "whites" and all free "people of colour", disillusioned the Boer.[21] Together with the abolition of slavery three years later, the *Ordinance no. 50* severely challenged the notion of *gelykstelling* between the Boer and "people of colour" and was listed in the *Grahamstown Journal* as a reason to break away from the Cape colony.[22] After *Ordinance no. 50* it was no longer legal for the "Master" to punish his "servant"/slave and uphold what was known as simple *huijs reg.*[23] This not only put "people of colour"/slaves on equal footing with "whites" it also meant that the "white" "*Baas*" could now be brought to court by his workers irrespective of what race.[24] Both the economic ramifications of *Ordinance no. 50* as the cheap labour that came with slavery fell away, and the equal status of "people of colour" with "white" were matters of great concern to the Boer

[18] Giliomee, H (1979): "The burghers rebellions on the Eastern Frontier", in (eds.): Elpick, D & Giliomee, H: *The Shaping of South African Society 1652- 1820.* Longman Penguin Southern Africa. p. 383

[19] This had however been a reality also under the VOC and under Batavian rule.

[20] John Philip came to South Africa in 1819. Philip was never really a missionary but rather a mission administrator and minister for a white congregation in the Cape. However Philip made a name for himself working to improve the life and rights of the Khoi in Western Cape and the Xhosa in the east. One cannot ascribe the full merit of the Ordinance no. 50 and the emancipation of the slaves in accordance with the Slave Abolition Act of 1833 to Philip but he was certainly an important man within this subject. Sundkler, B (2000): *A History of the Church in Africa.* Cambridge University Press. p. 334.

[21] De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle.* First Fortress Press. pf. 18

[22] De Klerk, W (1975): *The Puritans in Africa – A Story of Afrikanerdom.* Penguin Books. pf. 22

[23] House or domestic rules that gave one the right to punish the servants and slaves in your household.

[24] Giliomee, H (2003): *The Afrikaners.* pf. 144

community.[25] The often quoted diary of Anne Steenkamp, the niece of Piet Retief, gives a good account of this:

> ...it is not so much their freedom which drove us to such length as their being placed on a equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God, and the natural distinction of race and religion, so that it was intolerable to any Christian to bow down beneath such a yoke, therefore we rather withdrew in order thus to preserve our doctrines in purity.[26]

The Great Trek was formative for the emergence of an Afrikaner cultural and ethnic consciousness. The stressful event of the Trek and the often bloody meetings with the Matabele and Zulu, the Battle at Blood River, The Day of the Covenant and the Battle at Boomplaats all became binding factors for the development of *Maatschappij* – a community of unity. These events gradually fostered a *laager* mentality in the Boer community later becoming a substantial part of Afrikaner identity. However identifying "people of colour" as the *cultural other* at this stage was not only a cultural distinction. In Anne Steenkamp's quote a religious dimension becomes apparent. The possibility of a slave or servant being placed on equal footing with a born Christian seemed to be the issue.[27] Thus Anne Steenkamp drew the assumption that race goes hand in hand with religious conviction, thereby making her Christian identity identical with her own

[25] De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle.* p. 19. Some financial compensation was offered to the Boer with the emancipation of slavery but the compensation was not only insufficient but also difficult to obtain and was for the most not claimed. Giliomee, H (1979): "The burghers rebellions on the Eastern Frontier", in (eds.): Elpick, D & Giliomee, H: *The Shaping of South African Society 1652- 1820.* p. 383

[26] Quoted in De Klerk, W (1975): *The Puritans in Africa – A Story of Afrikanerdom.* p. 33

[27] The first Europeans at the Cape did not entertain race consciousness on a larger basis and interracial marriages were common. The earliest distinction was rather based on class and religion. This however changed in the 1700 as race began to be linked to religious conviction with the "whites" identifying their "white" identity as an opposite to the "heathen" "non-whites". Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* Edwin Mellen Press. p. 5.

cultural upbringing as a "white" person. However a distinction must be made between the Cape Boer and those who embarked on the Great Trek.

For the Boers on the Great Trek the *cultural other* was the "people of colour" they either brought with them or encountered on the trek, but for the Cape Boers the *cultural other* was in addition to "people of colour" also the British authorities with their attempts to anglicise the Boer.

The British as the *cultural other*

The "people of colour" played a role as the *cultural other* at a *racial* level and at the time of The Great Trek to some extent at a religious level as well. The British however soon inspired the development of a distinct Afrikaner culture. Two factors were important for this development. In the Cape the anglicisation attempts from the British provoked the language movement for the preservation of *Afrikaner* language and culture.[28] In the Republics however it was the struggle for independence that inspired a national consciousness. Yet the two factors fed each other thereby creating fertile grounds for the development of Afrikaner cultural consciousness.

The link between the development of national consciousness and language took form in the Cape. The preservation of Dutch played an essential part for the thoughts of a "Dutch nation". A reporter for the newspaper *Die Zuid-Afrikaan* wrote:

> ...if we wish to be one nation, then we must have one genuine Dutch language. The language forms the nation and holds the elements together ...

[28] This development will be described in detail when dealing with Afrikaner Nationalism.

creating:

> … a united South African nation with its own language.[29]

As the generations of older Dutch speaking people slowly died out the youth became more susceptible to the language policy of the British. The language policy also made itself noticeable within the DRC.

The DRC was at this time still seen as the strongest bulwark for the preservation of Dutch culture and language. This perception led the British governor Lord Charles Somerset to invite a large number of Scottish ministers as a way of anglicising the church from within. In 1834, thirteen out of twenty-three members of the Cape-synod were Scottish. The 1860's may have been trying for the preservation of Dutch culture and language in the Cape but the struggle against the anglicisation attempts from the British did at the same time motivate the wish for a distinct Afrikaner culture and identity.[30]

On 14th of April 1875 a young determined DRC dominee, S J du Toit, founded the so-called 'first language movement' *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (GRA) that was a serious and very successful attempt in the mobilisation of an Afrikaner cultural identity centred on Afrikaans.[31] Du Toit, along with seven other members, of which six were from the Northern Paarl congregation, battled to raise Afrikaans into a written and respected language in order to strengthen what in reality had to be built, namely a *collective* Afrikaner spirit. Ignoring the ironic descriptions of

[29] Quoted in Van Jaarsveld, F (1961): *The Awakning of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1868-1881*. Human and Rousseau. p. 204. "creating" added to make the quote more comprehensible.
[30] Giliomee, H (1989): "The Beginning of Afrikaner Ethnic Consciousness", *1850-1915"*, in (ed.) Vail, L: *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa.* James Currey Ltd. pf. 39
[31] Davenport, R & Saunders, C (2000): South Africa – A Modern History. Macmillan. p. 107

Afrikaans as a "kitchen language" in the British press, the GRA in time transformed Afrikaans into a standardised long-voweled civilized *beskaafde* Afrikaans. Yet the notion of Afrikaans as a God given language, explicitly handed to the Afrikaners, left out not only the English and Dutch speakers, but also the so-called "Coloured" population that was denied the origin of Afrikaans. The ethnic consciousness becoming part of the language struggle illustrated the racist dimensions in the relationship to "people of colour". Despite the fact that marriages across colour/race lines was still common, newspapers like *Die Afrikaanse Patriot* and *Zuid Afrikaan* advocated Afrikaans as a pure "white" and Germanic language. Claiming that the "Hottentots" had abandoned their own language and taken over the "white" man's instead, Afrikaans was claimed as the possession of the Afrikaners.[32] Du Toit and the GRA therefore needed to question who belonged and who did not belong to the ethnic community of Afrikaners.[33] Developing into a nationalistic movement, the GRA from the beginning strove towards a unique Afrikaans spirit and nation.[34] This to du Toit meant that there was such a thing as a *right* and *wrong* Afrikaner. In 1876, one year after the foundation of GRA, he wrote:

> There are Afrikaanders with ENGLISH hearts. There are Afrikaanders with DUTCH hearts. And there are Afrikaanders with AFRIKAANS hearts. The latter we call TRUE AFRIKAANDERS (REGTE AFRIKAANDERS) and these, we ask to side with us ... True Afrikaanders we appeal to you to recognise with us, that Afrikaans is our mother tongue given to us by our Dear Lord. And, that they must

[32] Originally Afrikaans was a creolised version of Dutch spoken mainly by Indonesian, Malagasy and Mozambican slaves and later becoming the shared language of slaves and slave owners. Wicomb, Z (1998): "Five Afrikaner Texts and the Rehabilitation of Whiteness". p. 107

[33] Giliomee, H (1989): *The Beginning of Afrikaner Ethnic Consciousness. 1850-1915".* p. 35

[34] The concept of *nation* is here used as the general understanding in the 18th century that is, of an ethnic community and therefore not as a *nation-State,* as in the modern understanding of the word. This will be further developed in the following writings.

> stand by us through thick and thin; and not rest before our language is generally recognised in every respect as the language of our people and our land.[35]

The importance of written material for the conscious awareness of cultural belonging within the wider group of the Boer soon became evident to the GRA. The book *Die Geskiedenis van ons Land in die Taal van ons Volk* was the first history book written in Afrikaans by Afrikaners. This historical account provided the Boer with a collective past and shared memory, freed from "British lies".[36] The book not only portrayed the Afrikaner *Volk* as "one nation" but also put the British in the position of the *cultural other* from which to break free, at both a cultural as well as political level. The anglicisation attempts in the Cape as well as the British aggression in the Republics were interpreted as an attempt against the collective group of Afrikaners as one people.[37] From the time of *Slagtersnek* the British had been against the Afrikaner *Volk*. The Great Trek, the struggles of the emigrants and the biased policy of the British against the Trekkers were all recalled and worked into a depiction of the troublesome past of the Afrikaner *Volk* evoked by the British.[38] The book was addressed to the future generations of Afrikaans children, building for them an imaginary glorious past of a *collective nation* of Afrikaners.[39] To a large extent the book helped close the rift created by the Great Trek. While the GRA was pre-emptive and at the time only

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[35] Quoted in February, V (1991): *The Afrikaners of South Africa*. Kegan Paul International. p. 81

[36] Giliomee, H (2003): *The Afrikaners*. p. 219. However *Die Geskiedenis van ons Land in die Taal van ons Volk*, was actually not the first written material in Afrikaans. The first written material was an Arabic prayer book produced for the Muslim community in the Cape already in the 1840-50's. Giliomee, H (2003): *The Afrikaners*. p. 216

[37] Giliomee, H (2003): *The Afrikaners*. p. 219

[38] The Slagtersnek rebellion was a result of the instalment of the *Circuit Court*, also called *Black Circuit* in 1811 that gave Khoikhoi workers opportunity to make official complaints if maltreated by their employers. In 1813 such complaints were made over a farmer by the name of Frederik Bezuidenhout. Bezuidenhout was summoned but chose to ignore the court order and was therefore arrested shortly after. This sparked a small rebellion amongst the Boer population. The objections to the Circuit Court and Bezuidenhout's arrest was partly the improperness fact that Khoikhoi soldiers were used to arrest Bezuidenhout, partly that the Khoikhoi was put on "equal" terms with Boer. The rebellion was quickly put down and the leaders hanged. The episode caused quite an outcry at the time and was only later used as fuel in the anti-British and racist propaganda of the 1870's. Davenport, R & Saunders, C (2000): *South Africa – A Modern History*. p. 43-48

[39] Van Jaarsveld , F (1961): *The Awakening of Afrikaner Nationalism*. pf. 115

consisted of a small elite in the Cape, it is important to note that the GRA was the first of many movements to work for the cultural survival of a collective nation of Afrikaners. Du Toit himself came to play a most significant role for the creation of a distinct Afrikaner identity with a strong religious foundation.

Although a student at the Stellenbosch Seminary, du Toit was highly influenced by the Dutch neo-Calvinist thinker Abraham Kuyper. He had little time for the demonstrative pietism of the Cape brought by the Scottish ministers and fought against this theological perspective and the "Andrew Murray section" of the DRC. The GRA clearly came to serve as the foundation of du Toit's political and theological vision. It was the aim of du Toit to draw together the political and theological strands of the Cape Afrikaners, thereby creating a coherent "philosophy" underpinned by strict neo-Calvinist thinking. However du Toit in time left the DRC and Paarl to join Paul Kruger in Transvaal. Adding his theological viewpoints to Kruger's civil-religious essentialist nationalism, du Toit kept working for the unification of the Afrikaner nation based on Kuyper's theology.[40]

The GRA played a formative role in the creation of Afrikaner culture not only through the work of the organisation itself but also as it cleared the way for other similar organisations working for the protection of Afrikaner financial interest and the preservation of Afrikaner culture and identity. The establishment of movements like The *Zuid Afrikaansche Boeren Beschermings Vereeniging* (BBV) and the *Afrikaner Broederbond* (AB) played a formative part in the early years of

[40] Not only Du Toit but a number of dominees left the DRC between 1897-1911 to form the Gereformeerde Kerke onder die Kruis in Suid-Africa. Moodie, D (1980): *The Rise of Afrikanerdom – Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion.* University of California Press. p. 61

Afrikanerdom.[41] The aim of these movements was to support the cultural and financial development of Afrikaner interests. The BBV, in reality founded to take care of the interests of the wine farmers in the Cape, soon came to play a vital part in the ethnic mobilisation of the Afrikaners. Even so, as the organisation became politically active in the championing of Afrikaner interests, the founder Onze Jan Hofmeyer broadened the political base to include "patriotic" English-speakers.[42] While the organisation became very successful in the Western Cape, it did not attract much attention outside the Cape.

The AB, on the other hand, became extremely successful at a national level. The AB was founded in 1880, also by S J du Toit, to coordinate the efforts of the BBV, the GRA and *The Eastern Boeren Vereenigingen,* an organisation looking after the interests of the Eastern Cape farmers. Yet from the beginning the AB was split into two sections favouring either du Toit's strict definition of an Afrikaner or Hofmeyer's more open policy aiming at all "whites" who wanted to work for Afrikaner ethnic mobilisation. In 1883 the BBV and the AB were merged and du Toit left the AB. Even if many scholars agree that the influence of the AB on the creation of Afrikaner ethnicity and nationalism was significant, it must be noted that Giliomee is of the opinion that the influence of both the Neo-Calvinist thinking and the AB has been overrated.[43] Giliomee, drawing on Stals, makes it clear that even if the AB supported Apartheid, the movement itself did not take part in formulating it.[44]

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[41] In 1993 the *Afrikaner Broederbond* changed its name to the *Afrikanerbond* as part of a re-construction of the organization. This change of name thereby opened up the AB for the participation of women in the organization. Afrikanerbond (1997): *Bearer of An Ideal.* Wees Sterk. p. 3

[42] This broadening however did not include "Coloured" Afrikaans-Speakers. Giliomee (1989): *The Beginning of Afrikaner Ethnic Consciousness, 1850-1915".* pf. 35

[43] De Gruchy 2005, Moodie 1980, Bosch 1984, Serfontein 1982, Lategan, 2001 etc.

[44] Giliomee, H (2003): "The Weakness of Some: The Dutch Reformed Church and white supremacy", in *Scriptura* 2003:2, points out that even if Malan became a member of the AB in 1933 neither did the AB influence his politic or visa versa. It does however not seem likely that the AB with it policy of *Africa for the Afrikaners* should only have been

Throughout the 1880's and especially after the Anglo-Boer war, the AB spread beyond the borders of the Cape to the whole country.[45] The AB became an elitist organisation of *Super Afrikaners* represented by politicians, church, cultural and educational leaders, and leaders in the field of labour, police, media and farming. It came to play a decisive role in creating a forum for the interaction between parliament and church at all levels in civil society, all working for the survival of Afrikaner ethnicity.[46]

The Boer-War of 1899-1902 and the execution of Jopie Fourie constituted the last epoch of what P.W Reitz in 1900 called a *Century of Wrong* for the Afrikaners.[47] Transvaal fought hard to get its freedom back after the annexation of 1877 and did in the end win its independence if only for a short time. The ethnic awareness of the Transvaal Afrikaners was as a result greatly politicised by the successful revolt of 1881. At this early stage the *civil-religious* thinking of Paul Kruger, president of the Transvaal, came to play a considerable role in the interpretation of the past as a structured history aimed to unite the Afrikaners into one *Volk.* In 1880 at *Paardekraal,* under the leadership of Paul Kruger, a gathering of people renewed their covenant with God made at the Battle of Blood River. This event marked the development of a unique perception of a self-experienced past, linked to the historical experience of The Great Trek as it came to symbolise a

supportive but not active in the struggle for power and the survival of Afrikaner ethnicity during the Apartheid years. Deborah Posel, describes how organisations in the years leading up to Apartheid were inspired by the AB: "One of the clearest and most vigorous defences of total segregation was made by SABRA (South African Bureau of Racial Affairs), launched by the Broederbond in 1947 to 'investigate...and propagate' the basic 'Apartheid idea' which had been endorsed by the Broederbond Council in 1935". Posel. D (1997): *The Making of Apartheid 1948-1961.* Clarendon, Oxford Press. p. 50. My Brackets.

[45] Giliomee, H (1989): *The Beginning of Afrikaner Ethnic Consciousness, 1850-1915".* p. 35

[46] Serfontein, J (1979): *Brotherhood of Power – an exposé of the secret Afrikaner Brotherbond.* Rex Collings Limited & (1982): *Apartheid, Change and the NG Kerk.* Taurus. Wilkins, I & Strydom, H (1978): *The Super Afrikaners.* Jonathan Ball

[47] Reitz, F W (1900): *"A Century of Wrong".* Review of Review office, Mowbray House-Western Cape. pf.1

response to British suppression and persecution. This period created a feeling of historical and religious predestination for the Boer communities.[48] The past and the present were linked into *one* history of the Afrikaner. A surging sense of ethnic awareness was creating a historical awareness, emphasising the conflicts between Boer and Briton. The Great Trek and the Battle of Blood River took on a mythological meaning and was interpreted as part of the Afrikaner struggle for a *sacred passion for freedom*. At this point in time this thinking was still to a large extent centred on Kruger and his allies but came to be greatly influential for awakening of Afrikaner nationalism.[49] The renowned Andries Pretorius also played a considerable role in constructing an identity for the Afrikaners, identifying with the Jews of the Old Testament as he interpreted the Afrikaner history: the emigrants had to tear themselves loose from being plagued and humiliated by the British much like the Israelites fleeing the Pharaoh.[50]

As large deposits of gold and diamond were detected in The Orange Free State and the Transvaal in 1886 the interest of the British was awakened for financial reasons. But the British were not welcomed. As many British and other foreigners settled in the republic, Paul Kruger launched his *uitlander* (foreigner) policy as a means to keep mainly the British from having any real political influence.[51] After a number of incidents between the *uitlanders* and the authorities, negotiations broke down between the British and Paul Kruger. War was declared on 11th of October 1899. The battle and the resulting hardships on the Boer side became significant in the memory of the

[48] Moodie, D (1980): *The Rise of Afrikanerdom – Power, Apartheid, and Afrikaner Civil Religion.* University of California Press. p. 7

[49] Giliomee, H (1989): "The Beginning of Afrikaner Ethnic Consciousness", *1850-1915".* p. 36

[50] Quoted in De Klerk, W (1975): *The Puritans in Africa – A Story of Afrikanerdom.* p. 223. Andries Pretorius assumed leadership in 1838 of the Natal trekkers and was the officer in command at the battle of Blood River where 3000 Zulus were killed and three trekkers slightly wounded. The major defeat on the side of the Zulu split the Zulu nation. Afrikaner nationalism later considered the battle at Blood River the factor that "saved" the Great Trek and secured victory for Christianity and civilisation. Giliomee, H (2005): *The Afrikaners.* pf. 151 & 162.

[51] The mining houses were not only occupied by British but also a large number of Frenchmen settled. Still the British were the majority. Davenport, R and Sanders, C (2000): *South Africa – A Modern History.* p. 220

Afrikaners, shaping the collective Afrikaner consciousness and culture. As the Boer put up a good deal of resistance, the British launched a brutal war of burning down farmsteads and placing thousands of children, women and "blacks" in the world's first concentrations camps. Records show that twenty-seven-thousand-nine hundred and twenty-seven died in these camps, approximately twenty-two thousand of whom were under the age of sixteen.[52]

In 1900 after the fall of Pretoria some of the leading generals, including Smuts, De La Rey and Botha, recommended immediate surrender. But many refused to give up and declared they would fight to the bitter end. The last part of the war on the Boer side was characterised by guerrilla warfare. In Smuts words the *Bitterenders* were "... men of invincible hope in the future and childlike faith in God."[53] Their belief was in a personal God, taking a direct part in the life of the *Bitterenders* through history, shaping the Boer nation. Faith in fighting for the country and faith in God became synonymous. Betraying the cause of the country became *ongeloof*, an absence of faith. But in the end the *Bitterenders* were outnumbered and the war ended on 31st of May 1902 with British victory[54]. The critical relationship between the British and the Boer had one final outcome that would complete the *century of wrong* in the eyes of the Afrikaners. During the First World War, when the British asked for Afrikaans support in fighting the Germans, it caused a split in the ranks of the Afrikaner generals. While both Smuts and Botha agreed, De Wet and Beyers utterly refused thereby inflaming a minor riot, which was quickly put to an end by Smuts and Botha's troops. Only minor punishments were enforced on the rebels except for one man. Jopie

[52] Davenport, R and Saunders, C (2000): *South Africa – A Modern History*. pf. 219
[53] Giliomee, H (2003): *The Afrikaners*. p. 253
[54] Giliomee, H (2003): *The Afrikaners*. p. 253

Fourie was shot and became the last martyr for Afrikaner-nationalism, thereby finishing the period of "revelation" for the Afrikaners[55].

Afrikaner women as the *cultural other*

In spite of the general perception of Afrikaner culture, both past and present, as being one of strong male dominance, it must be acknowledged that the role of Afrikaner women had a profound influence on the creation of Afrikaner nationalism and on the general view of *the other* outside Afrikaner culture. The primary construction of the female Afrikaner identity was the result of a dual development. Afrikaner women acting outside the political and public realm of Afrikaner nationalism contributed widely to shaping the Afrikaner group into a self-conscious ethnic group through welfare work.[56] However, to a large extent the female identity of Afrikaner women was prescribed for them as part of the cultural construct, as historical circumstances threatened the "national project" of Afrikaner nationalism.

The loss of the Anglo-Boer war resulted in severe poverty for many Afrikaners, not only for the people on the *platteland* but also in the cities, increasing urbanisation. Because of growing poverty a large number of young Afrikaans women entered the work market and made their way into public society. Partly out of concern for these women and partly as a response to general Afrikaans poverty, middle class Afrikaans women organised themselves and through charity work made their way into a "semi" public sphere, thereby making a considerable contribution to Afrikaner nationalism.

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[55] Moodie, D (1980): "*The Rise of Afrikanerdomr – Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*". p. 10
[56]Butler, J (1994): "Afrikaner Women and the Creation of Ethnicity in a Small South African Town, 1902-1950", in (ed.) Vail, L: *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa.* p. 56

The *Zuid-Afrikaansche Christelike Vrouwen Vereeniging* was founded in 1904 in Cape Town with the aim of poverty relief.[57] Tracing its roots back to the Anglo-Boer war, this organisation was no stranger to fighting for the ethnic cause of the Afrikaners. The members spread throughout the country and numbered eight thousand by 1930. Members of the movement usually belonged to the DRC, although the movement did not officially fall under church authority. From the onset, the concern of the movement was the large number of *poor whites* flooding the cities. The distribution of gifts, clothes, food, fundraising, etc. were important activities, but the movement also offered help in the form of home visits, thereby creating an opportunity to enter the homes of many Afrikaners. Although the ACVV did not start out as a strictly Afrikaans association, the change of name in 1906 from *Zuid-Afrikaansche Christelike Vrouwen Vereeniging* to *Afrikaansche Christlijke Vrouwen Vereeniging* (ACVV), suggested an ethnic orientated policy from an early stage.[58] The movement aimed to work for everything that was "... zuiver Afrikaansche ... en tot hulp en opbouwing van Taal en Volk kan strekken".[59] By emphasising the importance of ethnic relations, language and the nation, the ACVV worked alongside male organisations, for the mobilisation of a distinct Afrikaner identity and culture. The Transvaal counterpart of the ACVV, the *Suid-Afrikaanschee Vrouwe Vereeniging* (SAVF), chose not to restrict itself to an ethnic orientated membership.[60] The movement, founded interestingly enough by a British woman named Georgina Salomon, was a response to the exclusive politics of the ACVV. Mrs. Salomon brought her ideas to the Transvaal and established the SAVF. Irrespective of the two movements' common interest for the *poor white* problem, the question of ethnic belonging remained an obstacle. Yet this

[57] Afrikaans Christian Women's Association
[58] Note that the spelling of *Christlike/Christlijke* also changed.
[59] Du Toit, M (1992): "Die Bewustheid Van Armoed; The ACVV and the Construction of Afrikaner Identity, 1904-1928", in *Social Dynamics*. Vol 18 no. 2. p.4
[60] Note that the spelling of *Vrouwe* is different from the ACVV spelling.

was not the only reason. Many Cape members of the ACVV regarded their work as an extension of their DRC duties.[61]

The growing *poor white* problem was becoming an obstacle for the ethnic development of the Afrikaners.[62] Severe drought and economic stagnation after the Anglo-Boer and First World War had a devastating impact on the livelihood of the Afrikaners[63]. Many settled amongst or close to "people of colour", a matter of deep concern for the ACVV, fearing the poor Afrikaners would eventually mix with "Blacks" and "Coloureds".[64] Despite the concern of the nationalist elitists at the time, the *poor white* problem came to play an immense part in unifying the Afrikaners and strengthening the nationalistic cause. The effort to solve this problem by the ACVV illustrates the point, as it worked alongside the male nationalistic cause trying to create a sense of unity and community amongst the *poor white* Afrikaners. Trying to overcome the class rift amongst the Afrikaners, the ACVV characterised an Afrikaner based on skin colour, language and religious affiliation. As the members of the ACVV were often predominantly middle class women, wives of dominees and doctors, etc., they were able, through the work of their husbands, to get into contact with a large number of *poor whites*. The organisation paralleled the rapid growth of Afrikaner nationalism and adopted as its own the aim of the nationalist movement. The Cape Town branch put considerable weight on who belonged to the *Volk* and therefore who deserved help and who did not. While there was a growing concern on behalf of the white-Afrikaans speakers in an area like Salt River for example, there was no general concern for the community as a whole. Indeed

[61] Du Toit, M (1992): "Die Bewustheid Van Armoed; The ACVV and the Construction of Afrikaner Identity, 1904-1928". p. 15

[62] The reasons for the urbanisation, not only amongst white but also amongst "Blacks" and "Coloured" poor, were complex and had been developing ever since the latter part of the 19th century.

[63] Butler, J (1994): "Afrikaner Women and the Creation of Ethnicity in a Small South African Town, 1902-1950". p. 60

[64] Butler, J (1994): "Afrikaner Women and the Creation of Ethnicity in a Small South African Town, 1902-1950". p. 60

aid to the pharmacy *Vrye Apteek* was cut in half when it was discovered that quite a large percentage of the customers were Muslim. Any aid was to benefit only the *Volk.* According to Marijke du Toit, one of the reasons for the ethnocentrism of both the Cape and rural branches of the ACVV was the fear that the white-Afrikaans speakers would be lured away from the DRC. The ACVV was afraid that the Afrikaners would be "taken from" the DRC by other church organisations doing social work in the same areas.[65]

By the mid 1920's the ACVV found that the problem of mixed living areas was getting out of hand. Trying to remove whole Afrikaans families proved too difficult, as did the policy of institutionalising Afrikaans children from mixed settlements. Although trying to influence the families through *huisbesoek,* the ACVV soon realised that such measures were insufficient. In 1925, as a way out, the ACVV made a proposal to the *Economic and Wages Commission* stressing the need to create segregated areas for Afrikaners. Simultaneously they proposed that Afrikaans workers should be paid better salaries allowing them to move to better areas. Furthermore the ACVV recommended that it should be made illegal to rent out rooms or houses to "people of colour". The rapidly growing proletariat in the cities was indeed an important part of the *Volksbeweging.* The city Afrikaners, the struggling farmers and the *bywoners* on the *platteland* all played a part in the construction of a collective Afrikaner identity.[66]

[65] There were indeed some membership losses to Apostolic Faith communities but not enough to alarm either the DRC or the promoters of the Afrikaans culture. Du Toit, M (1992): "Die Bewustheid Van Armoed; The ACVV and the Construction of Afrikaner Identity, 1904-1928". p. 16

[66] Du Toit, M (1992): "Die Bewustheid Van Armoed; The ACVV and the Construction of Afrikaner Identity, 1904-1928". pf. 12-18 Also through the press the awareness of the women in the *platteland* was awakened and made visible for the women in the cities. By showing photos in the *Huisgenoot* of impoverished *oude vroue* from the *platteland* the sense of one community was nurtured across geographical as well as class differences.

The ACVV played an important part in nationalising the *poor white* Afrikaners. Through house visits the dominees' and doctors' wives propagated the nationalistic standpoints of their husbands. However the mere fact that white Afrikaners were being treated differently and offered greater possibilities would have contributed to a feeling of separateness between the Afrikaners and their neighbours in any mixed settlement. The ACVV contributed to the developing nationalism alongside church, youth and political organisations, all working for the unification of the *Volk,* and even if the ACVV was independent from the DRC, the majority of women still saw their duties in the organisation as an extension of church duties. In the *platteland* the ACVV may have been an important factor but it was still the church that was the main unifying force in Afrikaner nationalism.

The issue arises as to why many Afrikaans women almost without questioning became part of the nationalist movement of their husbands, brothers and fathers, etc, when part of the nationalist cause allocated to women the *Volksmoeder* ideal, thereby keeping them in an inferior position to that of men. Part of the reason can be found in Christina Landman's analysis of the religiousness of the early Boer women.[67] The mentioning of Afrikaans women in literature before 1902 is sparse and inconsistent.[68] The lack of visibility of the Afrikaner women before 1902 was the result of the male dominant culture and an "inferior" female subculture. After the end of the Anglo-Boer war in 1902 the visibility of women in literature changed only slightly. There are very few resources pertaining to Afrikaans women. With the exception of J J Kicherer and John Philip, editing women's diaries for the international market, and the later work of W. Postma and E Stockenström

[67] Christina Landsman's intriguing *The Piety of Afrikaans women: diaries of guilt* (1994) analyses the social position and religiosity of Afrikaans women, from the 17th century to the time of the inauguration of the national Women's Monument.

[68] The absence of women in historical literature before the 20th century was of course not special for Afrikaner culture but is unfortunately a worldwide phenomenon.

in the service of the national movement, the writings of Afrikaans women are mainly to be found in their diaries.[69] The insight into the status and religious beliefs found in the diaries offers an interesting perspective for the relationship between Afrikaans women and *the other*, the "people of colour", the British and, not least, the men of their own culture. According to Landman the religious beliefs of early Afrikaans women were closely linked not only to their position in the Afrikaans community but also to the historical circumstances of which they were a part. The women had little if any theological knowledge, and as they had missed out on the feministic development, particularly in Europe and the Netherlands, they perceived themselves as being at the mercy of a strong, personal, male God. They based their view of the world on an inward pietistic faith, supplemented by the teaching of Andrew Murray. Their pietistic perceptions lead the women to serve men, their male God and inevitably the nation.[70] In the Great Trek, in the violent conflict with "Black" tribes and later in the British concentration camps these women lost their children and loved ones. Most often they believed that they themselves caused their misery and by pleasing the male God through their husbands they could somehow change their own fortune. Guilt was the main characteristic of their relationship to both men and to God. Guilt came to serve two purposes. Firstly, through their guilt and repentance they could feel closer to the male God in the mental and emotional absence of their own husbands, and secondly, they were subsequently temporarily freed from the restriction of their inferior status in society. Yet this relative "empowerment" remained within the women's own subculture. According to Landman's analysis of the religiosity of the Boer women, this may certainly have played a vital part in the relation between Afrikaner women and "people of colour". The diaries of the Boer women in

[69] Catharina Allegonda van Lier's diary *Dagboek, gemeenzame brieven en eenzame overdenkingen* was published in 1804 under the editorship of Rev. J J Kicherer. Mathilda Smith's *Memoir* was published through the effort of John Philip in 1824. Landman, C (1994): *The Piety of Afrikaans women: diaries of guilt.* UNISA. p. 11

[70] Landman, C (1994): *The Piety of Afrikaans women: diaries of guilt.* p. vii.

Landman's research certainly testify to a strong sense of guilt amongst the Boer women. Whether this is the response to trauma inflicted upon them through their historical experience is hard to say. Yet if this guilt is indeed a response to physical and psychological trauma, it will have had an effect on the relationship between the Boer women and anybody outside *the laager.* In order to gain the favour of the male dominant culture women remained submissive. This not only meant that the women amongst themselves became disloyal to each other, but it almost inevitably affected negatively their relationship to other cultures, as they themselves would repeat the *othering* of which they were victims.[71] The traumatic events that the early Boer women had to go through, together with their allocated inferior position, may have affected deeply their sense of self and their own identity. The psychological trauma on their female identity and the physical trauma of The Great Trek may possibly have had a destroying affect on their identity and therefore on their relationship with other people: " ... where the trauma is inflicted by other human beings, there follows a destruction of the belief that one can be oneself in relation to others."[72] Being inferior in their own culture therefore made the Afrikaans women even more suspicious of other cultures, evident in the activities of Afrikaans women in the nationalist movement.

The inferior status of women in Afrikaans culture was further strengthened by the work of two Afrikaans historiographers, Willem Postma and Erik Stockenström. Their work not only played a part reinforcing the existing gender structure but also in the future perception and definition of a "proper" Afrikans woman. Both their books were published after the elevation of the National Women's Monument.

[71] Landman, C (1994): *The Piety of Afrikaans women: diaries of guilt.* p. 3
[72] Brison, S (1997): "Outliving Oneself: Trauma, Memory and Personal Identity", in (ed.) Meyers, D: *Feminists Rethink the Self.* Westview Press. p. 14

The elevation of The National Women's monument, *Die Nasionale Vrouemonument* became a milestone for the indoctrination of the male image of the *Volksmoeder* on the identity of Afrikaans women. The monument was erected in the honour of the thousands of women and children killed in the British concentrations camps. Yet not one single Afrikaans woman participated in the planning of the monument.[73] In the aftermath of the monument two books were published on the subject of the patriotism and religiosity of the Afrikaans women. *Die boervrouw, moeder van haar Volk*, written in 1918 by Willem Postma, emphasised the relationship between the Afrikaner women and their Dutch foremothers, yet praised the fact that Afrikaner women had their own identity and did not wish to run after foreign ideas like the women's vote.[74] The Afrikaans woman never gave up, not against the "black" attackers during the Trek and not against the British in the KZ-camps. She was strongly religious and her religiosity showed in her deep affection to God's nation. Gladly suffering martyrdom, the Afrikaans woman would never compromise her nation nor her religion and therefore her "natural submissive position". From the time of *Slagtersnek* to the Anglo-Boer war she stood firmly by her husband, fought by his side, and never failed to recognize his male dominance.[75] The civil-religious ideas of the time came out strongly in Postma's characterisation of the Afrikaans women as did the influence of Abraham Kuyper. The strong women sacrificing themselves for the sake of the Afrikaner nation as God's nation strengthened

[73] Only men spoke at the occasion and only two women were granted a gravesite at the monument. The only female voice heard at the occasion was that of Emily Hobhouse in the form of a letter read aloud. The British Emily Hobhouse travelled the war torn country of the north and helped raise public awareness of the suffering in the KZ-camps. Despite her support to the Afrikaner cause and the Afrikaner women especially, no mention of her is found in the later civil-religious/nationalistic speeches of the 1930-1940's. The ideal of a British woman did not fit into the nationalistic ideal of the monument. Moodie, D (1980): *The Rise of Afrikanerdom – Power, Apartheid, and Afrikaner Civil Religion.* p.19

[74] Brink, E (1993): "Man-Made Women: Gender, Class and the ideology of the *Volksmoeder*", in (ed.) Walker, C: *Women and gender in Southern Africa to 1945.* David Plilip. p. 278. Willem Postma was also known under the name of Dr. O' Kulis.

[75] Landman, C (1994): *The Piety of Afrikaans women: diaries of guilt.* p. 5. The Slagtersnek Rebellion began early in 1813 as a Freek Bezuidenhout, a "white" farmer after having refused to appear in court on charges of assault against a Khoikhoi worker. In a brief battle between Bezuidenhout and two British officers and twelve Khoikhoi soldiers, Bezuidenhout was killed. Giliomee, H (2003): *The Afrikaners.* p. 85

the bond from the past to the present. The connection between culture and religion was an ongoing theme at the time and comes out strongly in the literature concerning women. A nation is being built and within it the gender structure is put in place.

Only a few years later in 1921 *Die vrou in die geskiendenis van die Hollands-Afrikaanse Volk* by Erik Stockenström was published. Stockenström supports Postma's notion that "martyrdom" goes hand in hand with social submissiveness and therefore that the Afrikaans women were likewise inclined and adapted to their inferior position in Afrikaans culture.

Yet in emphasizing the strong religious convictions of Afrikaans women, Stockenström fails to acknowledge the women's pietistic faith in a personal God and instead refers to the national God of the male public culture. Connecting the Afrikans women with their foremothers as Postma did, he wished to teach the women the moral traditions of their foremothers. By linking history with religion and morals Strockenström instructed the women about their responsibility to keep the nation "white" in the future as it had been in the past. According to Stockenström, not only was the nation kept strictly "white", it was also kept purely Afrikaans:

> If anyone should ask: 'But now what was actually the influence of the Boer women on the history of the Cape Colony'? Then we must answer that, in spite of the overwhelming indigenous influence, and no thanks to the attempts by the British since 1806 to Anglicise the Dutch population, the Boer women, through their religiosity, their sense of freedom, their love for the their fatherland, their love for their nation and language have been the most powerful reason why Dutch population at the Cape never

became one with the English but they have remained to the present day the unique, pure nation that has come to be associated with the name 'Afrikaner-boer' ...[76]

As Landman points out, the present and future religiousness of the women was not only described from a male ideological perspective, it was also prescribed. By linking nationalism with morals it became a religious duty for the women to serve the nation.[77]

The literary creation of the *ware boervrouw* in the first part of the 20th century was of great importance for two reasons. Creating the image by building on an already established notion of the *Volksmoeder,* the creation was part of the ongoing mobilisation of the whole *Boer Volk,* emphasising history and language from a civil-religious perspective. Yet teaching the women "ethnic responsibility" became equally important because of the growing number of *poor whites*. The part allocated to women at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century at the same time bound to and expanded upon the notion of the Afrikaans women as mother of the nation - *Volksmoeder*. This role placed women as the cornerstone not only in the private sphere of the house but also in the public sphere of the nation. However this role was only public as long as Afrikaner women strove to fulfil the political role as a unifying force within the greater cause of Afrikanerdom.[78] As expected, Afrikaner women tried to live up to this ideal, the ideal of perfect women and motherhood, and through their efforts came to play a substantial part in furthering and strengthening the ongoing political struggle for the ethnic mobilisation of the Afrikaners. In this restricted private sphere one way for Afrikaner women to be allowed into the public sphere, or at least out of the house, was through welfare work. By doing welfare work the more educated

[76] Landman, C (1994): *The Piety of Afrikaans women: diaries of guilt.* p. 8.
[77] Landman, C (1994): *The Piety of Afrikaans women: diaries of guilt.* p. 8.
[78] Brink, E (1993): "Man-Made Women: Gender, Class and the ideology of the *Volksmoeder*". p. 271

women now had a possibility of developing a career of their own. This of course was still on a minor scale and in the service of men, supporting their struggle for unity of the *Volk*.

My observation is that the guilt ridden relation between Afrikaans women and their personalised male God had strongly affected the self-esteem of these women and made them accustomed to seeing themselves as inferior to the male God and therefore to their men. Furthermore, as Landman points out, their inferior position made these women disloyal to each other in their attempt to please the male dominant culture. This will have reinforced the female subculture. Thus as Brink (1990) points out, women that began questioning society and their allocated role, may have risked losing the "privileges" of their present status. Questioning the social norms and basic structure they simply were no longer controllable and male society lost power over them. In short, they were no longer wanted.

Another reason why the creation of the *ware boervrouw* became important was due to the situation that many young women were part of the general urbanisation. The writings of Postma, partly offering, partly allocating women the ideal of the *Mothers of the Nation*, certainly could have proferred some comfort to the many young women entering the work market. While the publication of Postma's book probably aimed at giving these women an ethnic self understanding and thereby the status that came with it, many certainly could have been attracted to the status that came with this role of *Volksmoeder* and the possibility of financial aid from movements like the ACVV or the *Suid - Afrikaanschee Vrouwe Vereeniging*. Yet the strong position of the man in both the public as well as in the private sphere led the Boer women over time to a negative self perception based on a religious foundation, keeping them from entering the public sphere inhabited

by their husbands. Despite this, Afrikaner women came to play a not insignificant role in the formation of one *Volk* in the first part of the 20th century. The role allocated to women in the nationalistic cause was closely linked to their religious status and therefore self-perception. Without doubt religious grounds were used to restrict the role of women to an inferior position. However, as a result of the inferior status of women, and furthered by the *Volksmoeder* ideal of the female, Afrikaans culture became strongly opposed to other ethnic cultures, thereby supporting the ideology of segregation growing inside the nationalist movement.

The ongoing struggle for Afrikaner identity came to mean a fixation of the female identity inside the Afrikaner culture. This description of the development of the female identity can also be seen as a model for the development of Afrikaner identity as a whole. The alienation of female as opposed to male identity within Afrikaner culture mirrors the alienation between Afrikaners inside the *laager* and anybody outside. This meant that a person of a different race, irrespective of religious convictions, would not be considered an equal. The relational disposition of race and culture points to the possibility that the Boers most certainly were viewing "people of colour" as their *cultural other*, from which they wished to distinguish themselves.[79] *The other* at the time of the Trek was identified as "people of colour" while the identity of *the other* as the British and Afrikaner women was slowly being developed in the embryonic phase of the Boer community. The perception of *the other* was not alone guided by race but also by culture, gender and religion.

[79] This point will be further examined in the following two chapters.

Roman Catholicism as the *religious other*

The Roman Catholic Church as an institution and Roman Catholicism as a religious ideology were together the *religious other* in the construction of and struggle for Afrikaner identity as it played itself out in relation to both historical events and the religious dimension of Afrikaner Calvinism as an ideology. This was so for two reasons.

Firstly, the idea that *Romanism* was in principle inconsistent with and in conflict with Calvinism was central to Afrikaner Calvinism and therefore subsequently to the project of Afrikanerdom. Afrikaner Calvinism, as we shall explore at length shortly, is Calvinism as shaped by the historical experience of Afrikanerdom. From that perspective it was something international and non-racial and not just a threat to faith or sound doctrine. It was a danger to Afrikanerdom as such.[80] Catholicism was something foreign, a body that answered to the Vatican alone. Yet, secondly, the fact that the church increasingly and especially after the Second Vatican Council, began to take active interest in social and political issues[81], also gradually strengthened Afrikaner antipathy against the church. Both perspectives saw the Catholic Church as a fundamental threat both to the theology and ideology supporting Afrikanerdom.

We shall in chapter three explore at greater length the theology that came to support the Apartheid ideology, yet a few details are important here to understand the view of Catholicism as *Die Roomse Gevaar*. The evangelical and pietistic theology of Andrew Murray was a strong influence on Afrikaner Calvinism. It was largely through his theology that rationalism and liberalism in the church was defeated. Yet while Murray's theology inspired a focus on mission and education, his

[80] De Gruchy, J (1982): "Catholics in a Calvinist Country", in (ed.) Prior, A: *Catholics in Apartheid society.* The Citadel Press. p. 67
[81] Borer, T (1998): *Challenging the State – Churches as Political Actors in South Africa, 1980-1994.* University of Notre Dame Press. p. 85

theology also had the consequence of making the evangelically inclined a-political and failed in providing a theological foundation for the struggle for identity amongst the Afrikaner population.[82] Kuyper's Calvinism as a life system was in conflict both with non-Christian ideologies and religions but also with what he himself referred to as *Romanism*.

The idea that Calvinism intrinsically was in conflict with Catholicism was deeply rooted within the self-understanding of Afrikaner Calvinism. The first settlers at the Cape were predominately Dutch Calvinist, with deep roots in the Protestant tradition, and with fresh memories of the Thirty Year War between Catholics and Protestants and Holland's struggle for independence against Catholic Spain. This deep seated resentment and fear was further nourished by the coming of the French Huguenots in 1688.[83] The Catholic Church as well as other Christian denominations struggled to be allowed to hold services, but it was only in 1820 that the Catholics at the Cape were allowed public worship. Then after the passing of the Voluntary Bill in 1875, that made all churches free associations, the Catholic Church was free to act and teach more openly in the Cape. Yet the attitude of the Cape authorities was not always shared by the northern Boer republics, or by the DRC. While the DRC was fighting rationalism and liberalism on the one side, they were also fighting Catholicism on the other. This was partly due to the growing Catholic missionary effort amongst the "heathens" and partly out of fear of Catholic schooling for young Afrikaners. At the end of the 19th century several DRC Synods warned parents against the danger of Catholic teachings, a notion that grew as Afrikanerdom grew stronger. In a number of cases teachers were fired from public schools because of them being Catholic.

[82] De Gruchy, J (1982): "Catholics in a Calvinist Country". p. 70
[83] De Gruchy, J (1982): "Catholics in a Calvinist Country". p. 74

The international nature of the Catholic Church stood in stark contrast to the national character of Afrikaner Calvinism.[84] As the national project of Afrikanerdom became increasingly powerful and all embracing, the understanding of the Catholic Church as something *other* and incompatible with the *laager* mentality of Afrikaner identity grew. This was exemplified in the general antipathy towards mixed marriages between DRC members and Catholics. In 1953 it was made clear that parents who sent their children to Catholic schools acted against their baptismal vows. Numerous attempts were made to convert Catholic immigrants to the reformed tradition, on the basis that the Catholic Church did not proclaim the true gospel. This attitude also showed in ecumenical work, which often meant that if the Catholic Church was present, the DRC would not participate. In short, as de Gruchy wrote in 1982: "...the traditional attitude of Afrikaner Calvinism has been, and to a large extent remains, that the Catholic Church is a danger to true Christian faith, and many would also regard it as a threat to the well-being of the nation."[85]

The Roman Catholic Church was also perceived as the main threat of the ecumenical movement, for moves towards the visible unity of the Church were understood as returning to the Roman fold. This was a major reason why influential sectors of the DRC were opposed to participation in the World Council of Churches. This body represented, in ecclesial form, the threat of a "one world government" represented by the United Nations. And this meant the eventual end to differences of culture, theological convictions, and political control over national life. The influence of the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) held over a period of three years from 1962-1965 further alienated the Catholic Church from Afrikaner Calvinism.

[84] De Gruchy, J (1982): "Catholics in a Calvinist Country". p. 75
[85] De Gruchy, J (1982): "Catholics in a Calvinist Country". p. 7

South African bishops like many other places in the world were profoundly influenced by teaching that emanated from Vatican II as well as other post Vatican statements.[86] *Gaudium et Spes*[87] was especially a watershed document.[88] It called for Christian responsibility in the world through involvement in issues related to poverty and social injustice by "passing moral judgment even in matters relating to politics" as "the sign of the times" should be responded to in the light of the gospel.[89] In 1976 Pope Paul VI added fresh insight to this new discourse for social justice within the church. His encyclical *Populorum Progressio*[90] insisted that the moral validity of established economic and political systems was a legitimate topic for religious debate. Furthermore, the issue of revolutionary violence was addressed and later developed by the Vatican's Synod of Bishops:

> ...action on behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appear to us as a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel, or, in other words, of the church's mission for the redemption of the human race and its liberation from every oppressive situation.[91]

All of this influenced the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) in its attempt to respond to the repressive Apartheid context of the 1980's. Although there had been a tradition of the Catholic Church objecting to the segregationist policies of the Apartheid State, it should be noted that before the 1980's the commitment to social justice, rarely moved from the level of

[86] Brain, R (1997): "Moving from the Margins to the Mainstream: The Roman Catholic Church", in (eds.) Elpick, D & Davenport, R: *Christianity in South Africa – A Political, Social & Cultural History.* David Philip Publishers (Pty)Ltd. p. 206
[87] *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*
[88] Borer, T (1998): *Challenging the State – Churches as Political Actors in South Africa, 1980-1994.* p. 85
[89] Borer, T (1998): *Challenging the State – Churches as Political Actors in South Africa, 1980-1994.* p. 86
[90] On the Progress of the People
[91] Borer, T (1998): *Challenging the State – Churches as Political Actors in South Africa, 1980-1994.* p. 86

statement to actual practice. Already in 1957 the Catholic Church had condemned segregation, but it did not practice what it preached. Segregation was still practiced in most mission schools up until the mid 1970's. One exception was Archbishop Denis Hurley, the most consistently outspoken bishop against Apartheid, even before the theology of Vatican II began to influence the contextual reading of South African society. Yet most bishops lacked the prophetic vision of Hurley and only in the 1980's were the new ideas translated into a South African stand on "Catholic Social Justice". This emerging political identity of the church became obvious in the statement of the 1977 "Commitment on Social Justice and Race Relations," issued by the bishops under pressure from the "black" consciousness movement. It emphasized that the church must work for human liberation, including working for the transformation of oppressive structures.[92] The increasing political conflict in South Africa in the 1980's finally meant the implementation of the commitment made in 1977.

Despite the fact that by this stage some leading DRC theologians like Dr. Gustav Bam and Professor J. A. Heyns no longer understood the Catholic Church as an enemy, but rather as a partner in dialogue, most others still viewed the church as a danger to the nation and therefore to Afrikaner Calvinism. Indeed, the link between Catholic teachings after Vatican II with liberation theology in Latin America, in concert with the role of the Catholic Church in the liberation movement in Zimbabwe, meant that for many the danger of the *die Roomse Gevaar* was still a reality. Although the Nationalist government in the 1980's was unlikely to express its anti-Catholic views for fear of alienating support amongst white Catholics at a time when white hegemony was more important than opposing Catholicism as an ideology, it was increasingly fearful of the influence of Catholic liberation theology on "black" Catholic priests in South Africa. In the end,

[92] Borer, T (1998): *Challenging the State – Churches as Political Actors in South Africa, 1980-1994.* p. 89

the influence of Vatican II and the fact that the Catholic Church was a majority black Church were decisive in ensuring that the Catholic Church could not be co-opted by the government under the guise of fighting together against communism – the traditional enemies of both. So the *religious other* and the *racial other* were inevitably connected.

Chapter Two

Cultural Identity and the Construction of the *Cultural Other*

The historical analysis of the construction of Afrikaner identity showed that this was created in interaction with and in opposition to a number of *cultural others*. The meaning of culture is highly contested as contemporary cultural studies demonstrate. This chapter will move beyond the earlier held notion of "high culture" to an understanding of culture as a complex and contextual whole that both dictates the actions of its members, thus shaping their identity, and continually reinvents itself in relation to *cultural others*. The intention is to explore this dynamic process of cultural identity formation. In doing so we begin by reflecting on the cultural identity of the individual in relation to the *other*. This is important in order to assert individual responsibility within a given culture in relation to the *other*; yet the individual is always part of a collective culture. In order to understand the nature of this collective for our purpose of "nation", we examine three paradigms: 1. the Primeordial with its organic understanding of the collective; 2. the Modern with its understanding of the collective as invented nation or imagined community, and ethnic group; and 3. two Post-Modern theories: the ethno-symbolic theory which takes seriously the mythical basis of the collective (as in the Organic theory) but also understands it as a construction of a cultural-linguistic basis, and the gender theory in which women play the key role in reproducing and maintaining the collective.

In the final section of this chapter we turn to an examination of Mary Douglas' "enclave theory" which, together with the Post-Modern theories we have identified, will provide the basis for our

ongoing analysis of Afrikaner identity. In applying it to the latter, we discuss in turn, an organic/inside perspective of that identity; a constructivist/outside perspective and finally a gender perspective. In conclusion we return to a consideration of the relationship of the cultural individual to the *cultural other* in the light of our discussion.

Culture

Cultural studies today most often focus attention on cultural differences, mainly where these correspond to political and social inequalities. The contemporary deconstruction of meta-narratives seeks to explore and discover the abuse of power in mass and popular culture especially in respect to race, class, gender and nation.[93] This thesis can to some extent be said to belong within this paradigm yet at the same time attaches itself to the more modernistic paradigm of the construction of nations. Yet what is culture and what makes a culture? And further, how is identity linked to culture?

Obtaining a clear definition of culture is not an easy task. Thornton points to a traditional definition of culture in the direction of "normal" social behaviour:

> The focus of cultural studies today is still precisely where scholars such as Nietzsche, Malinowski, or Foucault directed it: on the culture of the popular, the ordinary, the everyday, and the "normal", and it seeks to show how these practices discipline or shape our existence. [94]

[93] Thornton, R (2000): "Finding Culture", in (eds.) Nuttall, S & Michael, C: *Senses of Culture – South African Cultural Studies.* Oxford University Press. pf. 29-31
[94] Thornton, R (2000): "Finding Culture". p. 39

The word culture has been used in various ways over time. The idea of culture in an English setting was initially used in the sense of *high culture*, something achievable, in order to fight against the threat of social erosion and disintegration. At the time the notion of culture was linked to an increasingly important sense of national identity.[95] In Germany at the same time, it had quite a different sense, as a small highly educated minority elite already existed in the form of the *German Mandarins*, long before Germany as a nation existed.[96] Yet the concept of culture in Germany was linked to the identity of the group, making culture as such synonymous with learning, and with nurturing the *Geist*, as a special German attribute. Thus in the German usage of the term, culture became connected with the dual roles of the formation of a special social class and identity of the modern nation state.[97] Today cultural discourse has changed significantly. Due to the introduction of the anthropological concept, cultural theory today focuses on a holistic view of culture as a "Complex Whole". In this view culture becomes an empirical reality, something that can be interpreted and analysed.[98] Thus whereas formerly culture was achievable within a certain class or intellectual context, this has now changed. Today, says Masuzawa, a comparative study of cultures, based on the integral unity of any given society, presupposes that: "...a proper understanding and valuation of specific elements is possible only if those elements are considered in the context of that particular unitary whole".[99] Thus when speaking of culture it is necessary to look not only at the context but also to specify which culture is under discussion. It is within the "unitary whole" that we need to understand the specifics of culture.

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[95] Masuzawa, T (1998): "Culture". p. 70
[96] Masuzawa, T (1998): "Culture". p. 72
[97] Masuzawa, T (1998): "Culture". p. 73
[98] Masuzawa, T (1998): "Culture". p. 77
[99] The culture-specific and contextual approach to cultural studies was a reaction from many American anthropologists such as Benedict, Boas and Mead to the former constructed approach of the predominantly British "armchair" anthropology, of collecting bits and pieces of evidence, torn out of their context.

Mary Douglas defines culture as "a distinct pattern of claims". As a system of claims turns into "a culture" it is the work of a committed group of people. The cultural group then consists of individuals interacting and in so doing continuously creating the culture. The restriction on one person's actions is therefore made by other people at the same time.[100] In this way culture both dictates the actions of its members and at the same time reinvents itself. In other words, the actions of the members of a certain culture create cultural community through their rejection or upholding of certain values. Douglas identifies two different traits of cultures, within which different "types" of cultures are enclosed. The one concerns itself with the outside boundary, whilst the other focuses on the articulation of social structure. As we shall shortly indicate, one of these types of culture is the *sect* or *enclave.*[101] Any group is ever aware of the threat from other cultures to its chosen form of life, and so conflicts are endemic to sustaining the definition of each culture.[102] This in principle means that as one culture meets another, it is the difference of cultural claims that affirms both cultures.

Individual "cultural" identity and *the other*

Placing "cultural" in inverted commas questions whether an individual can be thought of as a cultural being. In the use of "individual" we understand the person in singular and as "outside" or separated from any particular social group or culture. But is that possible at all? If not, it indicates that we as "selves" are constituted only in the social process. This is so not only because we live amongst other people, but also because we internalise *the other* as part of ourselves, and thereby engage in a dialectical relationship with ourselves in the same way we do with others. This means

[100] Douglas, M (1993): *In the Wilderness – The Doctrine of defilement in the Book of Numbers.* Sheffield Academic Press, England. p. 44
[101] Douglas identifies three other types of cultures, the Hierarchal, the Isolate and the Individualist.
[102] Douglas, M (1993): *In the Wilderness – The Doctrine of defilement in the Book of Numbers.* p. 44

that as we relate to *the other* our own identity is constructed. According to Alasdaire MacIntyre, our life stories, beliefs and attitudes do not belong to us as individuals but belong to the community of which we are members. As individuals we will always "belong" to a community whether we do so as members or as outcasts.[103] This may, however, mean that the individual does not exist as such. So argues Andreea Ritivoi, indicating what she calls an "extreme dependency" between the individual and the community, as the individual will then only exist in the interdependent relationship to *the other.*[104] Ritivoi instead points to the method of "appropriation" as a way of averting this danger. The hermeneutic term appropriation refers to the interaction between reader and text. At a relational level it unfolds in the permanent exchange and negotiation between identities/narratives. Applying the method of appropriation to this instance, she points to our individual identities as narratives constructed along with the narratives around us: "One's life/identity is a story in constant making and remaking, and in this process of systematic revision other people participate as well, not just the individual in question."[105] Drawing on Buber's *I/Thou* model, Rivitoi argues that the narratives in this way interact and recreate each other as *equal* subjects.[106] This could in theory be true. We can agree that the creation of the individual narrative is created consistently with the narrative of *the other,* but this does not mean that we are necessarily created as equal subjects in the eyes of the surrounding community, as in the case of racist or hierarchical structured societies. In the encounter with *the other* there is always the risk that our behaviour and actions will create an objectified *other*. The applied identity of *the other* is therefore not dependant on the meeting with otherness in itself, but on our behaviour and actions as we meet this otherness.

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[103] MacIntyre, A (1985): *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory.* Notre Dame University Press. pf. 1-5
[104] Ritivoi, A (2002): *Yesterday's Self, Nostalgia and the Immigrant Identity.* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. pf. 67
[105] Ritivoi, A (2002): *Yesterday's Self, Nostalgia and the Immigrant Identity.* p. 62
[106] Ritivoi, A (2002): *Yesterday's Self, Nostalgia and the Immigrant Identity.* p. 64

Individual identity or self-recognition/knowledge is important to our theme, because it is linked to the responsible actions of the individual, and individual responsibility is linked to the core of personal identity. As we engage with other narratives our own narrative may conflict, yet this conflict will once again play a part in narrating our identity. According to Paul Ricoeur "A character is the one who performs the action in the narrative." This action clarifies our identity or "character": "... the identity of the character is comprehensible through the transfer to the character of the operation of the emplotment, first applied to the action recounted; characters, we will say, are themselves plots."[107] The actions we undertake and the way we therefore engage with *the other* is rightly a negotiation created in the interaction with other narratives. If we return to Ritivoi it seems that in spite of the method of appropriation, she cannot avoid the interdependence between individual and community as the subject is still created in the interaction and participation with other narratives. Following Ricoeur's reasoning we can say that whether or not the *I* and the *You* meets as *subject* to *subject* or as *subject* to *object* is determined by our actions alone. As we act in the meeting with *the other* our personal/individual identity is defined: "The decisive step in the direction of a narrative conception of personal identity is taken when one passes from the action to the character."[108] Conclusively we can say that it is our action that determines our identity.

Collective cultural identity and *the other.*

Three paradigms have over time dominated the understanding of how cultures and nations develop; namely, the Primordial, the Modern and the Post-Modern paradigm. Each of these is

[107] Ricoeur, P (1990): *Oneself as Another.* The University of Chicago Press, p. 143. Ricoeur uses the word "Emplotment" as the English word for *muthos.*
[108] Ricoeur, P (1990): *Oneself as Another.* p. 143

important, not only for the understanding of Afrikaner identity and culture in its different phases, but also for the identification of *the other* in Afrikans culture.

The understanding of nations and of nationalism could, until recently, be separated into two groups, the Primordialists (or *Organic*) and the Constructivists (or *Modernists*). The basic concern within these two is the origin of the nation. The Modernistic paradigm emerged out of the desire to challenge the earlier organic/primordial understanding of nations and functions of nation-states. The Modernistic struggled against the Primordial understanding on the assumption that *the nation* is something essential, something that had existed for eternity or at least for longer then anybody could verify.[109] Understanding the nation as an eternal, historical reality was more often than not linked with the sanctification of *the nation* as separate from other nations, and part of the creational order, established and chosen by God.[110] This approach focused on the whole as opposed to the individual. The national community had become sacred and of greater importance than the individual. Kedourie puts it this way:

> ...the freedom of the individual, which is his self-realization, lies in identifying himself with the whole...the state is therefore not a collection of individuals that has come together in order to protect their own particular interests; the state is higher then the individual and comes before him.[111]

[109] Smith, A (1998): *Nationalism and Modernism – a critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism.* Routledge. p. 18
[110] Thorkildsen, D (1998): "Nasjon, nasjonalisme og modernisering – noen centrale problemer og positioner innefor nasjonalismeforskningen", in (ed.): *Kyrka og nationalisme i Norden.* Brohed. p. 26
[111] Kedourie, E (1966): *Nationalism.* The Anchor Press. p. 38

The importance of the group as opposed to the individual and the emergence of national identity prepared the way for the ideologies of ethnic separation and racial purity.[112]

This Primordial understanding of the nation was severely questioned at the beginning of 20th century.[113] Three modernists can contribute to our understanding of the complex web of circumstances that lies behind the construction of what Hobsbawm calls a *Nation,* Anderson a *community,* and Brass an *ethnic group.* The Modern paradigm questioned the eternal character of the nation. Instead the nation was now seen as the result of a deliberate construct by elites within a particular cultural setting.

The political constructivist Eric Hobsbawm thus understands the nation as *invented. Invented traditions* are defined as:

> ...a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.[114]

Invented traditions are, according to Hobsbawm, used by an elite to control the rapid changes of society and manage the influx of enfranchised citizens into the political arena.[115] Elitists, utilising the invented traditions by social engineering, make nations. Ethnicity, language, race and culture

[112] Özkirimli, U (2000): *Theories of Nationalism – a critical introductionon.* Basingstoke, Palgrave. p. 19
[113] Smith, A (1998): *Nationalism and Modernism – a critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism.* p. 16
[114] Hobsbawm, E & Ranger, T (1983): *The Invention of Traditions.* Cambridge University Press. pf. 1-2
[115] Hobsbawm, E & Ranger, T (1983): *The Invention of Traditions.* pf. 263

are only of importance insofar as there is a visible physical difference that constitutes a means to *the other.*[116] Modern nationalism has, according to Hobsbawm, lost its traditional aim of state-making and economic forming functions to *Ethno-Linguistic* nationalism. The aim of today's ethno-linguistic nationalism is different: "The call of ethnicity or language provides no guidance to the future at all. It is merely a protest against the status quo or, more precisely, against the "other" who threatens the ethnically defined group".[117]

Benedict Anderson's definition of a nation immediately illustrates his theory: "It is an imagined political community – and imagined as both limited and sovereign".[118] Anderson puts great importance on the same cultural traditions that Hobsbawm largely dismissed. The construction of nations in Europe was, according to Anderson, the result of a vernacular intelligentsia's wish to promote the vernacular through grammars, dictionaries, etc., at the same time creating national history and laying the grounds for a growing national consciousness. The community, according to Anderson, is imagined because most of its members will never meet, hear or speak to most of their fellow-members. They *imagine* being part of the same community.[119] Regardless of the inequalities in the community, the nation is always conceived as a horizontal comradeship. According to Anderson it was the discovery of print Capitalism that enabled people to imagine a sense of shared community, beyond their experience.

[116] Hobsbawm, E (1990): *Nations and Nationalism since 1780 – programme, myth, reality.* Cambridge University Press. pf. 116.
[117] Hobsbawn, E (1990): *Nations and Nationalism since 1780 – programme, myth, reality.* p. 116
[118] Anderson, B (1991): *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism.* New York. Verso. p. 15.
[119] Anderson, B (1991): *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism.* pf. 16

Another modernist, Paul Brass, emphasises the *creation* of *ethnic identities* as the foundation for the construction of the nation. Brass, like Hobsbawm, is a political constructivist, but his emphasis on ethnicity distinguishes him from Hobsbawm. Like Anderson, Brass highlights the importance of symbols and cultural traditions. But while Hobsbawm believes them to be invented, Brass takes traditions for granted and stresses instead their availability and usefulness for elites in society. The ethnic identity is selected by elites within society by means of symbolic and cultural traditions that can serve their political purpose, namely the mobilisation of an ethnic nationalism.[120] Brass uses De Vos' definition of ethnicity as consisting of "subjective, symbolic or emblematic use" by "a group of people...of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups".[121] In the usage of symbols, a group can be understood as a subjective and self-conscious community, able to establish criteria for both excluding and including people.[122] Religion and language are symbols that can be used in the process of bringing the group together, but they are not a necessity. Brass' main point is that ethnicities selected by elites utilising the symbols of the ethnic group, and in competition with each other, can develop a status of nationality and a process of nationalism.

The three Modernist share the view of the origin of the nation as something constructed. Yet during the last couple of decades the Modern view of the origin of the nation has been challenged by the so-called Post-Modern paradigm. The Post-Modern paradigm proposes that the nation is at one and the same time the result of both a construct and a tradition of shared ties and culture.[123] However the Post-Modern paradigm has not only challenged the constructivist part of the Modern

[120] Brass, P (1991): *Ethnicity and Nationalism – Theory and comparison.* New Delhi, Newbury Park, Calif. Sage. p. 8
[121] Brass, P (1991): *Ethnicity and Nationalism – Theory and comparison.* pf. 19
[122] Brass, P (1991): *Ethnicity and Nationalism – Theory and comparison.* pf. 19
[123] This to some extent places Brass closer to the Post-Modern tradition in his analysis of the origin of the nation.

paradigm. It has also criticised the Modern paradigm for being, in essence, gender blind and euro-centric. This criticism challenges the great meta-narrative of nationalism. Post-Modernism has created space for a new understanding of the nature of the nation, embracing society with new structures.[124]

Let us look at the various Post-Modern theories, beginning with the *Ethno-Symbolic* theory. In sum the Ethno-Symbolic perspective focuses on the role of pre-existent ethnic ties and sentiments in the formation of the modern nation and the durability of these ties to limit the attempts by elites to forge the nation. The supporters of ethno-symbolism accuse the Modernist of overlooking the pre-existence of earlier myths, symbols, values and memories in the nation. This means that the context of ethnic ties must be taken into consideration when we speak of the rise of a nation.[125]

Ethno-symbolism differs somewhat from the general post-modernistic response. The British theologian Adrian Hastings can be viewed as a bridge between the modernistic and post-modernistic understanding of the nation. Hastings finds only one answer to the origin of nations: "The answer can only be, I argue, out of certain ethnicities, affected by the literary development of a vernacular and the pressure of the state".[126] Using England as an example, Hastings argues that the emerging of nations can be detected long before the 19th century. This statement immediately places Hastings apart from the mainstream Modernists, who share the opinion that the modern understanding of nation and nationalism is only to be found from the 19th century onwards.[127] Hastings, like Anderson, proclaims language to be one of the main factors of the identity of a

[124] Özkirimli, U (2000): *Theories of Nationalism – a critical introduction.* p. 168
[125] Özkirimli, U (2000): *Theories of Nationalism – a critical introduction.* pf. 61+167
[126] Hastings, A (1997): *The Construction of Nationhood – Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism.* Cambridge University Press. p. 11
[127] Well-known examples would be: Kedourie, E; Gellner, E; Hobsbawn, E.

nation, but Hastings also points to the importance of oral literature and to the Bible as main catalysts of the development of nations.[128] The oral literature and the familiarity with one vernacular within the ethnic group both served the purpose of an already presupposed ethnic structure of a population group and thereby also functioned as a foundation for the translation of the Bible into the shared language of the existing group. The translation in concert with the liturgical use of the translated Bible had a strong nationalising effect on the formation of the British people. The Reformation cleared the way for the usage of local lingua, thus helping along the nationalisation of England and other West-European countries. Yet what is also of great importance for Hastings is the frequent use of the word *nation* in the English Bible. Hastings argues that the word itself in the 14th century already had a modern connotation similar to our understanding. Furthermore he draws our attention to the image of Israel in the Bible as a model of what it means to be a nation – a mirror of national-self-imagination.[129] Consequently language becomes a catalyst of national and cultural identity. It is possible to view Hastings as a Modernist, as he sees the nations as constructed, yet his usages of the symbols and traditions also place him close to the *Ethno-symbolic* perspective.

Another post-modern scholar is Nira Yuval-Davis. Yuval-Davis' focus is on the role of gender and women in the formation of nationalism and nations, a matter of great importance for this thesis. The influence of a gender perspective and the role of Afrikaner women in the construction of Afrikaner identity have only been explored in a very limited manner. The research on the subject is nevertheless of great importance for the whole understanding of the Afrikaner identity. The aim for Yuval-Davis is twofold. Firstly, she draws our attention to the role of women in nationalism and

[128] Hastings, A (1997): *The Construction of Nationhood – Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism.* pf. 22
[129] Hastings, A (1997): *The Construction of Nationhood – Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism.* p. 18

secondly, as a result, to the general oppression of women in society. Using a deconstructive method she analyses the relationship between gender and nationalism, by means of ideological and symbolic modes, to show the reproduction role of women for the continuance of culture. Yuval-Davis states that the domain of society can be divided into two binary spheres, the public/private sphere and the civilized/natural sphere. When women appear to have been "hidden" from history, it has to do with the traditional understanding that women belong to the private/natural sphere and men to the public/civilized sphere.[130] Yuval-Davis argues that the division between public and private is fictional and that it has often been used to exclude women from public rights and individual freedom. Women are placed in the "natural" private domain along with the children who are not yet social beings. This union between "womenandchildren" safely anchors women in the private domain.[131] In spite of this domestication of women, or perhaps because of it, women's reproductive roles play a great part in upholding and maintaining the ethnic and national discourse. The woman becomes central exactly via her "natural" status:

> The central importance of women's reproductive roles in ethnic and national discourses becomes apparent when one considers that, given the central role that the myth (or reality) of "common origin" plays in the construction of most ethnical and national collectiveness, one usually joins the collectivity by being born into it.[132]

This notion of common origin opens the door for the fusion of nationalism and racism. If a person is not born into the nation, it means that she or he can be excluded. The birth of a baby is much

[130] Yuval-Davis, N (1997): *Gender and Nation.* London, Sage. pf. 2-5. In combining women and children into one word *womenandchildren* Yuval-Davis wishes to emphasize the "private" and subordinate position of women.
[131] Yuval-Davis, N (1997): *Gender and Nation.* chapter 1
[132] Yuval-Davis, N (1997): *Gender and Nation.* p. 26

more than a biological event. She or he is a new member of the nation, and the mother the bearer of national collectivity.

Mary Douglas' *Enclave Theory*

The Enclave theory proposed by the anthropologist Mary Douglas presents a useful model for applying the theories of the development of nations to the context of our case. When trying to understand the formative years of the Afrikaner identity, the enclave theory together with an organic *inside* perspective proves useful. However if we change the perspective to a constructivist *outside* perspective, the development of the *nation* comes into sight. Douglas' enclave model, together with a post-modern reading of our case, provides a sharper insight into the double position and role played by women in the formation of the Afrikaner identity.

In her book *In the Wilderness - The doctrine of Defilement in the book of Numbers*, Douglas uses cultural theory to describe the formation of the Jewish people as an enclave in opposition to the surrounding world. Douglas uses the word *enclave* instead of sect in order to come closer to a more modern understanding of this phenomenon. An enclave, meaning *commune* or a closed society, as used in this thesis, is usually formed by a dissenting minority developing a social unit maintaining strong boundaries. But what is of particular interest are the religious claims of a cultural enclave.[133] Douglas describes the interactions and context in which the cultural and religious claims in the enclave are negotiated:

> An enclave community can be recognized and described. It is not mysterious nor unique. It starts in characteristic situations and faces characteristic problems. These invite specific

[133] Douglas, M (1993): *In the Wilderness – The Doctrine of defilement in the Book of Numbers.* pf. 45-49

solutions, the institutions in which the solutions are tried call forth a specific type of spirituality. The religion offers a reasonable response to dilemmas facing individuals. [134]

The enclave will not usually have access to the resources and decision making of the main community and will differ in its perception from that of the main population group(s). Whatever differences set the enclave apart, the apartness reinforces itself. This causes anxiety about the potential loss of members, and mixed marriages will result in severe stress, endangering the purity of the enclave. The sectarian behaviour of an enclave is typically based on mutual distrust and a absence of authority. As the enclave holds no power over its members, the only control that can be exerted is moral persuasion. Further, according to Douglas, an enclave tends to be egalitarian. This however does not mean that there are no leaders. [135]

An Organic/inside perspective of the formation of the Afrikaner identity.

The Organic (Essentialist) understanding of the nation lies very close to the mechanisms of the enclave theory. The civil religious beliefs of the Afrikaner can be said to be synonymous with the religious claims of the enclave. This is so both via the Afrikaners identification with the people of Israel and via the culturally exclusive nature of these beliefs. Using an inside perspective, the Boer/Afrikaners believed their "nation" to be given to them as part of the covenant at Blood River. *The Century of Wrong* was for the Afrikaners a revelation period. They were years of trial during which God tested them as he previously tested the nation of Israel in the wilderness. As a response to the different conflicts with Africans and British, Afrikaner identity was formed both naturally and by divine ordination. The nation in this way became sacrosanct in itself, and the struggle of its members a religious battle to uphold the rightful laws of God. As the Afrikaner enclave established

[134] Douglas, M (1993): *In the Wilderness – The Doctrine of defilement in the Book of Numbers.* p. 49
[135] Douglas, M (1993): *In the Wilderness – The Doctrine of defilement in the Book of Numbers.* pf. 51-53

itself, the formation of strong cultural and racial barriers defined the relation to *the other,* i.e. anybody outside the established order of the enclave. *The other* in this way not only became the opposite cultural *other* from which the identity of the Afrikaner was clarified, but it also became a threat to the racial purity of the divine nation.

A Constructivist/outside perspective of the Afrikaner identity.

Understanding the nation as a construct changes the perspective from an inside to an outside. From an outside perspective the Afrikaner culture was a construct that began with the establishment of the first language movement, and developed along with various cultural organisations. The effort to frame the diverse culture of the Afrikaner population into a distinct Afrikaner identity was the collective aim of a small but committed elitist group consisting mainly of ministers, politicians and schoolteachers. By using the existing cultural and religious commonalities within the larger group, the so-called cultural entrepreneurs constructed the memory of an *imagined community* built upon civil religious beliefs of a shared history. The identity of the Afrikaner grew out of these *invented traditions.* The construction followed the traditional lines of the Modernistic paradigm through the establishment of a refined vernacular and literature in Afrikaans. The importance of poetry, prose fiction, music, etc. which both Anderson and Hasting emphasize, all played a part in the creation of a frame for the Afrikaner enclave. The egalitarian nature of the enclave was the horizontal comradeship of Anderson's *imagined community.*

Although Afrikaner identity from this perspective is to be understood as a construct, the *Ethno-Symbolic* line that lies somewhere between the Modern and the Post-Modern paradigm must not be ruled out. The ties of kinship, ethnicity, religious background and tradition also played a part in the

formation of the Afrikaner nation in the form of *civil religious* beliefs, as will be described shortly. There should be little doubt that the usage of civil religious beliefs was a deliberate measure to construct the Afrikaner identity. However the Ethno-Symbolic theory would argue that this construct built upon an already existing set of civil religious beliefs. It was precisely on these ties that the elites built the Afrikaner enclave in opposition to *the other*, whether in the form of the African or the British. *The other* was designed to be in opposition to Afrikaner culture. As Brass pointed out, ethnicities, are constructed in order to "... differentiate themselves from other groups ...", in order to "... create internal cohesion".[136]

A Post-Modern analysis of the role of women in the construction of Afrikaner identity.

A Post-Modern analysis of the formation of Afrikaner identity points to the double role of Afrikaner women in Afrikans culture. Douglas' scriptural based analysis adds an interesting point to the position of women in the development of national identity. Douglas perceives the women described in the Old Testament as a symbol for Israel itself. Drawing on the work of Milgrom, using of the image of the unfaithful wife as a symbol of Israel's infidelity to God, Douglas elaborates on this subject. Portraying Israel through the unnamed women in Numbers, she provides an insight both into the subversive role of women in the Old Testament and to the understanding of Jewish enclave culture of the time. Through her analysis of the role of women, Douglas reads Numbers chapter 30 as if it concerned the laws, not of a woman's vows, but the vows of Israel "herself".[137]

[136] Brass, P (1991): *Ethnicity and Nationalism – Theory and comparison.* p. 19
[137] Douglas, M (1993): *In the Wilderness – The Doctrine of defilement in the Book of Numbers.* p. 171

This use of women as symbols of nations is most interesting and creates a whole new perspective for understanding the theories concerning nationalism. If we first look at Hastings' theory of the Bible as having played a part in the formation of culture, the notion of a woman portraying *The Nation* places women in a new and potentially powerful position in culture. Yet the role of women is dual. If we combine Hastings' and Douglas' theories this means that the usages of the Bible in its "national" vernacular has meant that women are not only seen as the potential upholders and/or symbols of the nation, but also, since they were considered the property of men, that their defilement has also meant the defilement of the nation. This view would again put pressure on women to behave according to the wish of men. Defilement, one of the main subjects in Douglas´ book, is in fact a reality to all women whether they consciously symbolise a nation or not, keeping them subordinate to men in every part of the world. As Yuval-Davis points out, rape of women during the war in former Yugoslavia was a tool of degrading not only the woman, but also the nation itself.[138]

If we consider the large numbers of women and children who died in the British KZ-camps during the Anglo-Boer-war, then we can understand the huge role the position of women played in shaping for Afrikaner nationalism. Looking back at Yuval-Davis and the role of women as the producers and maintainers of nationalism, this adds an extra point to Douglas' perspective. Combining the two perspectives, women are given a double role in society. They are the producers and upholders of culture and the nation, and at the same time, they not only portray the nation, they *are* the nation. When the men of the nation go to war for their country, they do it to protect the "womenandchildren", that is, the present and future nation. In the analysis of the role of women in Afrikaner culture these perspectives are of great value.

[138] Yuval-Davis, N (1997): *Gender and Nation.* pf. 26

In spite of the later construction of the almost sacred ideal of the *Volksmoeder,* Christina Landman showed how the traditionally inferior positioning of Afrikaner women placed them firmly in the private sphere, detaching them from both their husbands and the "cultural" sphere. This in many cases led them to form a relationship with God based on self-hatred and guilt, leading to a strongly inward pietistic belief pattern. The subordinate and separated position of these women came to foster a basic mistrust not only towards other women within the Afrikaner community, but also towards anybody outside the community. This reinforced the oppositional character of Afrikaner identity from a female perspective. Both through the work of the Afrikaner woman, mainly in Christian organisations, and through their role as "carriers of the nation", this mistrust became part of Afrikaner identity.

However although we recognise the dual role of Afrikaner women in the development of Afrikaner identity as a oppositional identity, this must not divert attention from the fact that the women themselves were seen as *the other* within the gender structures of the larger cultural group. The development of a number of *others* in Afrikaner culture, as a result of the subordinate position to the British, was repeated in the identity of Afrikaner women. As the women were subordinated and objectified within their own cultural community, they repeated the mechanisms of their cultural group and themselves created a number of *others* in line with the national project.

Evaluation of the relationship between the development of cultural identity and *the other.*

Although culture is a collective term, it consists of a number of individuals in constant interaction with each other. The interdependent relationship between the individual and its surrounding community places the responsibility of relationships between the individual and the *cultural other* on each individual within the collective community. The identity of the cultural individual will always be established in the encounter with the *cultural other*. This means both that the identity of a person is in constant remaking, and that the development of identity is shifting according to interpretations of the context. Yet this interpretation will always be dependant on both wider cultural narrative and personal narrative. Thus the nature of relationship to the *cultural other* is determined by context. This influences the equal nature of our relationship to *the other.*

Although the nature of the relationship between the cultural *I* and *You* will be one of interdependence, it will however always remain a *subject-object* relationship. Although the two people might, from their own perspectives, encounter each other as two *I's,* the perception of *the other* can never be that of another *I*. The cultural *You* will remain a *You* and therefore always an *object* to the *I*. Yet this claim, I believe, would be contested by Ricoeur. He would hold on to the assumption that, as we ourselves are narrated by our actions, so would *the other* and so we could narrate *the other* as an equal. This interdependent relationship between *the I* and *the You*, lies closer to the identity of a Christian than that of a cultural identity, as the second part of this chapter will argue. Yet even if Ricoeur's theory comes closer to the definition of Christian identity, I believe the position of *the other* still differentiates the two. The interdependent nature of Ricoeur's argument does not address *the other* in its position of *difference* and *otherness.* If we follow

Ricoeur's argument, this would mean that the responsibility of placing the *You* in the position of a equal as another *I,* alone rests on the actions of the *I.* Although we through our actions create the identity of *the other* and *ourselves* simultaneously, we do not necessarily create *the other* as an equal *subject.* The problem lies in the ability to create *the other* as an equal subject at the same time as we ourselves are narrated. This thesis differs from Ricoeur's theory in the belief that the definition of the *I* rests not only on the *I* itself, but is equally developed though the claim of the *You* as an equal *subject,* as *I* meet the difference of *You.* Furthermore this can only happen if we meet *the other* through the claims of God. To this we shall return in chapter four.

Our own narratives are dependant on both our personal and cultural backgrounds. The narrative we therefore "choose" to identify with is an interpretation of our own identity. The dilemma lies in the word "choose". As we have looked at the development and construction of culture and nationalities, "our" narrative and identity may well be the result of a construct, whether this builds on pre-existing or invented traditions. This claim is of vital importance. As cultures in this respect can be constructed so can the identity of *the other,* and so these constructed identities can become part of an "artificial" construct, as was the case in the enclave community of the Afrikaners. Yuval-Davis' perspective is very helpful in pointing out how race and gender are part of this construct. The separation of the discourses between gender and sex is thus of great importance in preventing biology being constructed as a destiny in the political and moral discourse of society.[139]

The understanding and construction of *the other* as an opposite from which to define one's own identity, whether from a racial, gender or cultural perspective, will therefore always make *the other* an object, thereby placing *the other* in danger of having an inferior status.

[139] Yuval-Davis, N (1997): *Gender and Nation.* p. 9

An Excurses of Afrikaner Civil Religion and National Consciousness

As indicated in the first chapter, the *religious other,* as typified by Roman Catholicism, played an important role in defining Afrikaner identity. It was difficult to be a true Afrikaner – a *ware* Afrikaner, and a Roman Catholic at the same time. In the next chapter we will examine more explicitly the role of the Dutch Reformed Church in defining Afrikaner identity and in constructing Afrikaner culture. Yet there is an intermediate step that needs to be taken that links our discussion of religion in chapter one, with our discussion of "the nation" in chapter two, and the role of the DRC in chapter three. That is the purpose of this brief excurses of Afrikaner civil religion, a topic that has been highly debated since it was first formulated in this way, but one that still retains sufficient validity in developing our thesis. Afrikaner civil religion is not the same as Afrikaner Christianity as represented by the DRC and the Calvinist tradition. The term is rather a description of an ideology that emerged in the process of establishing and consolidating Afrikaner hegemony in South Africa, using resources drawn from Kuyperian neo-Calvinism and Fichtean Romanticism. In this excurses we will briefly examine this notion of Afrikaner civil religion, though leaving a fuller discussion of neo-Calvinism to the next chapter. Our purpose is to show how the development of Afrikaner identity as central to the awakening of a national consciousness and project, took on a character of a religious ideology; that is, it was divinely destined.

Afrikaner nationalism to a large extent grew out the interactions between the Boer and the British. The ties between the Cape Afrikaners and the Republics had strengthened, and out of that strength created collective history of one *Volk* came alive. As de Gruchy says "A defeated people need an interpretation of their history, a mythos, which can enable them to discover significance in what

has happened to them."[140] This mythos was constructed around civil-religious beliefs with strong Old Testament motifs. These beliefs became fundamental for future Afrikaner self-identification and Afrikaner nationalism, to an extent that the victory of the National Party in 1948 could be seen as a triumph for the organic beliefs of the *Volk* as a chosen people.[141]

The so-called *Afrikaner civil religion* became the religious foundation on which the struggle for Afrikaner culture was built. By giving the cultural struggle a religious dimension, the Afrikaners saw their struggle divinely supported. The construction of a distinct ethnicity was sanctioned by the Lord. This not only gave them freedom and strength in their efforts to fight against the British liberal policies and anglicisation attempts, but at the same time legitimised the perception of the Afrikaners as a superior *Volk* above both British and "people of colour".[142]

That this religiousness was the effect of a construct taking its beginning in S J du Toit's language movements and in time becoming the adopted child of the DRC, did not change the organic belief at the time in a "holy nation" divinely given to the Afrikaners. *Afrikaner Civil Religion,* later becoming an essential part of the concept of *Christian-Nationalism* being the "Christian" foundation for the segregationist policy of Apartheid, has for at least twenty years inspired a debate concerning the root and history of Afrikaner religiousness. The debate concerning the religiousness of the early Boer and possible impact of Calvinist influence amongst them still goes

[140] De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa.* p. 29

[141] Lategan, B (2004): "Preparing and keeping the Mindset Intact – Reasons and Forms of a Theology of the Status Quo", in (eds.) Weisse, W & Anthonissen. C: *Maintaining Apartheid or Promoting Change? The Role of the Dutch Reformed Church in a phase of increasing conflict in South Africa*, in Religion and Society in Transition. Vol. 5. Waxmann. p. 59

[142] The earliest stage of a civil-religious interpretation of the relationship between "whites" and "people of colour" was the belief amongst more conservative Boer in the "black" people as the descendents of Ham (Gen. 9:18-27). As descendents of Ham, "people of colour" were cursed to be the slaves of Shem and Japheth's descendents. The Drakensberg church council made mention of this belief in 1703. This understanding was especially common in the *Dopper* church. Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 7

on. This debate will not be analysed in detail and only described in so far as it relates to this project, as is the case with the latest attempt given by Giliomee.[143] The argument, centred on the so-called *Calvinistic Paradigm,* claims that the civil-religious beliefs of the early Boer of the 20th century had its roots in Calvinism. These civil-religious beliefs led the Afrikaners to understand themselves as a *Chosen People* called by God to civilize and Christianise the heathens of Africa. Identifying with the chosen people of Israel, they interpreted their history in the light of the biblical story, with the Judeo-Christian God taking part in every detail of the Afrikaner struggle.[144] Linking this civil-religious line of beliefs with the Calvinist doctrine of election and predestination, the past history of the Afrikaners was now identified as being a trial period as Gods chosen people.[145]

The debate initially begun by André du Toit in 1983 in his critique of, amongst others, Dunbar Moodie's "*The Rise of Afrikanerdom – Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*", concerns the claim of the Calvinist roots of Afrikanerdom. Both du Toit and Moodie agree that the constructed result of an intellectual elite drawing on Paul Kruger's civil-religious interpretations of the Afrikaner past, in the form of *Christian-Nationalism,* with strong Neo-Calvinistic tendencies, only came to the surface after the Anglo-Boer war. However even in the 1980's it seems that the debate did not clearly distinguish between *civil-religious* beliefs and *the Calvinist Paradigm.* The dismissal of The Calvinist roots of civil-religion does not automatically dismiss traces of a civil-religiosity amongst the early Boer and their self-perception as a chosen people.[146] Giliomee agrees

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[143] Giliomee, H (2003): *The Dutch Reformed Church and Chosen People: the dynamics of the rise and decline of Apartheid.* Unpublished conference paper from: The DRC and Transition in South Africa, University of Hamburg in co-operation with University of Stellenbosch, 2003. No page no.
[144] Moodie, D (1980): *The Rise of Afrikanerdom – Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion.* pf. 1-22
[145] Bosch, D (1984): "The Roots and Fruits of Afrikaner civil religion", in (eds.) Hofmeyr, J & Vorster, W: "*New Faces in Africa.* Sigma Press. pf. 30
[146] De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa.* p. 20 & Shutte, G (1989): "Afrikaner Historiography and the Decline of Apartheid: ethnic self-re-construction in times of crisis, in (eds.) Tonkin, E et al.: *History and Ethnicity.* Routledge. p. 221

with the possibility of an early civil-religion, amongst the early Boer, without the above distinction. He stresses the ongoing importance of this question in order to determine if there was indeed a connection between religion and nationalism amongst this group. According to Giliomee, from the early days of the Cape colony there certainly was a belief in an omnipotent God, defined through different variants of Calvinism, who was in a covenant relation to *his people* through the ritual of baptism.[147] This covenant meant that children still in their mothers womb were already considered saved as they would be "born Christians", a thought also present in Anne Steenkamp's reasons for leaving the Cape during the Great Trek.[148] Therefore Giliomee cannot fully agree with du Toit that "Afrikaner nationalism is less the product of its unique cultural roots than the ideological labours of modernising elite".[149] This is an important point. If we agree with Giliomee, two things become apparent. Firstly, if the foundation of Afrikaner culture, even before the work of the cultural entrepreneurs, was indeed built upon an already existing belief of "chosen-ness", and if the common denominator of that fragmented group was a shared religious belief of being elect, then this may have a profound effect on the rehabilitation and re-construction of today's shattered identity of the Afrikaners. However Giliomee may have a second agenda. He writes:

> Apartheid as a policy was not the product of Kuyperian ideas applied to the racial problem or a manifestation of the Afrikaners' civil religion. It was rather a response to

[147] Giliomee, H (2003): *The Dutch Reformed Church and Chosen People: the dynamics of the rise and decline of Apartheid.* No page no.

[148] Gestener, J (1997), describes in greater detail the relationship between the Reformed tradition and *Covenant Theology,* in:" A Christian Monopoly: the Reformed Church and Colonial Society under Dutch Rule" in (eds.) Elpick, D & Davenport, R: *Christianity in South Africa,* A Political, Social & Cultural History. David Philip. pf. 18

[149] Du Toit, A (1983): "No Chosen people: The Myth of Calvinist Origins of Afrikaner Nationalism And Racial Ideology". *The American Historical Review.* Vol. 88(4) p. 952

some practical problems confronting both Malan's NP and the Afrikaner churches by the mid-1930s.[150]

By disconnecting the civil-religious beliefs from the work of the elitist efforts of the cultural entrepreneurs that lead to Apartheid, Giliomee implies that Apartheid was not the final result of the ongoing struggle of the Afrikaner people from the beginning to the victory in 1948 and onwards. Thereby he tries to restore the essential Afrikaner culture without the weight of the Apartheid era on its shoulders. Giliomee's argument does not however free the DRC from its responsibility. The essential role the DRC played for the construction of Afrikaner identity and culture challenges Giliomee's argument, a point that will be raised at a later stage in this thesis.

In support of both du Toit and Moodie, the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism certainly was a construct initiated by a small group around Paarl, and later a cooperative with Kruger's religious nationalism. However it is reasonable to believe with Moodie and Giliomee, as already stated, that not only was this built upon some already existing, yet unstructured, civil religious beliefs, inspired by the harsh living conditions of the Boer's, but also that some Calvinist influence was present.

But the question remains, what nurtured this civil-religious development in Afrikaner culture and what made it so important for the rise of Afrikaner nationalism? This question is of great importance partly because of the civil-religious influence on *Christian* nationalism and the Apartheid ideology and partly for the present day self definition of the Afrikaner identity. The civil-religious influence on the DRC will be dealt with shortly. In his famous article "*The roots*

[150]Giliomee, H (2003): *The Dutch Reformed Church and Chosen People: The dynamics of the rise and decline of Apartheid.* No page no.

and fruit of Afrikaner civil-religion", David Bosch lists three major forces that influenced the growing civil-religious self-identification of Afrikaner culture: Reformed Pietism, Neo-Calvinism and Neo-Fichtean Romantic Nationalism.

The pietism of South Africa was from the beginning influenced by the evangelistic theology of Holland, which was in a sense a combination of pietism and Calvinist orthodoxy. However the link between English and Dutch pietism is close and both influenced the pietism of The Cape. When the English Puritans fled England to avoid persecution, many moved to The Netherlands. The two pillars of English Puritan theology were the sovereignty of God in his divine election, and human response to this divine election and covenant by a life of devotion and practical piety in which the law of God was applied in every human condition[151]. Furthermore this theology represented an almost aggressive Protestantism emphasising a rigid adherence of the Bible, a persistence of the need for a profound experience of salvation and finally an ethical code hovering in the vicinity of perfection.[152] The Scottish ministers brought to South Africa as part of Gov. Somerset's strategy to anglicise the DRC from within came with an orthodox pietism close to the existing one, ruling out any influence from liberal theology in the Cape.[153] With Andrew Murray junior as one of the most influential theologians in the pietistic tradition, pietism became one of the key influences of the DRC with its future status as *Volkskerk* for the Afrikaners.

The Neo-Calvinist influence on existing civil-religious beliefs became highly influential for future policy of segregation in South Africa. The theological influence on the DRC will be described in

[151] Durand, J (2002): "Secularism, Pluralism, and the Afrikaner Churches in the 21st Century", in (eds.) Holness, L & Wüstenberg, R: *Theology in dialogue, The Impact of the Arts, Humanities & Science on Contemporary Religious Thought.* David Philip. p. 181
[152] Durand, J (2002): "Secularism, Pluralism, and the Afrikaner Churches in the 21st Century". p. 181
[153] Bosch, D (1984): "The Roots and Fruits of Afrikaner civil religion". pf. 25

detail at a later stage in the thesis. Sufficient to say now is that this theology had at an early stage a considerable influence on the formation of Afrikaans society and on Afrikaner civil-religion. On South African soil, S. J. du Toit, in his efforts to *call* the Afrikaners to become a nation, was one of the first to use what later became known under the name of neo-Calvinism, namely the Calvinism of Groen van Prinsterer and Abraham Kuyper. The dictum of Groen van Prinsterer "In isolation lies our strength" was in the South African context, and contrary to Kuypers usage, used to endorse the motivation of a separate Afrikaans culture.[154] Du Toit's attempts were one of few attempts at the time but illustrate what was to come only a few decades later. What was new in du Toit's efforts to awaken a national spirit in the Afrikaners was the combination of political and religious thinking in his writings inspired by Kuyper. The emphasis on the *calling* of *our* people, especially the Hollanders and the Huguenots, the ruling out of any form of *gelijkstelling* between masters and servants and the comparison between the Old Testament nation of Israel and the Afrikans "nation" later became well known in South Africa but was at the time a new perspective. Systematically du Toit under-girded all political statements with scriptural quotations. Du Toit's *Christian Nationalism* was a civil-religious product born out of Kuyper's Calvinistic ideology. However this nationalism was exclusive, as all nationalism is; not for all Christians, as one may have assumed, but exclusively for the Afrikaners. Segregating the Afrikaners under NP rule led to the way of thinking of each culture as a separate nation. In the civil religion of the Afrikaners the neo-Calvinist thinking of Kuyper and Afrikaner nationalism became two sides of the same coin.

The third major influence came from Germany and the ideas of Neo-Fictean Romantic nationalism. Fichtean organic ideas concerning the purity of the German people depended on the

[154] Shutte, G (1989): "Afrikaner Historiography and the Decline of Apartheid: ethnic self-re-construction in times of crisis", & De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. Kuyper's usage of this slogan was meant for the isolation of a religious group fostering a specific worldview.

essential and unifying character of language. The essence of national-romanticism is the understanding of *the people* as an essential community, bound together by blood, soil, language, culture, state and tradition, and above all by a common past, present and future. As shown in the quote by Dr. Piet Meyer written in 1941 in a paper entitled "*Die vooraand van ons vrywording*", these ideas, adopted and transformed into a South African context, supplemented the traditional civil-religious ideas of a Chosen people, referring to "... the natural leader of the people, called by God and endowed with the necessary authority to rule the people according to Gods will..."[155] The purest manifestation of the people was to be found in nationalism. The secret semi-military Ossewa-Brandwag and the AB were two of the movements adopting this view and working for a South Africa under Afrikaans rule with the authority of God. Afrikaner politics were being theologized. The members of the AB were educated men, slowly but surely steering the steps of Afrikaner nationalism towards a policy of "South Africa for the Afrikaners". Under their rule a growing need to overthrow the British yoke and fight the threats from the large number of "blacks" gained ground. AB members like Dr. D F Malan, Dr. H Verwoerd, Dr. N Diederichs, Dr. Meyer and Dr. Geoff Cronjé later became the pioneers for the development of the NP[156]. Although different sections of the Afrikaner national movements were more or less strict in their essentialist ideas, the slogan *South Africa for the Afrikaners* was in large descriptive for the way of thinking that would come to dominate South African politics in the decades to come.[157]

The three influences on the Afrikaner civil-religion came from as different places as Scotland, Holland and Germany, but what they all had in common was the way all three ideas were transformed to fit the social and historical reality of South Africa. What made the Afrikaner civil

[155] Bosch, D (1984): "The Roots and Fruits of Afrikaner civil religion". p. 30
[156] De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa.* p. 33
[157] Bosch, D (1984): "The Roots and Fruits of Afrikaner civil religion". p. 30

religion so powerful and important for the awakening of Afrikaner nationalism was its essential character of segregation, eventually leading to the Apartheid policy. As Durand puts it, the concept of Afrikaner civil-religion was important insofar

> ... as it provided the theoretical and ideological basis for a political strategy to deal with the problem of pluralism and, in the second place, it developed into a very powerful social substratum which underpinned the notion that South Africa was a Christian country and which kept the South African "public square" from being secularised and empty.[158]

The perception of the Christian nature of South Africa pre-1994 is still shared by some Afrikaners today. What needs to be asked later in this project is what influence the civil religion has had on the essential character of Afrikaner cultural and Christian identity.

The fight against the British, the awakening of Afrikaner nationalism and the following mobilisation of a unique Afrikaner culture and identity, not only in opposition to British culture but in opposition to any cultural difference, must be taken into account in order to fully comprehend the relationship between Afrikaners and *non-Afrikaners* in the years to follow. They may have lost the war with the British but the vision of "the promised" land was more alive than ever, nurtured by the expanding civil religion. Nevertheless, in spite of Giliomee's analysis of the influence of these beliefs on the development of Apartheid, it must further be stated that the influence from neo-Calvinist thinking also had a profound effect in structuring these beliefs into the ideology of *Christian-Nationalism.* The civil-religious beliefs were formative for Afrikaners identity. The *laager*-mentality of the early Trekkers was given a religious platform. The document

[158] Durand, J (2002): "Secularism, Pluralism, and the Afrikaner Churches in the 21st Century". p. 182

Eene eeuw van ontrecht (A century of wrong), put together at the eve of the war by Transvaal members of Foreign Affairs, was not a typical nationalistic document but illustrated the growing civil religion. The content of the document was descriptive of the religio-political thinking typical for the period. Focusing mainly on the injustice done to the Afrikaners by the British, the document symbolises the revelation period in Afrikaner civil religion.[159] One hundred years of trials was the time the Afrikaners had to prove they were worthy of being a chosen people.[160]

After years of negotiations the British and the Afrikaners agreed to disagree in peace within the united country. In meeting the demands of the Afrikaner republics the British left the "black" voices largely unheard and the seeds of an institutional segregation were sown. De Gruchy, quoting the *Oxford History of South Africa* makes this clear: "The price of unity and conciliation was the institutionalization of white supremacy".[161] In 1910 the first Parliament of the Union of South Africa convened in Cape Town. The years after 1910 were years of struggle for the Afrikaner *Volk* still dominated by a foreign government but under different circumstances. Until 1948 the Afrikaner strived to form a cultural core and gain political terrain. But the Afrikaners

[159] Bosch, D (1984): "The Roots and Fruits of Afrikaner civil religion". p. 22

[160] Moodie, D (1975): *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*. This religious and highly emotional perception of past and present grew in the post-war years nurtured by the usage of literature in Afrikaans. One genre was the *Plaasroman*. This romantic tinted genre with the description of the ongoing struggle of the Boer tilling his/her land never ceases to point out the ontological concerns of the Boer. Yet poetry in particular had a large influence. Authors like C L Leipoldt, J Celliers and above all Totius, the son of S J du Toit fostered the notion of the Afrikaners as the suffering and wronged people. Suffering, but at the same time a people as strong as the *besembos* and almost impossible to exterminate. In these poems the events of the *Voortrekkers* and the tragedies of the war were remembered and sanctified. The poems were a call for a national awakening and resistance against Anglicising attempts from the British. The Day of the Covenant (16th of December) became a "holy" day where the Afrikaners were taught to identify with the people at *The Battle of Blood River* or, one should rather say, with the mystic and religious events of the Battle. The Book published in 1936 by the legendary "woman who fought", the biography of Sarah Raal also nurtured the growing nationalism drawing on the battle between British and the Boer. This book *Met die Boere In Die Veld* illustrated the unjustifiable actions of the British not only on the battlefield but also against the Boer women and children seen through the eyes of the Sarah Raal, the "only" woman believed to have fought in the battle along with the Boer commandoes. The erection of the monuments, like the *Vooktrekker-monument* or the *Vroue-monument,* likewise came to function as a religious bond between the past and the present. Moodie, D(1975), Bosch, D.(1984), Raal, S (2000): *The Lady who Fought – A young woman's account of the Anglo-Boer War.* Stormberg Publishers.

[161] De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle of South Africa.* p. 27

were not united in the struggle for political power or in the search for the Afrikaner identity. The South African Party (SAP), lead by the former Boer generals Jan Smuts and Louis Botha, later known under the name United Party, had the support of many Afrikaners. Where the two parties differed was in the policy towards the British. The rift in the cultural movements between the conservative and liberal Afrikaners was mirrored in the political parties. While the SAP worked towards a united South Africa for British and Afrikaners, the NP believed that the only way to secure the distinct identity of the Afrikaners was to separate from the English-speaking population, as well as all "people of colour". The NP finally achieved victory in 1948 based on a policy of separation in order to secure the Afrikans language, tradition, religion and institutions.[162] The development of Afrikaner nationalism certainly was well underway in the first part of the 20th century.

[162] De Gruchy, J(2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa.* pf. 28

Chapter Three

The DRC and the construction of Afrikaner identity

As described in the previous two chapters, Afrikaner identity in its embryonic phase was constructed as a cultural identity in opposition to the identity and culture of *the other.* However one more factor came to play a vital role for the survival and furthering of the cultural construction of Afrikaner identity, namely the DRC. As Kinghorn points out:

> Only by including the perspective of religion can we understand those value judgements that led the Afrikaners to mobilize themselves so as to draw most South Africans, over most of the twentieth century, into the magnetic field of their politics.[163]

The role of the DRC in constructing Afrikaner identity was crucial. In this chapter we examine this claim in relation to the challenge presented by the *cultural others* as identified in chapter one. In order to do so we begin by examining the early establishment of the DRC at the Cape under the control of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). While initially the essential difference between "white" colonist and the indigenous population was demarcated in terms of religion (Christian/heathen), race soon became the key issue, especially after the emancipation of slaves. However, the conversion and baptism of indigenous people presented a serious challenge to the DRC which eventually lead to segregation being permitted in the Church in 1857. Increasingly it

[163] Kinghorn, J (1997): "Modernization and Apartheid: The Afrikaner Churches", in (eds.): Elpick, D and Davenport, R: *Christianity in South Africa, a Political, Social & Cultural History.* James Currey. p. 135

was argued that there could be no equality in the Church between "white" and "people of colour", thus laying the foundation for the policy of Apartheid.

The encounter with the British as the second *cultural other,* partly as a result of the British colonial policy of anglicisation and particularly because of the Anglo-Boer War, led the DRC to become deeply involved in the national project of the Afrikaners. This had several prongs. The first was providing a service to the victims of the war, understood primarily as Afrikaner *poor-whites*. This included ensuring that they and the Afrikaner population as a whole would become economically and socially advantaged, protected from the evils of racial mixing as this was understood. This meant building a Christian National identity with the DRC becoming in fact a *Volkskerk.* The second was the development of Afrikaans as a language for the *Volk.* The third was the appropriation of the neo-Calvinism of the Dutch theologian and statesman Abraham Kuyper as the theological basis for Afrikaner Christian Nationalism.

Although the influence and significance of neo-Calvinism in the formation of Afrikaner Nationalism has been contested, we argue that neo-Calvinism provided the ideological basis for leaders within the DRC, though not without considerable opposition, to give legitimacy to policies of segregation and eventually Apartheid. Neo-Calvinism, with its strongly anti-liberal and anti-ecumenical base and orientation, also became the platform on which the DRC was able to isolate itself from every *religious other* within South Africa.

The triumph of Afrikaner Nationalism supported by the DRC, first in the victory of the National Party in 1948 and then in the implementation of Apartheid over the next four decades, the

domination of all *cultural others* was being increasingly challenged. In the process, the DRC itself had to continually re-think its theological support for Apartheid and gradually come to terms with the reality of the new South Africa in which the previously *cultural others* became partners in the building of a new national consciousness.

The DRC and racial tension in the early history of the Cape

A close relationship between the DRC and the settler culture was a reality from the beginning of "white" history at the Cape. The VOC at the Cape was bound by Dutch law to further and protect "public religion", meaning that of the DRC.[164] This meant that the ministers that arrived at the Cape were "employed" as junior merchants by the VOC, thereby creating a strong relationship between the church and the secular sphere.[165] In 1824 the DRC at the Cape gained its independence from the church in Holland, thereby becoming the first autonomous church in South Africa. This was to have far reaching consequences for the future of the country, as the DRC in the Cape broke away during the time the church in Holland was increasingly being influenced by the principles of the Enlightenment, replacing the stern theology of the *Synod of Dort* from 1817.[166] The lack of exposure to the rationalism of the time is a key to understanding the future theology of the DRC at the Cape as it fought against modernism and liberalism, with far reaching effect on the multicultural society of South Africa.[167]

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[164] As stated in 1622 by The Second Charter of the *Staats Generaal.*
[165] Up until 1779, where the German Lutherans erected their own church building, the DRC was the only established church in the Cape. De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa.* p. 1
[166] De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa.* p. 3
[167] Kinghorn, J (1997): "Modernization and Apartheid: The Afrikaner Churches", in (eds.) Elpick, D & Davenport, R: *Christianity in South Africa – A Political, Social & Cultural History.* David Philip. p. 136

From the very beginning of "white" settlement at the Cape, the DRC faced a multicultural reality. Although the Synod of Dort in 1618 had clearly decided that all baptised slaves were to be freed, the Cape DRC was ill prepared to face the pluralist society in which it found itself. The decision, rather that freeing the slaves that were baptised, meant that fewer slaves were christened.[168] Early attempts to evangelize the Khoi and the San were sporadic and eventually declined, until the concern for the "heathen" grew with the birth of the 19th century international missionary movement. Indeed the missionaries soon found that the "white" settlers found little need and desirability of such measures, as the popular belief was that "... the Christian Natives are not such good servants as the wild heathen".[169] Initially at the Cape it was not so much race as class that characterised social relations, thus allowing for mixed relations on a fairly modest scale; yet already in 1678 the connection between racial back ground and religious preference was made as Christians were warned against "whore-dom" with non-Christian women and slaves, or just simply "heathens".[170] Racial tension grew between the settlers and both the Xhosa and the Khoisan population. While the Khoisan were barely perceived as being human, and not racially pure, the hostility towards the Xhosa was mainly due to the battle for land at the Eastern frontiers.[171] By the 18th century racial prejudice was firmly established in the settler population.

[168] Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible*. p. 5
[169] Quote by Charles Brownlee, *Reminiscences of Kafir Life and History*. Lovedale Press, 1896 p. 349, in De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. p. 2
[170] Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible*. p. 5. This warning was clearly addressed to the "white" males and not to the "white" females. In my readings I have never come across any such prohibitions aimed at white women. The reason for this can either be that this was such a rare event that it was not worth mentioning or that even if it did occasionally happen, it was frowned upon to an extent that it was to be kept out of the public life. I belief that even if seldom seen, the latter must be the case. The reason for keeping such affairs out of the public life can be understood in the light of the traditional view of the woman as the "guardian" or symbol of culture and society. In this way intercourse between a white women and man of different racial background, will be perceived not only as a threat to "white" males but to "white" culture per se.
[171] Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible*. p. 5

Although the DRC at this stage was not yet officially supporting this prejudice, unofficially the church did not work against it either.[172] The acceptance of slavery worked along side the reformed tradition. Simultaneously with the financial considerations that gave reason for slavery, civil religious beliefs were also an important factor. Probably the earliest example of racially orientated civil-religious beliefs is the often misused interpretation of Gen. 9:18-27 identifying the "black" people as the descendants of Ham, forever destined to be the slaves of Shem and Japheth.[173] Nonetheless the fact that the Drakenstein church council in 1703 argued in favour of missionary initiatives, so that "Ham will no longer be the servants of servants", shows that this reading of scripture was at the time part of the church's teachings. This reading lost its meaning with the abolishment of slavery, however as late as in 1974 the DRC still found it necessary to invalidate this interpretation.[174] With the abolishment of slavery the DRC was forced to officially make a stand on the issue of race within its congregation. As more and more Christian slaves were freed the issue of shared communion became apparent. The incident leading to the well known policy of *the Weakness of Some* erupted when a "Coloured" member of the Somerset West congregation wished to partake in the Holy Communion with the "white" members. Quoting Cor. 8:13, Bentura (Visser) Johannes as a "Coloured" resembled a stumbling block for the "weaker" "white" members during Communion.[175] As late as 1829 the church was officially in favour of a joint partaking of the Holy Communion between "whites" and "people of colour". The principle of joint communion

[172] The fact that in 1685 the commissioner H A van Reede instructed that slaves of "white" fathers and female slaves above the age of 22 were to be freed after they had been confirmed in church and had paid a sum of a 100 Dutch guilders, shows that in spite of the 1618 decision of the Synod of Dort, the freeing of all slaves was not followed by the authorities in the Cape and also that the DRC did not enforce this on any of its members. The reasons for this were many and the financial factor in slavery must not be over-looked, yet the reality was that slavery was a reality alongside the reformed tradition.

[173] Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 7

[174] DRC (1974): *Human Relations and The South African Scene – In the Light of Scripture.* p. 19

[175] Loff, C (1983): "The History of a Heresy", in (eds.): De Gruchy, J & Villa Vicencio, C: *Apartheid is a Heresy.* Eerdmans Publishing Co .p. 12

was seen as a "... irrefutable principle based on the infallible Word of God"[176]. This was upheld until 1857, but the Synod that year decided that even if it was not desirable, it was allowed to keep separate communions:

> The Synod considers it desirable and scriptural that our members from the Heathens be received and absorbed into our existing congregations wherever possible; but where this measure, as a result of the weakness of some, impedes the furtherance of the cause of Christ among the Heathen, the congregation from the Heathen, already founded or still to be founded, shall enjoy its Christian privileges in a separate building or institution.[177]

The *irrefutable principle based on the word* of 1829 was now exchanged with the *desire of a joint communion,* yet only if it did not represent a stumbling block for the "weaker" "white" members. A history of segregation had begun in church. In the words of A Boesak, "Apartheid began its life in the Church around the Table of the Lord".[178]

But the decision of 1857 was long anticipated. Even though the first missionary order of a "Native"-Congregation was established in 1834, and the missionary order proclaimed that where no such congregations were formed the "heathen" convert should partake in the service of the Mother church, the "need" for a separate communion was growing amongst the whites in the DRC.[179] Prof N J Hofmeyer from Stellenbosch published a series of articles in *Die Kerkbode* pleading for separate communion. According to Hofmeyr, *experience* had shown that for practical

[176] Quoted in Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 11
[177] Loff, C (1983): "The history of a heresy". p. 19. My underlining.
[178] Boesak, A (1983): "Foreword" in (eds.) De Gruchy, J & Villa Vicencio, C: *Apartheid is a Heresy.* Eerdmans Publishing Co. p. xi
[179] Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p.11

reasons this compromise should be kept until the strong race prejudice of those days had past. However scriptural quotes were increasingly used to separate the sphere of "whites" from that of "people of colour". The issue of so-called "bastardisation" was also based on scripture. From an early stage the issue of "bastardisation", based on Deut 23:2, was used to keep "bastards" out of the church room and from participating with the Lords congregation.[180] This policy was in time to lead to the official DRC policy on the issue of mixed marriages, finding its final "solution" in the mix-marriage act of 1950. Although it was put into practice by the NP, it was at the suggestion of the DRC. The belief of no equality that had long been a reality outside church was now slowly being established within the DRC. The decision of 1857 based on the *weakness of some* was in general widely accepted within the DRC. In many ways the 1857 decision was the first step towards the missionary policy of 1935 that came to determine the question of race in the DRC for decades.[181]

The DRC and the national motif

Even if the DRC did not at any official level support the racial views of its members, the DRC did increasingly develop into a *Volkskerk* serving the national motif of the Afrikaners. Three factors became formative for the identity of the DRC as a national Afrikaans church: the growth of liberal theology in Holland, the aggressive anglicisation policy of the British authorities and the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877. The relationship between the DRC and the republics had been difficult before 1877 when the *Voortrekkers* left the colony without the blessing of the official

[180] Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 8
[181] Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 13

church.[182] The objection to the anglicisation policy of the British, together with strong modernistic development in Holland, motivated the building of the Stellenbosch theological seminary. Being a strictly Dutch/Afrikaans seminary not only meant that the DRC in the Cape was able to weaken the liberal tide from Europe, but also that the commitment to its Dutch and Afrikaans root was strengthened. The annexation of the Transvaal added to this development. At an official level through a great number of DRC ministers the DRC did support the Republics fight for independence and a national consciousness: "Our ministers proved that a fluid thicker than water flows in their veins: they also exhibit a true national consciousness".[183] The Anglo-Boer war further strengthened the bond between the republics and the Cape church. Not only did the DRC speak up against the aggression of the British, there were also a sense of national awareness within the church behind this support for the Republics. The minutes from the Synods of 1894 and 1897 increasingly made usage of the word *Volk* as part of an ongoing opposition to the use of English.

In 1900 a declaration was handed to Lord Milner by forty DRC ministers, in which they appealed to him to give freedom to the Republics, as the fierce resistance of the *burghers,* they claimed, was a sign of the divine will. In December the same year 10 000 people marched against the British, demanding that the Boer be given back their freedom.[184] The Anglo-Boer war became essential for the ties between Afrikaner nationalism and the DRC for two reasons. Firstly, the war not only inspired the growth of Afrikaner nationalism; it also rebuilt the bond between the Republics and the Mother church in the Cape. Secondly, the devastating defeat of the Boer meant that the number

[182] In 1837 the DRC synod opposed any of their ministers leaving the colony. Therefore no theologically trained DRC ministers accompanied the *Voortrekkers* as they left the Cape. This may have had a profound effect on the civil-religious beliefs of the *Vooktrekkers* as their religious experiences were more likely to be shaped by their historical experience rather than on Scripture. As we touched shortly upon in the first chapter, this was undoubtedly so for the religious beliefs of the *Boer* women as described in Christiana Landmann's study. De Gruchy (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa.* pf. 19. Landman, C (1994), *The Piety of Afrikaans women: diaries of guilt.* pf. 3

[183] Die Zuid-Afrikaan, (1881) in Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 18

[184] Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 18

of *poor-whites* was rapidly growing and streaming into the cities. The involvement of the DRC in the problem of the *poor-whites* was of huge consequence, both for the future of the church and for Afrikaner nationalism. Within one generation the Afrikaner community had changed dramatically. Former landowners had become labourers and there was a general decline in class status. The Carnegie Report of 1932 documented as many as 300 000 *poor-whites*. The rapid increase in *poor-whites* raised the concern of the DRC. Increasingly the DRC began sharing the concern of the Nationalist movements, not only on the issue of poverty but also on the issue of race. The main problems for the Afrikaners, as perceived by the nationalist movement, were living in racially mixed areas and resisting the threat of anglicisation by the British. The DRC shared these concerns to the extent that a general recommendation was directed to the government to fight against the competition facing the white workers by the oversupply of cheap black labour.[185] According to the DRC there were three reasons for the deprivation of the poor Afrikaners: the British, the "black peril" and city life with all its temptations and problems of mixed living areas.[186]

The church involved itself full-hearted in both the spiritual and material needs of the *poor whites,* all in the spirit of the nationalist movement. The work of the DRC became increasingly politicised, influencing the theology of the church. According to the report of the 1947 *Kerk en Stad,* the liberal capitalism of the British catalysized problems of divorce, sexual immorality, crime and oppression experienced by the *poor white* Afrikaners. The report stated that it was time for the Afrikaners to throw off the tyranny of private interest of the capitalists (British) that did not belong to *our* nation and therefore felt no obligation to Afrikaner ideals, language and religion. This response should also be seen however as a reaction to the influence of the ongoing development of

[185] Kuperus, T (1999): *State, Civil Society and Apartheid in South Africa.* Palgrave. p. 38
[186] Kinghorn, J (1997): "Modernization and Apartheid, The Afrikaner Churches." p. 139

liberal theology in the Netherlands and an ongoing struggle against the influence of modernity on theology.[187]

The DRC was slowly becoming politicised with the aim of protecting the *Volk*. It must not be forgotten that a high number of Dominees from the DRC were active members of organisations equally engaged in the political and cultural struggle of the Afrikaner.[188] Yet a distinction between politics and nationalism was separated at a fairly early stage within the church. As a response to the 1914 rebellion against Smuts' pro-British government, ninety-two ministers met in 1915 to debate this violation of the Treaty of Vereening of 1903. On behalf of the ministers, Dr D F Malan drafted a statement later adopted by the Council of Churches.[189] The draft clearly advocates against any involvement in party politics. This however did not exclude the church from involving itself in the nationalistic cause of the Afrikaner:

> The church has a special calling with regards to the Afrikaner people. The church sees it as its duty to be nationalistic, to guard the specific national interests, and to teach the people to see the hand of God in its own history and to keep alive an awareness of its national calling and purpose. The church would serve its calling to the Kingdom of God and the existence of the Afrikaner people best by keeping itself as a church, and also the ministers in their official capacity, strictly outside the arena of party politics unless religious and moral principles are at stake or the interests of the Kingdom of God justify such actions.[190]

[187] Kinghorn J (1997): "Modernization and Apartheid, The Afrikaner Churches." p. 139
[188] Kinghorn J (1997): "Modernization and Apartheid, The Afrikaner Churches." p. 140
[189] D F Malan, was a Dominee in the DRC before he became Prime minister in 1948
[190] Quoted in Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* pf. 22

This declaration very clearly shows the path of the DRC in the decades to come. Without the church being "politicised" the DRC could now fully give itself to *its* people and the nationalistic cause and still remain faithful to the calling of God. In de Gruchy's words: "...apart from any direct political involvement, the DRC held the key to the birth of Afrikanerdom".[191] At the same time the declaration still left the door open to any exceptions "unless religious and moral principles are at stake", and in the eyes of the Afrikaner elite, moral principles were certainly at stake with the large number of *poor-whites* living in town. The main rescuer of the Afrikaans poor in the cities was the DRC. In the words of N J Brummer, "... the multiple activities and countless points of contact of our church and our people had a preserving and educational influence, of which most people cannot form the slightest idea".[192] But the close connection between the DRC and the people had consequences not only for the national populace but especially at a theological level for the DRC. With the adoption of the national cause, the DRC embraced the existing and growing civil-religious beliefs of the people. The problems between the *poor-whites* and the "people of colour" were intrinsically interwoven, and by opting to support the *poor-whites* the church had in reality already chosen a policy of segregation, furthering the theology of *the weakness of some*. The civil religious beliefs were used by the nationalist elite to strengthen the feeling of identity and culture of the Afrikaner, nurturing their passionate belief in no-equality, a belief subsequently adopted by the DRC. The hope for future national existence for the Afrikaner people was without doubt the DRC.

In 1923 the first multiracial conference was held in South Africa, initiated by the Christian Council. The themes were centred on self-government, education and like matters for "people of

[191] De Gruchy J (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa*. p. 29
[192] Quoted in Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible*. pf. 23

colour", all signs of the policy to follow under the NP.[193] What was unique at this time was the acceptance of partial segregation, officially favoured by the church. The theological foundation for the belief of no-equality found its final official stand with the missionary policy of 1935. The formulation of a civil-religious interpretation of scripture in conjunction with the history of the Afrikaner certainly took place inside the DRC as in all of the so-called Afrikaner churches.[194] As mentioned in chapter one, S J du Toit was one of the first to use the civil religious beliefs of the *Volk* to interpret scripture in accordance with ethnic segregation and his thoughts became formative for a later understanding of Afrikaner identity in opposition to anybody not Afrikaans. In his position within both the language movement and other cultural movements, as well as within the church, he became influential in first the DRC and later the *Dopperkerk.* Emphasising the importance of language as a symbol of diversity in scripture, du Toit set an example influencing all further scriptural attempts to legitimise the ethnic struggle of the Afrikaners. In his interpretation of Gen. 11, showing the diversity of tongues, together with Acts 2:5-12, Rev. 5:9, 7:9 and 14:6, he attempted to prove how God willed the diversity of nations. Every nation had a special calling and was singularly elected by God.[195] This line of thought combined the historical national symbols with religious ones, establishing and sanctifying historical monuments in remembrance of the Woman and Children in the Anglo-Boer war, the *Voortrekkers* and the language monument. Finding its zenith in the symbolic *Ossewatrek* in 1938, the civil-religious beliefs of the national movement were well established. Although this matching up of theology with segregationist nationalism was at the time of S J du Toit still in an embryonic phase, it pointed to the Apartheid theology of the DRC after the victory of the NP. At this stage the national motif and the calling of

[193] Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 22
[194] The so-called "Afrikaner churches" contained, apart from the DRC, the Hervormde Kerk (NHK), and the Gereformeerde Kerk (GK) also known as the *Dopperkerk.* Kinghorn J (1997): "Modernization and Apartheid, The Afrikaner Churches". p. 136
[195] Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 24

the church were already so intertwined that the distinction between people and church had practically been dissolved[196]. For the people it came to mean that a good Afrikaner was a Christian, and the myth of South Africa under Apartheid being a Christian country took its departure from this point. However for the DRC it meant an incorporation of a belief system foreign to the Calvinist traditions. The unofficial policy of segregation inside the DRC had been a reality since 1857 with the *weakness of some*, finding practical expression with the establishment of the *Sendingkerk* in 1880, accommodating separate services for "Coloured" members of the DRC. A theology of segregation was made official policy with the missiological policy of 1935, coinciding with the neo-Calvinist period of the DRC.[197] The missiological policy was a response to the question: "how can our own (white) people maintain their identity without damaging the cause of the Gospel amongst the non-Whites (sic)".[198] The missionary policy was formulated in accordance with the three-selves system of Venn and Anderson.[199] A policy incorporating social equality was not an option as it would lead to the decline of both cultures:

> Where the church is against social equality in the sense of a disregard for the racial and cultural differences between Black and White in daily intercourse, it wants to promote and encourage social differentiation and spiritual and cultural segregation, to the benefit of both sections.[200]

[196] Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 25
[197] Botman, R (2004): "Belhar and the White Dutch Reformed Church – Changes in the DRC 1974-1990", in (eds.) Weisse, W & Antonissen, C: *Maintaining Apartheid or promoting Change? The Role of the Dutch Reformed Church in a phase of increasing conflict in South Africa.* Waxmann, pf. 124
[198] Quoted in Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 30
[199] Missionary work among the "Bantu" (meaning the black population groups) was to lead to a system of self-support, self-governing and self-expansion. Thereby the "Blacks" in their church could develop and educate themselves to the highest level without being compared to "white" "superior civilisation".
[200] Quoted in Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 31

Hereby sanctioned by the church, the already existing segregation was to be extended to all social and political levels, so that the identity of "whites" and "people of colour" alike could be secured. Indeed the root of the Apartheid policy was the missionary policy of the DRC.[201]

The reason for the relatively uncomplicated acceptance of the national motif in church was a result of the hermeneutical vacuum left after the heresy charges against J du Plessis. Du Plessis was a Stellenbosch theologian, suspended by a high-level synodical committee after a heresy trial in 1930. Prof du Plessis was known as a more modern and liberal theologian within the DRC. Opposing the traditional separation of Christian science from secular science, he wished to extend this beyond an academic level to a social level and consequently criticised the DRC special interest in the problem of the *poor-white* while neglecting the poor "people of colour".[202] Advocating a more moderate stand on segregation, partly out of practical reasons, he was met with fierce criticism.[203] The crisis separated the students and professors alike. The conservative students organised themselves into in the "Conventional Study Circle" with J D Vorster and F J M Potgieter in the front. Both of these came to be influential for the theologising of Apartheid at a later stage. On the other side was Prof B B Keet, later to become the major DRC theologian to protest against Apartheid. The du Plessis case was of great significance as it meant the loss of critical consciousness within the DRC. Because of du Plessis having stimulated scientific inquiry and intellectual debate in accordance with the positivism of the Enlightenment, the consequence of his suspension led to a *structural deficit* in the DRC hermeneutics, manifesting itself in the inability to

[201] Botman, R (2000): "The Church Partitioned or the Church Reconciled", in (eds.) Van Vugt, E &Cloete, D: *Race and Reconciliation in South Africa – a multicultural dialogue in comparative perspective?.* Lexington Books
[202] Lategan, B (2004): "Preparing and keeping the mind-set in tact: Reasons and forms of a theology of the status quo". p. 56
[203] Kuperus, T (1999): *State, Civil Society an Apartheid in South Africa.* pf. 45&66

deal with historical issues, and therefore to participate in the unfolding hermeneutical debate within theology.[204]

Theological influences on the *Volkskerk* ideal in the DRC

The du Plessis case ended the influence of the emerging hermeneutical awareness in Europe, as it was now seen as an attack on scripture. This left a theological vacuum within which different theological influences came together to "create" the DRC in the ideal of an Afrikaans *Volkskerk.* Neo-Calvinism was one such influence. The origin of neo-Calvinism in its "original" form was the Dutch theologian and later the Prime Minister of The Netherlands, Abraham Kuyper. Kuyper founded the Free University to challenge theological liberalism and state absolutism. He wished to free humankind to see the real message of God as it revealed itself in scripture and nature. According to Kuyper, the Christian message was mediated via the uncovering of the creational ordinances or structures. The task to express and uncover these revelations was formulated in principles of *sphere sovereignty.* These principles provided guidelines for all personal and societal actions. According to Kuyper, scripture had two purposes. The first was to disclose reconciliation. This happened through church. Secondly, scripture enabled Christians to understand the book of nature as another source of God's divine will.[205] Kuyper's ideas were to have a large impact on the DRC through the Free University of Amsterdam. The Free University was established in 1880 as a response to increasing secularisation in society and on the University of Leiden. When part of the conservative members broke away from the Hervormerde Kerk in the Netherlands, the Free University founded by Kuyper became the seminary where the orthodox ministers in Holland

[204] Lategan, B (2004): " Preparing and keeping the mind-set in tact: Reasons and forms of a theology of the status quo", pf. 56

[205] Botha, E (2000): "Christian Scholarship for Reconciliation?", in (eds.) Van Vugt, E & Cloete, D: *Race and Reconciliation in South Africa– a multicultural dialogue in comparative perspective* pf. 124

went.[206] This development also affected the DRC in South Africa. The DRC ministers from South Africa formerly attending the University of Utrecht, from 1907 onwards increasingly went to the Free University, thereby bringing back with them the conservative theology of Kuyper.[207] In South Africa it was S J du Toit who already in 1882 introduced Kuypers's thoughts in a paper entitled *Our Programme.* But Kuypers ideas were applied to a South African context though the publication *Koers in die Krisis* published by the *Federation* of *Calvinist Student Societies.*[208] Three volumes were published between 1935 to 1941. Two of the men behind *Koers in die Krisis,* F J M Potgieter (later professor at the University at Stellenbosch), and J D Vorster (Pastor in Cape Town), were the same students who had been against du Plessis in the heresy trial. Together with H G Stoker (University of Potchefstroom) their support for Kuyper's neo-Calvinism was to play a decisive role in the development of an Apartheid culture within the DRC.[209] The preface to *Koers in die Krisis* stated that:

> Calvin clearly recognised ... fundamental principles of the Christian view of God, life and the world, although he did not pursue them to their full consequences ...; he did not succeed in overcoming the spirit of his time in all respects ...We have to think more deeply and further in line with these fundamental principles and apply them more widely than Calvin has done.[210]

In this way the theology of Calvin was quickly applied to the South African context. The theological focus throughout *Koers in die Krisis* was the importance of *experience* and *revelation.* Due to the *experience* in the multicultural society of South African, the Afrikaans Calvinists had

[206] Botha, E (2000): "Christian Scholarship for Reconciliation?". p. 122
[207] Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 34
[208] Koers in die Krisis also received help from another student organisation by the name of *Veritas vincet,* which was a student organisation from the Gereformeerde Kerk in Burgersdorp.
[209] Kinghorn J(1997): "Modernization and Apartheid, The Afrikaner churches." p.138
[210] Quoted in Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* pf. 35

recognised the enormous problems created by racial mixing and had therefore claimed God's commandment of no-equality. This meant recognising the ordinances of God and not trying to make equal what God had not intended to be.[211] According to Prof L J du Plessis in an article in *Koers in die Krisis,* cultural diversity was evident in the creation of God and the revelation hereof in scripture and in Christ, but also in human history and experience. This meant according to L J du Plessis that:

> According to this a unity is acknowledged of reality and of humanity in the creational purpose of God, and of the re-creation in the mystical body of Christ; but this is acknowledged by the God-given diversity of reality and humanity in its temporal appearance. In this appearance humanity is manifested as differentiated in groups, of races and nations and of societies of different kinds, and also in unique individuals.[212]

This meant that *revelation* taught that the human race was one while *experience* taught cultural diversity. The effect of this interpretation was that while humanity was one in the invisible mystical body of Christ, diversity was to be clearly reflected in the practical sense by cultural segregation. The Afrikaners had discovered both in scripture and in nature the principles of unity and diversity. According to Rev J G Strydom, both scripture and nature were thus seen as sources of revelation. God wished for diversity of nations and races[213]. Not surprisingly, the theological approach purported in *Koers in die Krisis* clearly suited the nationalist movement, and in many aspects this new brand of Calvinism became synonymous with the normative understanding of the collective Afrikaner group.[214] This was especially true in the work of H G Stoker. Belonging to the *Dopperkerk,* Stoker was closely attached to the University of Potchefstroom and fought

[211] Loubser, J(1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 36
[212] Quoted in Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 36.
[213] Loubser, J (1987): *The Apartheid Bible.* p. 37
[214] Kinghorn J (1997): "Modernization and Apartheid, The Afrikaner Churches". pf. 138

determinedly for the recognition of the University as an academic institution with a special Christian calling. Using Kuypers neo-Calvinism, Stoker created for the Afrikaners a contextual framework for the church, enabling it to support the nationalist cause of the *Volk*. Through Stoker's neo-Calvinism both Afrikaner nationalism and racial policies were theologically legitimised. Kuyper's understanding of sphere sovereignty was, according to Stoker, applicable to the racially segregated society of South Africa. Each racial group was characterised by an independent culture, history, fatherland and race and therefore a separate sphere in its own, grounded in the ordinances of God. The philosophical approach used by Stoker was suitable not only for Afrikaner nationalism but also for the Afrikaner civil religion:

> God willed the diversity of Peoples. Thus far He has preserved the identity of our People ... He might have allowed our People to be bastardized with the native tribes as happened with other Europeans. He did not allow it. He might have allowed us to be anglicised, like for example, the Dutch in America ... He did not allow that either. He maintained the identity of our People, He has a future task for us, a calling laid away. On this I base my fullest conviction that our People will again win back their freedom as a People.[215]

That neo-Calvinism had a profound effect on the DRC and in extension on the NP is commonly agree upon.[216] This has however recently been contested by Hermann Giliomee.[217] He describes neo-Calvinism mainly as a phenomenon of the North, situated in the *Dopperkerk* (Gereformeerde

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[215] Stoker quoted in Moodie, D (1980): *The Rise of Afrikanerdom – Power, Apartheid, and Afrikaner Civil Religion* p. 67

[216] Hexham (1981), argues in favour of neo-Calvinism as being the main factor in the development of Afrikanerdom and the Apartheid policy. Moodie (1980) also believes that Kuypers neo-Calvinism through Stoker became the dominant and decisive influence of the DRC. De Gruchy (2005) likewise supports the notion of the influence of neo-Calvinism and the Broederbond within the DRC.

[217] Giliomee, H (2003): *The Dutch Reformed Church and Chosen People: the dynamics of the rise and decline of Apartheid.* No page no.

Kerk) and University of Potchefstroom. He rejects as illogical the argument that the relatively geographically isolated intelligentsia of Potchefstroom in a small church such as the *Dopperkerk* should yield such influence in propagating the neo-Calvinist message. Giliomee also questions that neo-Calvinism should have yielded so much influence on the NP, as there are very few phrases found in the first programme of the Nationalist Party. Furthermore he argues that while Kuyper undoubtedly had some influence, it was primarily on the academics of Potchefstroom. The only influence on the DRC theology was the Kuyperian emphasis on diversity and unity inside the church. Furthermore Giliomee contests the general perception of the influence of the Afrikaner Broederbond. This is an important matter in Giliomee's argument, as it has been commonly "known" that the Broederbond was one of the main institutions to spread the message of neo-Calvinism, an opinion held also by Moodie and de Gruchy.[218]

Lategan supports the latter view. According to him the Broederbond not only achieved a general cohesion among the Afrikaners, but also by doing so created the conditions under which Apartheid could develop and survive long after its actual relevance.[219] Giliomee agrees with Loubser that when highlighting the factors involved in leading the DRC to become a national church for the Afrikaners, it is better to talk about a balance between a Kuyperian and an evangelical, pietistic *Volkskerk* approach. Although Murray's pietistic theology played a decisive role, this does not mean that neo-Calvinism did not.

The missionary theology of 1935 certainly was of great importance for the segregationist policy of the future but only because it was at the same time influenced by Kuyper's neo-Calvinism. As de

[218] See previous footnote
[219] Lategan, B (2004): " Preparing and keeping the mind-set in tact: Reasons and forms of a theology of the status quo". pf. 60

Gruchy rightly argues, the theology of Kuyper and Christian nationalism rather belonged to the *Gereformeerde Kerk* than the DRC but "... such nationalistic convictions also had a significant following within the DRC itself".[220] According to de Gruchy, it was at a DRC conference in 1950 that "Territorial Apartheid", leading to the Group Areas Act, was recommended. If the neo-Calvinistic influence had only come from the North, perhaps Giliomee could have been right in his statements, but the tradition within the DRC in the Cape church was a reality ever since the GRA was founded by S J du Toit in Paarl in 1870. Even if du Toit at a later stage left the DRC, the neo-Calvinist tradition was carried on by theologians such as J D Voster and F J M Potgieter. Indeed Potgieter's theological view on plurality within the church was clear; due to our sinful state after the fall the pluriformity of the church is inextricably bound to differences in people and races. Unity is only a reality in the life hereafter as Christ "...sustains everything in creation in a providential way, also including the ethnic pluriformity".[221] But Potgieter's neo-Calvinist theology continued to influence the DRC on the matters of plurality and unity, as Giliomee states in his critique. Throughout his theological career he saw it as his responsibility to stay faithful to the Afrikaner and Stellenbosch establishments, a faithfulness that according to Hans Engdahl consisted of "...a total loyalty to the system, the political and social system of Apartheid".[222] That the neo-Calvinist influence was a reality within the DRC is inferred from the quote in the *Die Kerkbode* in 1935:

[220] De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa.* p. 32
[221] Potgieter quoted in Engdahl, H (2006): *Theology in Conflict –Readings in Afrikaner Theology.* Peter Land. p. 127
[222] Engdahl, H (2006): *Theology in Conflict – Readings in Afrikaner Theology.* p. 18

> There are among the followers of Calvinism, in our land and in our church, TWO DIRECTIONS...During the last ten or fifteen years...POWERFUL FORCES HAVE BEEN AT WORK TO ROB OUR N.G. CHURCH OF ITS OWN CHARACTER AND TO MAKE IT MORE AND MORE NARROWLY REFORMED.[223]

The two directions in the DRC mentioned were of course the neo-Calvinist direction and the Murray direction. The "Worried" author clearly shows how in 1935 neo-Calvinism was very much part of the DRC theology, quite apart from the Potchefstroom intelligentsia and the *Doppers*. However the pietism of the "Murray's" certainly played a great part in the theology of the church to come. The two directions mentioned both played an influential role within the DRC and in the formulation of an Apartheid supportive theology. The pietistic direction within the DRC had its foundation in the Scottish pastors brought to South Africa by Lord Somerset. Associated with the work of Andrew Murray, and especially his son A. Murray Jr., the Pietists emphasised the revivals, the Christian witness and the belief in a strong personal God. The focus was on mission as opposed to national identity. The Pietists certainly were not uninterested in socio-economic issues; quite the contrary. Although they did not emphasise national as opposed to unified salvation, they were not against the national cause and the wish for segregation. Within the pietistic tradition the evangelical and missionary groups were the ones that became most significant within the DRC. While the missionaries believed that the church was obliged to minister to the spiritual but also to the social conditions of the "black" population, the evangelist-reformed group in time committed itself to the concerns of the Afrikaner people.[224] According to Moodie there were not two but three directions, and it was the third and intermediate direction that came to play the formative role for

[223] Quoted in Moodie, D (1980): *The Rise of Afrikanerdom – Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion.* p. 63
[224] Kuperus, T (1999): *State, Civil Society and Apartheid in South Africa.* p. 36

the foundation of the DRC as *Volkskerk* for the Afrikaners.[225] This *Volkskerk*-group saw the church as separate from the state but still supportive of the nation. Perpetuating the ideas of the civil-religion, represented by D. F. Malan amongst others, this group became deeply involved in the social problems of the *poor-whites.* Emphasising the "organic" relationship between the people and the church they wished for the church to take a greater part in the everyday lives of the Afrikaners. Taking part in the social problems of the growing number of *poor-whites,* they depended on education as a solution. Educating the *poor-white* would not only make them better able to compete at the labour market but it would also enable the nationalists to teach the Afrikaners about their ethnic and cultural identity.[226] With the presence of Malan, *Volkskerk*-model inside the DRC was given a strong nationalistic and ethnic course.

Part of Giliomee's reasoning against the neo-Calvinist influence of the DRC and the NP is his contesting not only Malan's support of neo-Calvinism but also his religiousness and therefore the religious influence on the Apartheid policy of the NP. That Malan was indeed a religious man and that this was formative for his nationalistic approach is of little doubt:

> We are Afrikaners and so ought we always to be, because any nationality, formed by God through history and environment, has in itself a right to existence...My feeling of nationality thus rest finally upon a religious foundation.[227]

[225] Moodie, D (1980): *The Rise of Afrikanerdom – Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion.* pf. 68
[226] O'Meara, D (1983): *Volkskapitalisme – Class, capital and ideology in the development of Afrikaner nationalism, 1934-1948.* Raven. p. 70
[227] Malan quoted in Moodie, D (1980): *The Rise of Afrikanerdom – Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion.* p. 71. When Malan spoke the above words in 1911 he was still a dominee in the DRC and a believer in the civil-religious theme of the time.

The essentialist character of Malan's theology apparently had no problem incorporating the civil-religion of the people into the reformed theology of the DRC. Whether or not Malan was influenced by neo-Calvinism and to what extent this did or did not influence his political visions is almost impossible to know for certain. Malan was a member of the Broederbond, believed to spread the ideology of neo-Calvinism. That Malan only became a member shortly before he became Prime minister is, according to Giliomee, one indicator for the missing neo-Calvinist influence. However it seems that it is not of vital importance whether Malan was religious or not, or exactly which of the theological traditions within the DRC became most influential. What was important was that the national cause and civil-religious influence, finding its way into the DRC was not only accepted by the neo-Calvinist tradition but within all the three theological traditions of the DRC. A growing theology of segregation was supported from all traditions. This general acceptance came to mean that the DRC not only accepted the overall civil-religious beliefs of the Afrikaners but that it also came to accept the Afrikaners perception of the *cultural other*. Even if membership in the DRC was not impossible for a "white" English speaking South African, the British were not welcomed into the church. The same applied to the Afrikaner women who, although members of the DRC, could never become influential at a clerical level but only through church related groups such as the *Vrouevereningen en Helpmeekar,* the ACVV. This unequal position between women and men in the DRC was mirrored in the hierachy of the Afrikaner family, where men were often perceived in the role of the priest- *Priester* and therefore the head of the family. For the "people of colour", being the *cultural other* also meant an exclusion of membership in the DRC. The DRC was not to be an open church where everybody could partake in the service and communion.[228] Not only were "people of colour" prohibited from membership in the DRC with segregated churches created for them, the DRC in time came to develop a distinct

[228] Loff, C (1983): "The History of a Heresy". p. 19

theology that in reality supported cultural, geographical and religious separateness. This theology was by no means uncontested inside or outside the DRC, but it grew stronger and stronger from the time the NP came into power, and increasingly prevalent over the next decades.

The DRC, the NP and the policy of Separate Development

With the NP's victory in 1948, the reality of racism in South African society became entrenched. The relationship between the DRC and the NP was to a large extent built on the common goal of the "survival" of the *Volk* through separate development. After 1948 the traditional relationship between the DRC and the authorities was reinstated and persisted until the 1994 with the first free election in South Africa. The majority of members of Parliament, provincial councils, military and police were DRC members.[229] Initially the DRC was more *purist* than the NP in its view of segregation; this view was challenged however in 1957 with the promulgation of the *The Natives Law Amendment Bill*.[230] This Bill that made it difficult for "natives" to attend church in "white" areas, caused an outcry amongst the churches in the country, and the DRC, although more cautiously, also expressed concern about the Bill. *The Sharpeville Massacre* in which sixty-nine people were killed, many of them women and children, and many shot in the back, shocked the country, and caused a further disagreement between the NP and the DRC. The massacre and the following "state of emergency" which resulted in thousands of "blacks" being banned or arrested, including the leaders of the ANC and the PAC, Albert Luthuli, Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe, caused great bitterness and frustration within the DRC also. The despair that followed Sharpeville led to the Cottesloe Consultation in December 1960. Cottesloe was a turning point, not only for the DRC, but for the whole of South Africa. Initially it looked as if the DRC was now

[229] De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa.* p. 68
[230] Kuperus, T (1999): *State, Civil Society and Apartheid in South Africa.* pf. 84

ready to reject the dehumanising conditions for "people of colour" created by the Apartheid policy, as it purported that the role of the church in South Africa was to "... proclaim that the final criterion of all social and political action is the principle of Scripture regarding the realisation of all men of a life worthy of their God-given vocation".[231] Furthermore in part 2:1, they asserted:

> We recognise that all racial groups who permanently inhabit our country are a part of our total population, and we regard them as indigenous. Members of all groups have an equal right to make their contribution towards the enrichment of the life of their country and to share the ensuing responsibilities, rewards and privileges. 2:6: No one who believes in Jesus Christ may be excluded from any church on the grounds of his colour or race. The spiritual unity among all men who are in Christ must find expression in the act of common worship and witness, and the fellowship and consultation on the matter of common concern. 2:10: There are no Scriptural grounds for the prohibition of mixed marriages..."[232]

Part three touched upon the issues of Justice in trials, Asian communities, freedom to preach the Gospel and worship (for people of colour in "white-areas") and a future co-operation between the churches.[233] Within the Afrikaner churches there was disagreement, as the NHK rejected the final statement, but the DRC didn't. However the support of the DRC members at Cottesloe did not last long. Prime Minister Verwoerd himself expressed great displeasure and the DRC, following his example, rejected the Cottesloe statement. The DRC withdrew their membership from the World Council of Churches (WCC).[234] The DRC could not in the end keep their support to the Cottesloe statement because the statement that advocated the equalisation of all "races" within South Africa attacked the very heart of Afrikanerdom. By opening up the *laager* the basic perception of "people

[231] Lombard, R (1974): *Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerke en Rassepolitiek.* NG Kerkboekhandel Tvl. p. 274
[232] Lombard, R (1974): *Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerke en Rassepolitiek* p. 275.
[233] Lombard, R (1974): *Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerke en Rassepolitiek* p. 275.
[234] Jonker, W (1998): *Selfs die Kerk kan verander.* Tafelberg, p. 46

of colour" as *the cultural other* was challenged within all spheres of Afrikaner culture. The co-operation between the churches of South Africa equally challenged the role of the British as *the cultural other.* The rejection of Cottesloe meant that the DRC in the end chose to stay loyal to Afrikaner nationalism and the ethnic group of Afrikaners.[235] In the years to come the theology grew in support of the *Separate Development* policy of the NP. In 1974 the *Human Relations and the South African Scene in the light of Scripture* (H&R) report was published, strengthening scriptural support for *Separate Development*. According to this report, as separation between people and nations was written into the creation, the unity of mankind must be carefully distinguished from the ethnic diversity of the human race. Written into creation and repeated in the story of the Tower of Babel (Gen 1:28) concludes: "Ethnic diversity is in its origin in accordance with the will of God…".[236] As to the unity of humankind, the report states:

> A further question will involve, of course, the unity and diversity of people, and in particular how both should be judged in the context of the Kingdom of God. This is of particular importance because of the difference in emphasis between ourselves and Christians from other countries. This difference relates to the manner in which we value the diversity of peoples positively and incorporate it in our ideas on relations between races and people.[237]

For the DRC, *Separate Development* was written into scripture as Kuyper taught in his theology of the "sovereignty of separate spheres". Only insofar as injustice was being done in the

[235] Nicol, W (2004): "Accompanying the Flock – The Development of the Dutch reformed Church 1974-1990", in (eds.) Weisse, W & Antonissen, C: *Maintaining Apartheid or promoting Change? The Role of the Dutch Reformed Church in a phase of increasing conflict in South Africa.* Waxmann, p. 115
[236] DRC (1974): *Human Relations and the South African Scene – In the Light of the Scripture*. DRC Publishers, p. 14
[237] DRC (1974): *Human Relations and the South African Scene – In the Light of the Scripture*. p. 14

implementation of this at a political level could the church interfere.[238] Apartheid and *Separate Development* were two different things for the DRC. Although all Christian were one in Christ, the report stated, this did not alter the lingual, cultural and racial differences but transcended it:

> ...differentiation of 'people' is implicit in the command of creation and that the events of Babel merely gave it new momentum and character...(but)...The diversity of people is rooted in the primary unity of the human race and the fact that all peoples are fundamentally equal in their responsibility and relationship to God.[239]

Therefore it was in fact possible for the DRC to speak against Apartheid without attacking the segregationist policy of the government. The differentiation between unity in Christ and diversity in society made it possible for the DRC not only to maintain the good relations with the government, but also to keep their mind-set intact and stay loyal to Afrikanerdom. The identity of the Afrikaners being a construct built on the connection between past and present explains the use of history as a catalyst for ethnic identity and is logical in the H&R report, but it must be noticed that *ethnic* identity was transformed in the H&R report into *racial* identity and made a fundamental fact in accordance with God's wish. This same point would from a neo-Calvinist perspective probably be labelled as a *revelation* of nature. The insistence on the good of *Separate Development* was really an insistence on sustaining the Afrikaner *Volk.*

The results of *Separate Development* were tragic and full of pain. Aware of this the DRC nevertheless stood by its support of the policy:

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[238] DRC (1974): *Human Relations and the South African Scene – In the Light of the Scripture*. p. 70; De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa.* pf. 88

[239] DRC (1974): *Human Relations and the South African Scene – In the Light of the Scripture*. p. 20 (but) added to the quotes.

> The Dutch Reformed Church is only too well aware of the serious problems in respect of inter-people, interracial and inter-human relationships in South Africa. It seeks to achieve the same ideals of social justice, human rights and self-determination of peoples, and individuals, based on God's Word, as do other Christian churches...If the Dutch Reformed church does differ from other churches, the difference is not due to a difference in moral concepts and values or of Christian ethics, but to a different view of the situation in South Africa and the teaching of God's word in this regard. There is no difference in ideals and objectives, but merely disagreement on the best method of achieving these ideals.[240]

There certainly was criticism from within the DRC. Over the years, from Dr. B J Marais, B B Keet to Beyers Naudé, the best known of the critics challenged the established system's use of Scripture.[241] Although the critique did not have much immediate effect on the DRC, an opposition was established within the church. As the opposition to the theological viewpoint of the DRC grew internally and externally, the DRC found it became more and more isolated in its attempts to justify *Separate Development*. In 1982 the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) declared Apartheid a heresy and the DRC was duly suspended from its membership.[242] As will be seen in chapter five, it was only after decades of struggle between the *Verkramptes* and the *Verligtes* and after the political transformation in the 1990's that the DRC finally withdrew its support from a segregated racial and ethnic society.

Beyond doubt the DRC played a formative role for the development of Afrikaner identity and culture as well as the formation of a racially discriminatory national policy in the form of *Separate*

[240] DRC (1974): *Human Relations and the South African Scene – In the Light of the Scripture.* p. 100
[241] Lategan, B (2004): "Preparing and keeping the mind-set in tact: Reasons and forms of a theology of the status quo". p. 53
[242] Cloete, D & Smit, D J (1984): "Preface" & "The Draft Confession and Accompanying Letter", in (eds.) Cloete and Smit: *A Moment of Truth – The Confession of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church 1982.* Eerdmans Publishing. p. vii

Development. The relationship between the DRC and the NP was in fact a furthering of the traditional relationship experienced by the church from the onset of the establishment of the Cape Colony. As the NP came to power, the special relation between the religious and the political sphere confirmed the calling of the DRC as the *Volkskerk,* exclusively for the Afrikaners. Certainly the clash between the conservative theology of the DRC and liberal theology influenced by the Enlightenment and the ideas of Modernity was also part of the reasoning behind the segregationist theology of the DRC, but cannot and should not stand alone as *the* explanation for the Apartheid supportive theology of the DRC. Thus four factors had become fundamental in developing and maintaining the Apartheid theology. Firstly, what in fact was found in 1829 by the Cape Synod to be *undesirable*, namely separate sharing of Tables, became normative for the relation between the DRC and all "people of colour". Secondly, the missiological policy of 1935 provided a platform for the segregationist theology and civil religious beliefs growing within the church. Thirdly, the Sharpeville massacre, leading to Cottesloe, in the end helped cement the DRC's loyalty to Afrikanerdom. Fourthly, the H&R rapport in 1974 developed Apartheid theology where the theological distinction between *unity* and *diversity*, became the main argument for the *Separate Development,* a theology that in fact distorted the social truth and reality for all "people of colour" in the country. This theological outlook came to mean that the Christian message was falsely separated from the social reality of all Christians by the separation of *the cultural other* as one standing in opposition to the Afrikaans *Christian other.*

Chapter Four

A model for the construction of Christian identity

Dietrich Bonhoeffer's understanding of the formation of Christian personhood and sociality in his dissertation, *Sanctorum Communio,* provides a helpful and cogent model for understanding the construction of Christian identity. It is also particularly pertinent for critically examining the construction of Afrikaner identity as we have described it in relation to the four *cultural others* described in chapter one. Of critical importance is Bonhoeffer's understanding of the "ontic-ethical" relation between persons; for true Christian personhood is formed in an encounter with *the other* that is ethically appropriate and responsible. This means that Christian identity is not to be understood in individualistic terms, but in terms of an *I-You* relationship, and this in turn implies a community of persons. Hence the formation of the Christian identity of persons is inseparable from the church understood as "Christ existing as a Christian community." This understanding immediately engages both the theology and the role of the DRC in the construction and sustaining of Afrikaner identity and Christian Nationalism by providing an alternative ecclesiology that is grounded in the sociality of Christ and humanity.

Bonhoeffer provides a further key theological resource for or critical examination of the formation of Afrikaner identity. This is to be found in his critique of the status of religion and religious piety in his *Letters and Papers from Prison,* where he attempts to draft a proposal for a "religionless Christianity" in a "world come of age." Bonhoeffer's understanding of religion goes through

several stages in the development of his thoughts, but in his prison reflections religion is a historically conditioned and constructed phenomenon of the West that is predicated on adolescent dependency, and expressed in other-worldly piety rather than human maturity and moral responsibility in relation to *the other*.

However, Bonhoeffer's approach to human maturity and ethical responsibility is compromised by his historically conditioned patriarchal assumptions. Thus in order for his critical insights to be employed to our purpose, we have to engage in a necessary critique of these assumptions in order that his understanding of *the other* is gender sensitive and refined. Once that is done and done in Bonhoeffer's own terms, namely seeing reality from below, that is, from a perspective of those who are victims, it is possible to embrace Bonhoeffer's approach more wholeheartedly for our purpose.

Bonhoeffer's prognosis regarding the secularisation of the Western world, and with that the demise of religion, may be open to critique given the resurgence of religion as a contemporary phenomenon. Nonetheless his critique is pertinent to what in fact is happening in Afrikaner society. On the one hand, there is a growing alienation from the DRC and Christianity on the part of some who have become disenchanted by the role of both in the fostering of Afrikaner Christian identity in the past and the role that played with regard to Apartheid. On the other hand, there is a resurgence of religion within the DRC that once again promotes an individual piety unrelated to social reality and concern, one that in fact does not engage with *the cultural other* in ways that build human community but retreats into an enclave once again. However, the fact that there are those within the DRC and the Afrikaner community who are taking the direction Bonhoeffer

proposes, whether conscious of that influence or not, enables us to consider how this fact is working out in the post-Apartheid era and thus in the reshaping of Afrikaner identity in relation to the reality of the multi-cultural context of South Africa.

Our purpose then, is to turn again to the construction of Afrikaner identity as we have described it in the terms of *the cultural other* in order to show how, from Bonhoeffer's theological perspective as we have now embraced and restated it, it leads in the opposite direction. Instead of responding to *the other* on the basis of ethical responsibility, respecting difference as otherness in the interest of fostering a common humanity, Afrikaner Christian identity was constructed in such a way as to exclude *the other.*

Christian identity and the church in Bonhoeffer's "Sanctorum Communio".

Sanctorum Communio is a remarkable blending of the anthropological, sociological and theological in an attempt to develop an understanding of Christian identity within the broader frame of ecclesiology. This understanding lays the foundation for the development of Bonhoeffer's theology in which the Christological core increasingly dominates as the *cantus firmus.*[243] Bonhoeffer's view of the church is based not only on the reality of the revelation of Christ, but also on the church as a community of people; he therefore makes his methodology dependant not only on theology but also on social philosophy and sociology:

[243] De Gruchy, J (2002): "Sanctorum Communio and the Ethics of Free Responsibility: Reflections on Bonhoeffer's Ecclesiology and Ethics", in *For All People – Global Theologies in Context.* (eds.) Pedersen, Lam & Lodberg. Eerdmans Publishing Co. p. 89

> Hence our purpose is to understand structure of the given reality of the church of Christ, as revealed by Christ from the perspectives of social philosophy and sociology. But the nature of the church can be understood only from within cum ira et studio…never by nonparticipants.[244]

But what is of particular relevance is that Bonhoeffer's discussion of the *sanctorum communio* is premised on the understanding of the construction of Christian identity in relation to *the other.*

The social ontic-ethical basic-relations of persons.

The *social ontic-ethical basic-relations of persons* is Bonhoeffer's description for the Christian concept of persons in relationship. His understanding of personhood is based on an interpersonal- as well as an interdependent model. This means that as the *I* meets the *You,* not only is a relationship developed between the two, but in the instance the *I* encounters the *You*, the *I* is re-created.[245] As the *I* meet the *You,* it meets the concrete barrier of the *You.*[246] Forced to acknowledge the concrete barrier of the *You,* the *I* enters into a relationship that is, according to Bonhoeffer, by nature ethical, as the person always and only exists in ethical responsibility.[247] It is only through the overwhelming claim of the *You* that the *I* is developed. Through the ethical responsibility nature of the relationship, the *I* is ever again re-created and grows out of the concrete situation, allowing the relationship to leave the traditional *subject/object* relationship.[248] The relationship now becomes one of two *subjects,* two "*I*'s". This however is not something the *I* can

[244] Bonhoeffer, D (1998): *Sanctorum Communio*: *A Theological study of the Sociology of the Church.* p. 33
[245] Although the usages of the *I/You* terminology of Bonhoeffer's theology is the same as of Martin Buber's book from 1923, there is according to Clifford Green (1998) no indication that Bonhoeffer was familiar with Buber's work. Furthermore, whereas Buber was influenced by neo-Kantianism, Bonhoeffer was influenced by philosophers such as Theodor Litt, Emmanuel Hirsch and Eberhard Grisebach. Green, C J (1998) in Bonhoeffer: *Sanctorum Communio,* p. 5
[246] Bonhoeffer, D (1998): *Sanctorum Communio.* p. 52
[247] Bonhoeffer, D (1998): *Sanctorum Communio.* p. 48
[248] Bonhoeffer, D (1998): *Sanctorum Communio.* pf. 55-56

ever establish without God.[249] Christian identity is constructed when the person faced with responsibility enters into a relationship with *the other* in Christ.

If we look back upon the development of cultural identity, this is where the difference between cultural and Christian identity can be found. The interdependent relationship between the *I* and the *You* in the development of identity is equally shared by the development of both a Christian and a cultural identity. As the *I* meets the *You/other* the *I* is re-created ever again. The difference in the development of the two identities lies in the demand of the *You/other*. As the Christian *I* meets *the You,* the demand for a relationship, responsible and ethical by nature, becomes critical. But according to cultural theory, the cultural *I,* on the other hand, meets no such demand from the cultural *You/*other. Although the cultural *I* is dependant on the cultural *You* in the development of its identity, there is no demand from *the other,* so the identity remains determined by and dependent only on culture. Yet what does this mean to the identity of the *You/other?* It raises the question whether there is a difference between the identity of a Christian and a cultural *You/other.* Logically the identity of the *You/other* is equally developed, but differs in the demands put on the *I.* If we follow Bonhoeffer's reasoning the demands placed on us from that of the Christian and cultural *You/other,* are one and the same, because the claim from the *You/other* is always also the claim of God.[250]

If the claim from the *You/other* is the claim from God, Bonhoeffer says, this is so because only through God can *the other* become a *You* to me from which the *I* can arise. Every human *You* is, according to Bonhoeffer, an image of the divine *You.* This not only means that the *You/other* is

[249] Bonhoeffer, D (1998): *Sanctorum Communio.* pf. 51-52
[250] Bonhoeffer, D (1998): *Sanctorum Communio.* pf. 54

always also the divine *You* but also, that it is only in the *You/other* that we can encounter the divine. "You-character is in fact the essential form in which the divine is experienced", says Bonhoeffer.[251] This leads us to his view of the church, because only within the revelation of God's love can we fully encounter *the other.*

The church as *Christ existing as a community of people*

When Bonhoeffer in *Sanctorum Communio* chooses to begin his account of the church from a social perspective, it has to do with his definition of the church. His theology of the *basic relation between persons* is closely related to his definition of community and church as the revelation of Christ and to his understanding of the church as *Christ existing as a community of persons*. The church community for Bonhoeffer is understood both as a community built upon the separateness and difference between individuals, and upon the whole as a *collective person.*[252] The nature of the church is at one and the same time, an empirical reality and a reality of revelation. Yet although empirical in character, the church is not to be understood simply as a religious community. According to Bonhoeffer "The church of Jesus Christ that is actualised by the Holy Spirit is really the church here and now".[253] Yet once it has been understood that the church is the body of Christ on earth, it is again possible to understand the church as a religious community established by God.[254] In its empirical form the history of the church is "...the hidden centre of world history, and not the history of one educational institution amongst others". Bonhoeffer says, this is so because "...the church is Christ existing as a church-community". [255]

[251] Bonhoeffer, D (1998): *Sanctorum Communio.* pf. 55
[252] Bonhoeffer, D (1998): *Sanctorum Communio.* pf. 77-86
[253] Bonhoeffer, D (1998): *Sanctorum Communio.* p. 208
[254] Bonhoeffer, D (1998): *Sanctorum Communio.* p. 209 Bonhoeffer's concept of religion and religious community will be debated later.
[255] Bonhoeffer, D (1998): *Sanctorum Communio.* p. 211

It is only from within this church-community that we can fully enter into relation with each other. As established above, it is only when the *I* meets the demands of the other person that the *I* is created. Considering the fear raised by Andreea Ritivoi, concerning the identity of the individual, this does not mean the loss of individual identity, says de Gruchy, but rather that "...the discovery of genuine personal identity is only possible in community, that is, through "the other".[256] Christian identity is developed in the relationship to *the other,* becoming visible in the acts of the Christian. Just as Christ acts through "vicarious representative action" or *Stellvertretung* so must the members of the church.[257]

Bonhoeffer's concept of *Stellvertretung* is foundational for his understanding of the connectedness of ecclesiology, Christology and ethics. The community must be a reflection of the *Stellvertretung* of Christ in its "being-for-each-other".[258] For Bonhoeffer this applies both to the individual member and the church as a collective person.[259] The immediate context for Bonhoeffer's claim is that to be truly church, those who claim to follow Christ must themselves become as Christ, existing as a church community.[260] The reciprocal relationship of person and community places the church member in the role of *Stellvertreter* and gives the church its character as a community of love, thereby becoming the concrete reality of God's revelation. In this way the act of

[256] De Gruchy, J (2002): "Sanctorum Communio and the Ethics of Free Responsibility: Reflections on Bonhoeffer's Ecclesiology and Ethics". p. 93
[257] The German words Stellvertretung/Stellvertreter will be used instead of the term "Vicarious Representative Action" in the following.
[258] Bonhoeffer, D (1998): *Sanctorum Communio*. pf. 146
[259] De Gruchy, J (2002): "Sanctorum Communio and the Ethics of Free Responsibility: Reflections on Bonhoeffer's Ecclesiology and Ethics". p. 95
[260] Kelly, G & Nelson, F (2003): *The Cost of Moral Leadership – The Spirituality of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*. Eerdmans Publishing Co. p. 150

Stellvertretung becomes both a Christological and an anthropological-ethical concept.[261] The phrase "the church is church only if it exist for others", found later in the Prison Letters, shows how the motif of the *Stellvertreter* is prevalent throughout Bonhoeffer's theology.[262]

Bonhoeffer's definition of the church not only includes and defines the church itself but also the Christian members within it. In conclusion we can say based on the above analysis that Christian identity arises only in the responsible and ethical encounter with *the other*: "Bonhoeffer's concept of the Christian person is one that above all is constituted by the ethical responsibility that arises in the encounter and conflict with the will of the other".[263]This only takes place in community with others.

On *Religionless Christianity* in Bonhoeffer's "Letters and Papers from Prison".

The foundational theme present in *Sanctorum Communio* finds expression in Bonhoeffer's later theology, notably in his *Ethics* and *Letters and Papers from Prison.* Of particular importance for our argument is Bonhoeffer's rejection of "thinking in two spheres" as developed in his *Ethics.* In Christ, God and the world are revealed in such a way that the dichotomy between the sacred and the profane no longer holds. This prepares the way for Bonhoeffer's insistence in *Letters and Papers from Prison* that Christians are called to live fully in the world. From this perspective the "secular" takes a positive significance in contrast to the "religious" as defined by Bonhoeffer. In what follows we will explore this theme, keeping in mind our objective, namely to gain theological perspectives on Christian identity in relation to *the other.*

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[261] Green, C J (1998) in Bonhoeffer: *Sanctorum Communio.* Fortress Press. p. 1
[262] Van Soosten, J (1998), in Bonhoeffer: *Sanctorum Communio.* Fortress Press. p. 303
[263] Green, C (1998), in Bonhoeffer: *Sanctorum Communio.* p. 4

A World Come of Age.

Kant's well known phrase, *a world come of age,* had at Bonhoeffer's time become a general term for the development of autonomy and rationality in the world and for the end of superstition. Yet Bonhoeffer's theological response to this phenomenon proved to be in stark contrast to the reaction within much of the Christian world. For many *the world come of age* spelled the danger of the end of Christianity through pluralism brought on by Modernity and secularisation. For Bonhoeffer *a world come of age* was a multi-faceted historical development that since the thirteenth century had reshaped the spheres of science, social and political affairs, arts, ethics and religion in relation to human autonomy. For Bonhoeffer this was especially true of the role of religion within the last hundred years. God had been moved to the periphery of human life. Yet in spite of this depressing prognosis he remained in opposition to the attempts to counteract this trend, on the grounds of misdirected apologetics.[264] For Bonhoeffer the changing historical context inspired the main theological question in *Letters and Papers from Prison*, namely a new formulation of the Christological problem.[265] The question that needed to be asked was that of Christ within an emancipated world: "...how can we reclaim for Christ a world that has come of age?".[266] Two points become apparent here. Firstly, that for Bonhoeffer the term *maturity* perceives the development of *a world come of age* as a step in history. Secondly, that Bonhoeffer's *theology of sociality* is carried through, if not in a strait line, then in an ongoing line from *Sanctorum*

[264] Bonhoeffer, D (1953): *Letters and Papers from Prison*. June 8-1944. Fontana Books.
[265] Pangritz, A (2005): *The Understanding of Mystery in the Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*; unpublished paper from the Copenhagen Conference, 2005: The Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Theories of Cognition, Culture, and Religion. p. 11
[266] Bonhoeffer, D (1953): *Letters and Papers from Prison.* June 30-1944.

Communio to the prison letters.[267] Both points are intrinsic to his theology of *Religionless Christianity*.

On maturity and the critique of religion.

When using the term maturity, Bonhoeffer gives the historical development a positive character. He uses the analogy of a matured, grown up person and regards the attempts to keep people adolescent as a pointless struggle against historical development.[268] Bonhoeffer links the matured development of the world to that of humanity and identity, thereby making it a *natural* development. As we grow up, we are freed from the patronage of our parents; likewise the world should be freed from the patronage of God as it enters into its mature state.[269] For him, being of age was a positive step towards Christian maturity and towards an answer to his key question, "*Who is Christ for us today?*". Bonhoeffer nowhere gives a clear definition of religion, although his discernment of the world come of age was to a large extent built on Barth's critique of religion. Ralf Wüstenberg even suggests that Bonhoeffer gives neither a conceptual definition of religion nor any closed theory of religion.[270] Christoph Schwöbel understands Bonhoeffer's use of the term as a more evaluative theological concept. More than criticising religion as a phenomenon in itself, Bonhoeffer, according to Schwöbel, criticises religion only within Christian theology and the church, and only on a few occasions applies this critique to other religions.[271] This is true in his letters, but we must keep in mind that Bonhoeffer's view of religion changes over time as does the

[267] Green, C (1999): *Bonhoeffer – A Theology of Sociality.* Dissertation Series 6, Eerdmans Publisher Co.
[268] Bonhoeffer (1953): *Letters and Papers from Prison.* June 8-1944.
[269] Bethge, E (1975): *Bonhoeffer: Exile and Martyr.* Collins, London. p. 143
[270] Wüstenberg, R (1998): *A Theology of Life – Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Religionless Christianity.* Eerdmans Publishing. Co. p. 29
[271] Schwöbel, C (2005): *Religion" and, "Religionlessness" in Letters and Papers from Prison. A Perspective for Religious Pluralism?.* Unpublished paper from the Copenhagen Conference, 2005: The Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Theories of Cognition, Culture, and Religion.

way he uses religion.[272] We shall return to this shortly when we look at the phenomenon of religion and its relation to culture inside church. Nevertheless different points occur regularly in Bonhoeffer's critique of religion in *Letters and Papers from Prison* that are important to his concept of *Religionless Christianity*. Schwöbel has summed these up in six points:

1. A religious act is always partial, not holistic.
2. Religion epistemologically places knowledge of God at the boundaries of human knowledge.
3. Theologically locating God as a stop-gap in the gaps of human knowledge and into a personal, inner, and private dimension of human life, God becomes the *Deus ex machina* appearing as an "other-worldly" solution to human problems or as a strength in human failure.
4. Anthropologically it focuses on the boundaries of human condition. The weaknesses in human life becomes the point of contact for the religious dimension,
5. Soteriologically it focus on personal redemption and individualistic salvation.
6. Ecclesiologically the role of the church is defined over against society, thereby making self-preservation the primary objective of the life of the church.[273]

So Bonhoeffer's critique of religion, in connection with what Wüstenberg identifies as Bonhoeffer's *concept* of religion, are that these religious views of God and Christ *cannot* be regarded as the essence to being Christian. Rather, religion must be seen as a "historically conditioned and transient form of human self-expression. As the world has historically come of age, the time has come for a matured Christianity without religion.

[272] Wüstenberg, R (1997): "Religionless Christianity": Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Tegel Theology". p. 59.
[273] Schwöbel, C (2005): *Religion" and, "Religionlessness" in Letters and Papers from Prison. A Perspective for Religious Pluralism?*. p. 2

Religionless Christianity

Bonhoeffer's proposal for a *Religionless Christianity* arises out of both his Christology and his critique of religion. In the place of religion Bonhoeffer makes Christ the centre of the world. [274] It is a response to his perennial question, "Who is Christ for us today?".[275] Schwöbel sums up Bonhoeffer's proposal for a *Religionless Christianity* in six points matching his critique of religion:

1. Because God lays claims on our whole person, faith in Christ is never something partial, but lays claims on the whole of our lives.
2. Epistemologically, in Religionless Christianity God is placed in the totality of human knowledge, shaped by the knowledge of God through Christ.
3. Theologically God is placed in the totality of the whole of human experience. God is not the *Deus ex machina*, but is present through Christ in his suffering. God's presence is gratuitous and therefore not the solution to human failure or strength, but only continually present in Christ's being there for others. God's transcendence is the otherness of the other person, directing us in the whole of our lives.
4. Anthropologically the human condition is looked upon in its totality, not recognising the separation between the private and public sphere.
5. Soteriologically it focuses on redemption as communal, and salvation is perceived historically, holistically and communally.
6. Ecclesiologically the role of the church in society is not separated from society. Church is liberated by Christ's being for others from the church's tendency to focus on its own self-preservation. [276]

[274] Green, C (1999): *Bonhoeffer – A Theology of Sociality*. p. 270
[275] Pangritz, A (2005): *The Understanding of Mystery in the Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*. p. 2
[276] Schwöbel, C (2005): *Religion" and, "Religionlessness" in Letters and Papers from Prison. A Perspective for Religious Pluralism?* p. 2

Bonhoeffer's critique of and response to religion in *Letters and Papers from Prison* thus deepens the true meaning of Christian identity; Christ is the total centre in our lives lived fully in the world, from which all experiences and actions must be based. Following this the ecclesiology of *Letters and Papers from Prison* points to a church called to be the church-for-others.[277]

Some female reflections on the theology of Bonhoeffer and the identity of *the other.*

Only a few scholars have concerned themselves with a feministic reading of Bonhoeffer's theology. My reflections on Bonhoeffer's theology cannot be said to do so either, as I am not a feminist theologian as such. However as a woman, my primary reading and understanding of Bonhoeffer's theology is from a female viewpoint. Bonhoeffer, situated in his historical context, can hardly be criticized for not using gender sensitive language. Having inherited a patriarchal culture, in the form of a bourgeois pattern of values, Bonhoeffer was to some extent unable to achieve a more critical insight on the church as "a man's church".[278] So Bonhoeffer's historical and social context to some extent explains his lack of gender sensitivity; he cannot easily be freed from his patriarchal perspective.

One of the characteristics of Bonhoeffer's theology of the *mandates* is the perspective of *oben* and *unter,* above and below. In the mandate of marriage this perspective is represented within the relations of the family, with the parents being above the children. Even though this perspective is not explicitly mentioned in *Ethics* in the relation between spouses, with the man being above the

[277] De Gruchy, J(2002): "Sanctorum Communio and the Ethics of Free Responsibility: Reflections on Bonhoeffer's Ecclesiology and Ethics". p. 108

[278] Van Eyden, R (1991): "Dietrich Bonhoeffer's understanding of Male and Female" in (eds.) Carter et al: *Bonhoeffer's Ethics-Old Europe and New Frontiers*. Pharos. p. 203

woman, it is assumed that Bonhoeffer followed the Pauline view of the relationship between Christ and the church as a model for marriage, thus accepting the Pauline view in Ephesians 5:24 of women having to be subservient to their husbands in everything.[279] Bonhoeffer's view of women as subservient to their husbands is evident throughout his theological career; the basic elements and convictions are combined in his wedding sermon from Tegel that certainly leaves a lot to be desired in term of gender equality.[280] Bonhoeffer's view of women was unusually patriarchal even for his time: "Subordinate, but equal is a twist of mind easy for the superior. It made Bonhoeffer's perspective oppressively male", says Thomas Day. [281]

We wonder then if Bonhoeffer applied his view of the *divine you* when it concerned women, and if when meeting the female *You,* this prompted a mutual ethically responsible act. We could even say that Bonhoeffer's view of women challenges his initial theology of the *social ontic-ethical basic-relations of persons* and the church as *Christ existing as a community of people.* If the feminist critique of Christian patriarchy is that it denies the full humanity of women, then Bonhoeffer is guilty.[282] This raises then the question of the usefulness of Bonhoeffer's theology from a feminist viewpoint. Even though this question takes us beyond the limits of this thesis, a few reflections are necessary and helpful in terms of our objective.

At a seminar held during the 7th International Bonhoeffer Congress in 1996 in Cape Town, several participants criticised the seminar for its lack of sensitivity to women within the political context.

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[279] Van Eyden, R (1991): "Dietrich Bonhoeffer's understanding of Male and Female". pf. 202
[280] Van Eyden, R (1991): "Dietrich Bonhoeffer's understanding of Male and Female". p. 203. Bonhoeffer's view of women within marriage can also be found in his teaching on wedding sermons in Finkenwalde and in his *Ethics.* In 1935 – 39 he gave a course on spiritual care, in it affirming the subservient role of women before God and men. p. 201
[281] Day, T quoted in Van Eyden, R (1991): "Dietrich Bonhoeffer's understanding of Male and Female". p. 206
[282] Ruether, R (1983): *Sexism and God-Talk-Towards a Feminist Theology.* Beacon Press. pf. 22

"Who is Jesus Christ for us today?" had to be understood and analysed outside "malestream theology" because the answer to this question is as dependent on context and experience, as it is on the universal truth claims of Christianity, according to Denise Ackerman.[283] She pointed to two problems: Firstly not only did she not hear much about "my Jesus", but neither was Bonhoeffer's theology presented in any way that was of use in her context as a "white" woman, theologically concerned with theory and praxis in her South African context. Secondly Ackerman pointed to the fact that this lack of contextuality in the presentation of Bonhoeffer's theology made it unhelpful to the reality and seriousness of the present injustice and violence towards women in South Africa today and in contrast to Bonhoeffer's theological anthropology.[284] Chung Hyun Kyung, at the same conference, offered the same critique, questioning Bonhoeffer's usefulness today for her Asian context. Applying gender and culture to Bonhoeffer's Christ as "the man for others", she argued that "being-for-others", is hardly a new concept for women who have given their lives for their husbands, fathers and sons. Furthermore she questioned the appropriateness of the concept of *the other*.[285] According to her the, ideology of "the other" is today viewed by many feminists as: "the core of patriarchy". In order to dominate, less powerful beings are viewed as *the other(s)*. Out of Kyung's own experience in the multi-religious context of Buddhism, Taoism and Hinduism, she pointed out that there is no *other*. We are all interconnected, *the other* is a construct. Thus Kyung called for a re-construction of Christianity to again make it useful. Questioning Bonhoeffer's use of the suffering Christ, Kyung called rather for a theology of life, an inter-living theology.[286]

[283] Botman, R (1997): "Is Bonhoeffer still of any use in South Africa?", in (ed.) De Gruchy, J: *Bonhoeffer for a New Day – Theology in a time of Transition*. Eerdmans Publishing Co. p. 367
[284] Botman, R (1997), "Is Bonhoeffer still of any use in South Africa?" , p. 268
[285] Kyung, C (1997): "Is Bonhoeffer still of any use in South Africa?" in (ed.) De Gruchy, J: *Bonhoeffer for a New Day-Theology in a time of Transition*. Eerdmans Publishing Co. pf. 14
[286]Kyung, C (1997): "Is Bonhoeffer still of any use in South Africa?". pf. 17

Although Kyung's critique needs to be heard, I find that it is not based on an adequate understanding of Bonhoeffer's *"other"*. In short, Kyung does not take the context of *the other* seriously enough. The interconnected nature of relationships does not eliminate the concept of *the other,* and by viewing *the other* merely as a construct there is a danger that *the other* is not taken seriously in his or her context. I would agree that the construction of *the other* as an opposite, which I believe is what the above quote refers to, is a core element in patriarchy, but mainly from a cultural and societal point of view. That this understanding via patriarchal theology has found its way into Christianity is not the same as saying that *the other* within Christianity is a construct per se. Another point that must be stressed is that the need for ethical and responsible acting is not heard and taken seriously. If there is no *other,* there is no *I* either. Does this not lead to a religious relativism that endangers exactly the interconnected nature of relationships? Should the need for a deconstruction of Christianity not rather be founded in an inter-subjective form of relationship as suggested by Francis Schüssler Fiorenza? Bonhoeffer is arguing that it is from the perspective of an ethical inter-subjectivity that religious transcendence needs to be elaborated.[287]

The meeting with *the other* is a major concern of Ackerman's theology of relationships, which recognizes the need to deal with difference and otherness responsibly. One of the failures of the Apartheid era, she points out, was the failure to recognise *the other* as an equal human being, whether *the other* was a person of colour or a woman, instead of viewing *the other* as a threat from which one needed to separate oneself. Therefore, says Ackermann, it is our ethical responsibility as faithful Christians to open up ourselves to understand and deal responsibly with otherness and difference by engaging in mutual relationships: "The call to full humanity is a call which takes

[287] Schüssler Fiorenza, F (2001): "Being, Subjectivity, Otherness", in (eds.) Caputo et.al: *Questioning God.* Indiana University Press. p. 357

place within the reality and the challenge of difference and otherness."[288] This is where the problem of Christian patriarchy lies:

> When the image of God mirrors the patriarchal concept of the head of the family, it becomes an exercise of power by ruling-class males over all others. Such images can be the cause of ethical problems in the construction of relationships not only between men and women but also between people as they are divided by class and race into the dominating and the subservient. An even more dangerous consequence of patriarchal images is idolatry. [289]

Ackerman addresses the whole spectrum of problems to mutual relationships presented by patriarchy. The patriarchal structure of society negatively influences not only the experience of women but also the nature of the Christian community. The exclusion of women from positions of authority in the empirical church creates a hierarchical structure based on male authority inside the Christian community, transforming the mutual relationship between clergy and laity. [290] *All* humanity is created in the image of God.[291] As both men and women are made in God's image, such plurality is an inherent part of humanity and calls us to recognise the image of God in every human being. Therefore the meeting with *the other* means the establishment of a relationship with that person and with God. To enter into a mutual and responsible relationship with another person

[288] Ackermann, D (1998):"Becoming fully Human: An Ethics of Relationships in difference and otherness". p. 16
[289] Ackermann, D (1991): "Being Women, Being Human", in (eds.): Ackermann, D. et al: *Women hold up half the sky.* Cluster Publications, Pietermaritzburg. p. 97
[290] Ackermann, D (1991): "Being Women, Being Human". p. 98
[291] Contemporary feminist theology has challenged the traditional male-gendered image of God because of its reinforcement of institutionalised patriarchy. In an attempt to deconstruct this image, different directions have been taken within feminist theology. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza (1983), a New Testament scholar, has highlighted the role of the feminine Sofia-God of the Wisdom traditions of the bible and, the identification of Jesus in the New Testament as the messenger of this Sofia-God and later with Sofia herself. Other feminist scholars argue for a post-Christian approach to speaking of God, drawing on pre-Christian images of God. Rosemary Ruther (1992) explicates the notion of Gaia in relation to the understanding of God. Schüssler Fioranza, F & Kaufman G (1998): "God" in (ed.) Taylor M: *Critical Terms for Religious Studies.* University of Chicago Press. pf. 148.

means the opposite of alienation not just between men and women but also between humankind and God. [292]

Let us return to Bonhoeffer's theology. In spite of the obvious critique by feminist theologians, does not his theology of sociality have much to offer in developing a relational theology? Although Bonhoeffer's wedding sermon shows that he at this point in time still held the view of women as subservient to men, Bonhoeffer's own theology from below, from the viewpoint of the outcasts as an essential part of his *Religionless Christianity* challenges his theology of *oben* and *unter,* in respect to marriage. Renate Bethge has testified to the powerful position of women within the Bonhoeffer family. Yet although Bonhoeffer's mother may in her own right have been a powerful and strong woman, the family structure described is a classic example of women belonging to the private sphere and men alone to the public sphere.[293] Bonhoeffer's own opinion on the position of women, as it comes out in his *Fiction from Prison*, also supports this family structure.[294] To make Bonhoeffer's theology useful for feminist theology we need go "beyond Bonhoeffer the man", being a product of his cultural and social upbringing, and let ourselves be guided by the logic of the Christology of his *Religionless Christianity.* On reflection it seems that Bonhoeffer's understanding of Christ as *Stellvertreter,* as "being-or-others", is highly relevant for contextual feminist theology, and the inclusive essence of Bonhoeffer's own Christological message a strong step away from the "malestream theology" that Ackerman referred to. The act of *Stellvertretung*,

[292] Ackermann, D (1991): "Being Women, Being Human". p. 98
[293] Betghe, R (1991): "Bonhoeffer's Picture of Women". p. 194
[294] Bonhoeffer, B (1978): *Fiction from Prison,* in (eds.) Bethge, R & Green, C. Fortress Press. Ruth Zerner, in her comment in *Fiction from Prison*, has pointed to the fact that Bonhoeffer's rejoicing of the harmonies of his middle-class background, and therefore the positioning of women within, was a way of not letting himself get caught up in daydreams and speculations. Probably Bonhoeffer's imprisonment made him appreciate the comfort zone the traditional family structure in his parents' home even more. The safe memory of "the friendly women keeping to their path" made him reject the more demanding and independent nature of women outside this social structure, says Renate Bethge (1991): "Bonhoeffer's Picture of Women". p. 197

demanded of us by *the other,* challenges us to be aware not only of a gender or racial reality but also the wider political context.

Some reflections on the subject of *religion* and on *being religious*

We have established that Bonhoeffer's use of the concept of religion was not consistent, that it changed during his theological development. However his understanding of religion as a more constant phenomenon in history, as in *Letters and Papers from Prison,* is consistent and thus easier to grasp and work with. Understanding religion merely as a phase in history, Bonhoeffer uses the concept as a tool to describe how Christians can *mature* into a true Christian identity, directed by our relationship to *the other* in our being-for-the-other. This means not only that Bonhoeffer was critical of religion as such, but also of the way of *being religious,* associated with his understanding of the concept. Yet what is the difference between religion and religious? We could say that *being religious* is the acting out of faith, as Bonhoeffer himself uses it in *Sanctorum Communio.*[295]

Religious beliefs and acts become distinctive in forming binding truth-claims, mainly concerning empirically unknowable aspects of reality.[296] Dismissing the use of the noun *religion* in favour of the adjective *religious*, Cantwell Smith rightly argues that living religiously is an attribute of persons, not just as they participate in the entity called religion, but as "they participate in … transcendence".[297] This means that the way we understand transcendence directs our behavioural structures as believers; this act is religious. This again means that the way we understand God

[295] Bonhoeffer's use of religious in SC is to be understood as a subjective attitude. This suggests a more Durkheimian view of the act of religion as it can also be directed towards different ways of being religious such as sport, hobbies etc. therefore meaning viewing religious as a feeling and action
[296] Anderson, P (1998): *A Feminist Philosophy of Religion.* Blackwell Publishers Ltd. p. 3
[297] Cantwell Smith, W (1978): *The Meaning and End of Religion.* SPCK-London. p. 195

makes the term religious highly contextual from a cultural perspective, thereby affirming Bonhoeffer's argument in his *Religionless Christianity*.

At the same time Bonhoeffer's argument in his *Religionless Christianity* offers a challenge. When stating that the "cultural context of the religious act" offers a challenge to Bonhoeffer's *Religionless Christianity,* we are stressing that the step towards a mature Christianity is an ongoing transformation within the church in its empirical reality. If we look at the consequences of *a world come of age* without the step towards a *Religionless Christianity,* two developments become apparent. If the church community does not mature into true Christian faith the empirical church is in danger of either developing into a cultural and religious enclave or a secularised church, both staying behind in the sphere of the culturally influenced acts of religiosity. The enclave will still offer a strong culturally determined religiosity as part of its identity. Yet as has happened in large parts of Western Europe, the secularised churches, while still performing the religious rites, now predominately function as cultural symbols having lost their function as religious communities.[298] The question of contextuality becomes even more important if one begins to deconstruct the religious acts and the beliefs behind them. For whom have these beliefs been constructed? As the religious acts transform into binding truth-claims, this traditionally has often had a negative influence on the view of sex, gender, race, class and ethnic differences within the church community.[299]

[298] The Danish anthropologist Cecilie Rubow, has pointed to the development that while the churches may have lost their functions as religious communities, the churches still perform a religious function through religious rites, such as baptisms, weddings, etc. Peter Berger has recently argued, in opposition to his theory in: *The Sacred Canopy* (1967), of secularisation being the unquestioned effect of Modernity; that West European countries but in particular the Nordic countries, are in fact the only ones that have fully developed a secularised society at present, whereas the rest of western society has not as such been secularised but has rather developed a condition of a plurality of competing faith communities. We shall return to this subject in the final chapter. Berger, P (2001): "Postscript", in (eds.) Woodhead et al. *Peter Berger and the Study of Religion.* Routledge. pf.189-198

[299] Anderson, P (1998): *A Feminist Philosophy of Religion.* p. 16

While posing a challenge to Bonhoeffer's *Religionless Christianity*, the cultural context emphasises the contextual nature of the Christian act. The cultural barrier is a concrete barrier between *the other* and *I*, demanding that *I* act in an ethical and responsible way, from which my Christian identity is developed. The context of the cultural *other* stresses the need for this act to always be contextual. Religious pluralism is part of the challenge that we can meet as we encounter *the other. The other* need not only be *the individual other* but can be *the collective other.*[300]

Bonhoeffer's critique of religion can also be extended to religious actions. Bonhoeffer's view of religious actions is addressed in his theology of the *arcane disciplines*, and his *ethics of free responsibility*, a subject to which we will turn shortly. However to begin with I suggest that the concept of contextuality within the church, being both an empirical reality and the revelation of Christ, challenges Bonhoeffer's understanding of religion and religious acts, as simply a phase in history. It is insufficiently dialectical. The church and its members are an empirical reality within a particular cultural setting. As the cultural identity of the church members is being negotiated and established in an ongoing exchange with the cultural community of which that individual is part, Christian identity is from the outset influenced by this development. The cultural community of which the churchgoer is a member directs the religious "acts of transcendence" within the empirical church. In this way we are initially coached to act out our faith according to the traditions and rites of the cultural community. However as we are presented with the church not merely as an empirical religious institution but also as the revelation of Christ, we can through our

[300] De Gruchy, J (2002): "God's Desire for a Community of Human Beings", in (eds.) Gremmels, C & Huber, W: *Religion in Erbe – Dietrich Bonhoeffer und die Zukunftsfähigkeit des Christentums*. Chr. Kaiser Gütersloher Verlagshaus. p. 149

relationship to *the other* step out of the religious and culturally determined phase and mature our Christian identity without being captured by cultural constraints. While Bonhoeffer's view of religion and religious acts is a reaction to a certain development in the history of sociality, there is another view of religion and the act of being religious as not just a phase in history but as a phase in the development towards Christian maturity and identity.

We know today, what Bonhoeffer did not, that the effect of Modernity and *a world come of age*, did not lead to the end of religion in any obvious sense but rather to the reality of a global resurgence of religion and religious pluralism. The challenge of religious pluralism, according to Peter Berger, undermines the belief system that is taken for granted in any given society.[301] This does not mean that it is impossible to hold on to particular religious beliefs, but that these will be truth-claims equal to other truth-claims within the same society. Post-secular religiosity today creates competing truth-claims amongst historical religions, "syncretistic" pluralisms, quasi-religions reinterpreting religious lifestyles in traditionally non-religious systems as "healthism", scientism, thereby combining different religious symbols, myths, rites and practices.[302] The present reality of global religious pluralism stresses the need for Bonhoeffer's highly contextual theology as argued in his *arcane discipline* and his *ethics of free responsibility*.

Only a brief account of this subject will be given here in relevance to the subject of religiosity, as the subject will be debated at length later in this thesis. The theology of the *arcane discipline* can be traced back to *Sanctorum Communio*, only to be more fully developed during Bonhoeffer's time in Finkenwalde, and according to Andreas Pangritz, reaching its full potential in response to a

[301] Berger P(2001): "Postscript". pf. 189-198
[302] Schwöbel,C (2005): *Religion" and "Religionlessness" in Letters and Papers from Prison. A Perspective for Religious Pluralism?* p. 3

world come of age as a *theology of the powerless.*[303] *Arcane disciplines* in the sense of "righteous actions" mean doing justice and suffering for righteousness and taking risk for others.[304] Again, only to be more fully developed in his *Ethics*, Bonhoeffer's *ethics of free responsibility* can also be traced back to *Sanctorum Communio.* The *ethics for free responsibility* brings Bonhoeffer's understanding of *Stellvertretung* into the sphere of social and political ethics, making it a concrete act.[305]

Both theological perspectives can be said to answer Bonhoeffer's question of "who Christ really is for us today" in his letter of 30 April 1944; namely, "Christ the human being for others" and therefore the church as "the church for others".

In Bonhoeffer's *Ethics* the focus of the act of *Stellvertretung* shifted from the church to the world as a response to the claims of Christ over the whole of social reality.[306] The constant demand for contextuality within both theological perspectives, although intended as a response to a non-religious world and political and social injustice, in fact makes itself useful in the present situation of religious pluralism. Whether we see *the other* as a threat or a gift, it is our response that will determine our identity as Christians. The more different the other person, culture or religion the greater is the challenge to deal responsibly with this otherness.[307] Only by respecting and valuing other religions and religious acts can we fully live up to being there for *the other.* The Christological *cantus firmus* of Bonhoeffer's theology is rooted in the world, a world in which God

[303] Pangritz, A (2005): *The Understanding of Mystery in the Theology of Dietrich Bonhoeffer*. pf. 6-11.
[304] The full argument behind Bonhoeffer's theology of the arcane discipline is far more complicated and a fuller account of will be given at a later stage.
[305] De Gruchy, J (2002): "Sanctorum Communio and the Ethics of Free Responsibility: Reflections on Bonhoeffer's Ecclesiology and Ethics". p. 105
[306] De Gruchy, J (2002): "Sanctorum Communio and the Ethics of Free Responsibility: Reflections on Bonhoeffer's Ecclesiology and Ethics". pf. 102-104
[307] De Gruchy, J (2002): "God's Desire for a Community of Human Beings". p. 151

did not wish for a community of individuals but a community of human beings, says Bonhoeffer.[308] Only by being there for *the other,* even in the reality of competing religious truth-claims, within which the Christian claim is only one, can we exclusively claim Christ as our saviour. For Bonhoeffer himself *the other* indeed was both the cultural and religious *other.* His travels abroad came to have a fundamental significance to his understanding of *the other.* Through his travels he developed an openness to learn and experience from other cultures and religious traditions of great importance to us for the question of religious pluralism.[309] Bonhoeffer affirms in his *Ethics* that the more exclusively we confess Christ as our saviour the freer we can become.[310] Paradoxically, the more exclusive we are in our own truth-claim, the more inclusive we can be as we encounter religious difference, truly becoming a church for others. In the words of Schwöbel: "The church preserves its identity, *the conformitas Christi*, by being there for others - also in the situation of religious pluralism."[311]

An evaluation of Christian identity and *the other* in the DRC pre-1994

Having analysed the development of both a cultural and Christian identity, let us briefly sum up the similarities and differences. A common denominator for the development of identity is the role of *the other.* In meeting with *the other* the reality of difference and otherness is encountered. An identity is developed at both an individual and collective level, creating a relationship of interdependence between the *I* and the *You.* This interdependent relationship is shared by both cultural and Christian identity. But the development of cultural and Christian identity differs at one very important point, namely in the response to difference and otherness. Cultural identity is

[308] Bonhoeffer, D (1998): *Sanctorum Communio.* p. 80
[309] De Gruchy, J (2002): "God's Desire for a Community of Human Beings". p. 151
[310] Bonhoeffer (2005): *Ethics.* Fortress Press. pf. 340
[311] Schwöbel, C (2005): *"Religion" and "Religionlessness" in Letters and Papers from Prison. A Perspective for Religious Pluralism?* p. 4

developed in opposition to *the other;* the relationship between the *You* and *I* remains a characteristic *subject-object* relationship. The cultural response to difference and otherness at one and the same time develops the *subject* of the *I,* and the *object* of the *You.* Characteristic of Christian identity however, is a *subject-to-subject* relationship. Only as the difference and otherness of *You* as a *subject* is met, can *I* develop as an equal *subject,* because the demand of the Christian *You* is at the same time the demand from God enabling us to encounter difference and otherness as two equal *subjects* and not as *subject-to-object.* God's transcendence is the otherness of the other person, directing us in the totality of our lives. God is not *Deus ex machina* but is continually present in Christ's being there for others. To be a Christian is to acknowledge *Christ as the human being for others.*

In the light of this let us reflect on our case study, namely the development of the cultural identity of the Afrikaners. As the identity of Afrikanerdom was developed a number of *others* were constructed simultaneously. The establishment of Afrikaans culture was from the onset a response to a different cultural reality from that of the Boer community. The development of Afrikaner culture in opposition to both the cultures of the British and "people of colour" followed the theories of the development of nations. However we can argue that the development of women as *the other* within the culture itself was the result to a higher extent of a religiously influenced patriarchy. Although the location of women as representing culture was also part of the essentialist self-consciousness, the ideal of the *Volksmoeder* drew heavily on neo-Calvinist theology. The hierarchical structure of the church, based on male authority inside the Christian community, transformed the mutual relationship between men and women but also between Afrikaners and any "people of colour". Certainly at a later stage the strong objectification of "people of colour" within

Afrikaner culture was also sanctioned theologically. Yet the initial opposition was based partly on culture, partly on civil religious belief, rather than on Reformed theology. The religious practice of racial separation that took its beginning with the first verified example in the case of Bentura Visser and *the weakness of some*, should be identified as a culturally rather than theologically influenced action. However the xenophobic beliefs of the Boer community found their way into the religious beliefs and acts of the church and in time transformed these into doctrinal truth-claims.

In short we can say that the way of dealing with difference and otherness was highly contextual to the cultural environment of the Afrikaners. This environment also became part of the DRC as the church adopted the cultural cause of the Afrikaners after the Anglo-Boer war and especially in the 1930´s. The development towards a theology of separation began long before, but as the church actively engaged itself with the suffering of the *poor white* Afrikaners in particular, the 1930's became formative for the later Apartheid theology. Based on Bonhoeffer's theology of the *social ontic-ethical basic-relations of persons* we can say that the DRC did not manage to deal ethically and responsibly with difference and otherness when dealing with *the other.* In retrospect we can claim that a religiously influenced cultural identity of the Afrikaners was taken for a Christian identity by the DRC, and that in this process the demand from *the other* as an equal *subject* was neglected. As a result the mutual relationship between *I* and *You* was compromised. By accepting the cultural and civil religious truth-claims of the Afrikaner community concerning *the other,* the DRC as a church compromised the Christian identity of its members.

The reasoning behind the development of a theology of separation in the DRC may seem incomprehensible in today's context. According to Jaap Durand and Johan Kinghorn, as we established in chapter three, the Apartheid Theology of the DRC was to a large extent a reaction against modernism and pluralism. From the 1930's and onwards the cultural cause inside the DRC became increasingly theological via the neo-Calvinist theology of Kuyper. Although the pietism of Murray was strong in the Cape, the theology of Kuyper became the dominant religious influence. This was probably so because of the legitimacy Kuyper's theology offered to the cultural cause. Kuyper's conservative neo-Calvinism offered a strong stand against the perceived threats from Modernity. The intellectual storm surrounding the du Plessis case already in the 1920´s gives some explanation of the extent to which the DRC was prepared to go for the cultural cause of the Afrikaners. One can claim that neo-Calvinism was a useful theological perspective, offering legitimacy to both the cultural cause and the related problem of pluralism, while fighting Modernity and the ideas of the Enlightenment. Du Plessis was simply charged with "modernism" and as a consequence of the fight against Modernism, the Stellenbosch seminary was staffed either with Kuyperian neo-Calvinists, or romantic nationalists. From the middle of 1930's the DRC as a result became the intellectual bastion against modernization. Yet although Neo-Calvinism as a whole became the dominant theological basic for the cultural cause, it is important to note that it was only one of a number of theological influences. However what is important to remember is that they all offered support to the segregationist worldview both inside and outside the DRC.

While the constructed *Volksmoeder* ideal of the cultural movement also learnt its philosophy from the neo-Calvinist movement, the religiousness of Afrikaner women was strongly influenced by Murray's pietism. To what extent the personal and almost erotic pietists beliefs of the early

Voortrekker women was still present is hard to say, but the allocated inferior status directed by the patriarchal structures was still very much a reality. This meant that women to some extent exercised their religious beliefs in two theological spheres. As they fulfilled their cultural roles as the bearers of the nation in accordance with the neo-Calvinist ideal, the Afrikaner women were still active in movements like the ACVV, fulfilling their pietist obligation in the shadow of their husbands, fathers and brothers. The combined religious beliefs of the Afrikaner women did however nurture the general perception of *the other* as shared by the whole culture. To adopt Kyung's criticism of Bonhoeffer, for these women there most certainly was an *other*. It could be argued that the women themselves being alienated by the patriarchy within church and culture adopted this view of *the other* to maintain their allocated position in society, giving them some sense of power. This however does not change the fact that Afrikaner women to a large extent were part of maintaining the inferior position of *the other* of the "person of colour".

In the face of the danger of secularisation and pluralism caused by Modernity the reasoning behind the theology of the DRC and Bonhoeffer varies considerably. In many ways the DRC reacted to Modernity and supported *Volk*-nationalism in the same way as the Protestant churches did in Germany. Bonhoeffer's critique of the latter, both in the extreme form of the response by the "German Christian", and with the more moderate form of the Reich church, is thus appropriate for evaluating the role and response of the DRC in the 1930's. There are clear points of correlation. One reason for Bonhoeffer's different perspective of *the other* was that although he grew up in a mono-cultural context his travels had made him aware of multicultural context. This must certainly have been the case during his visits to Rome, The United States and especially his experiences in Harlem.

In *Letters and Papers from Prison* Bonhoeffer strongly criticises the inward pietism that makes Christians distinguish between inner and outer life, thereby failing to look at humankind as a whole and the suffering of injustice. Rather than living in an inward religious existence, Bonhoeffer called for a worldly living, not apart from God but with God. For Bonhoeffer being a Christian did not mean to be a Christian in any particular way; it was not the religious act itself that made a Christian but rather "...participation in the suffering of God in the life of the world".[312] It is only by living fully in the world that we learn to believe.[313] Whether or not Bonhoeffer's critique of the view of God as a "working hypothesis" is applicable to the Christian identity of the Afrikaners inside the DRC is a matter of speculation. There is no doubt that the understanding of God as *Deus ex machina* was the general understanding of the civil religious beliefs of the early enclave community. Yet whether this criticism can be applied to the Apartheid theology itself is difficult to say with precision. The civil-religious beliefs of the emerging Afrikaner identity was not part of doctrinal theology during the Apartheid era, yet the outcome of this understanding of the Afrikaners as *a chosen people* in whom God took pleasure certainly found it fulfilment in the Apartheid Theology. Nevertheless one can point out that in the DRC God was not placed in the totality of human experience and thereby remained "other-worldly". In short, as a response to the threat posed by the pluralist reality of South Africa, the Afrikaners showed a fierce resistance in dealing with difference and otherness. Following Bonhoeffer's reasoning, this meant that the church and its members failed to recognise Christ in his worldly presence since as he can only be encountered in *the other,* no matter which race, gender or culture belonging.

[312] Bonhoeffer, D (1953): *Letters and Papers from Prison.* July 18-1944.
[313] Bonhoeffer, D (1953): *Letters and Papers from Prison.* July 21-1944.

Part Two:

The Construction of Cultural and Christian identity

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The DRC post - 1994

Chapter Five

Afrikaner identity in transition

The year 1994 stands for most South Africans as the year that signalled a new beginning as the country held its first democratic election. It became the year where Afrikaner political dominance finally suffered defeat and the quest for Afrikaner supremacy met its end. As South Africa entered a period of radical transition in the early nineteen-nineties, Afrikaners have struggled to discern their role within the country and to redefine their identity. This struggle was earlier anticipated in the conflict between the *Verkramptes* and the *Verligtes,* a conflict that was not fully resolved and was now reinforced and expressed in new ways. In the process of reaffirming their identity as Afrikaners, but now in a new context marked by their loss of political power, Afrikanerdom fragmented into different groups determined by the response made to the challenge. However, the concern to maintain Afrikaner identity and therefore protect the enclave, was deeply rooted and strongly affirmed even through there was also a desire on the part of some to participate fully in the new South Africa. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was a time of special testing as it raised issues that were particularly difficult to manage. The different responses to the TRC reflect the different ways in which Afrikaner identities were being first deconstructed and then reconstructed.

Cultural transition - the Afrikaner identity in conflict

Although the Soweto Uprising in 1976 was a watershed in the struggle for liberation in South Africa, the years to come were filled with terror and repression before the final victory in 1994.

The increasing resistance led to a more brutal repression than previously. The counter-revolutionary measures from governmental side were two-fold. On the one hand, efforts were made to give Apartheid a more "human face" by co-opting more black leaders into the system. On the other hand, there was a strengthening of the state security institutions, sidestepping parliamentary procedures, permitting any measures necessary in the "total onslaught" against the forces of liberation, labelled the "communist aggression". The ecumenical church and the trade unions assumed the position of leading the struggle for liberation and at the brink of disaster helped South Africa pull away from the threat of civil war. The struggle for political liberation and the struggle of the church for authentic Christian witness became increasingly intertwined.[314] But although the struggle for liberation in the country had intensified, adding to an identity crisis within Afrikanerdom, this alone was not the source of the crisis that had in fact begun at least ten years earlier. After the assassination of Verwoerd in September 1966, the division caused by the dispute over the full integration of the English-speaking South Africans eventually resulted in a division inside Afrikaner elites. In the eyes of many, Verwoerd had, with his support of the inclusion of the English speakers in the national project, sacrificed the ideal of Afrikaner dominance. This division clearly showed how at this time the civil-religious interpretation of the sacred story of Afrikanerdom had become an excluding racist and ethnic one. The fear amongst some was that the integration of English speakers would not lead to the "Afrikanerization" of the English but rather to the Anglicization of the Afrikaners, as Piet Meyer put it in his address to the AB executive only a few weeks after Verwoerd's death.[315] The dispute was rooted in the growing division between two different lines within Afrikanerdom. As the realities of a growing class-based competition and conflict within Afrikaner nationalism became apparent, they stood in stark

[314] De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa.* pf. 184
[315] Moodie, D (1980): *The Rise of Afrikanerdom – Power, Apartheid, and Afrikaner Civil Religion.* University of California Press. p. 286

contrast to the "anti-capitalist" *Volkskapitalisme* of the 1940's and 1950's. In the years to come the Afrikaner civil and political society was characterised by the differences arising out of the conflict between the *Verkramptes* and the *Verligtes*. The *Verkrapmte* were traditionalists fighting to maintain a glorified past of the Afrikaner people, based on a purist and ethnic ideology and the continued application of Apartheid. In terms of race relations this meant a return to white *baasskap* as opposed to a political and more "liberal" line of *separate development.* The *Verligtes* were much more comfortable with the transformation of the nationalist ideology in order to suit the changing composition and material needs of the Afrikaner *Volk.*[316] Finding common ground between the British and the Afrikaners made the *Verligtes* more willing to abandon the exclusively nationalist project to accommodate the shared economic interests of the middleclass. This not only meant a more liberal attitude towards the English but also towards the view on racial division in the country. The phenomenon of the *Verligtes* was a response to a new class of more financially aggressive self-confident Afrikaners, whose interests lay beyond the *laager.*[317] But it was not only the business world that appealed for a more tolerant attitude to the racial question; increasingly the Afrikaner intellectuals, academics and newspapers followed suite.[318] However in order to maintain the economic privileges of the "whites", the *Verligtes* still believed that *separate development,* due to the substantial differences between the race, was still needed to preserve the security of "whites". Thus they were still in favour of a more flexible and partial implementation of Apartheid.[319] But since the country experienced a economic boom from 1963 to 1971 as a result of the use of cheap "black" labour and foreign and domestic investments, the ideological split

[316] O'Meara, D (1996): *Forty Lost Years – The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948-1994.* Raven Press. p. 155
[317] O'Meara, D (1996): *Forty Lost Years – The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948-1994.* p. 156
[318] Van Zyl Slabbert, F (1975): "Afrikaner Nationalism, White Politics, and Political Change in South Africa", in (eds.) Thomson, L & Butler, J: *Change in Contemporary South Africa.* University of California Press. p. 13
[319] Kuperus, T (1999): *State, Civil Society and Apartheid in South Africa – An examination of Dutch Reformed Church-State Relations.* p. 104

between the *Verkramptes* and *Verligtes* did not yet create much concern.[320] The economic growth encouraged white unity and the income gap between "white" English and Afrikaans speakers closed considerably. The English and Afrikaans speaking whites could now work together to ensure white economic wealth. This however had a negative effect within the Afrikaner enclave. The economic growth, while creating coherence within the collective white community, undermined the ethnic cohesion of Afrikaner nationalism, leading to serious ideological divisions. Increasingly Afrikaner capitalists began to identify themselves along financial lines as opposed to ethnic. This created a feeling of ostracisation among the Afrikaans workers and small time farmers, who consequently looked to the ethnically focussed policy of the *Verkramptes* for support.[321] Under Verwoerd these differences were contained without causing a serious split, but in spite of B J Vorster's attempts to maintain solidarity as he took over office from Verwoerd, the *Herstigtes* put an end to political Afrikaner unity. In 1969 political division became a reality with the formation of Albert Herzog's conservative *Herstigte Nasionale Party.* From the onset the political separation caused conflict. The Afrikaner press dubbed the political line of the *Herstigtes* as narrow, unenlightened and chauvinistic.[322] Although the *Hestigtes* were beaten severely by the NP in the election of 1970, the division within Afrikanerdom was now a reality. By 1970 a large Afrikaner middleclass had emerged to support the *Verligtes*. These new *Verligtes* Afrikaners wanted the government to implement measures that would guarantee growth and prosperity. The governmental policy under Botha was a big step away from the strategies of both Voster and

[320] O'Meara, D (1996): *Forty Lost Years – The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948-1994.* Raven Press. p. 175
[321] Kuperus, T (1999): *State, Civil Society and Apartheid in South Africa – An examination of Dutch Reformed Church-State Relations.* p. 108
[322] Moodie, D (1980): *The Rise of Afrikanerdom – Power, Apartheid, and Afrikaner Civil Religion.* p. 287

Verwoerd, with a bigger wish to negotiate across the ethnic lines.[323] This however had far reaching implications for the unity of the NP. By 1982 Botha could no longer hold the party together and the NP lost much support from the working class. After being expelled from the NP along with a high number of *Verkramptes,* Andries Treunicht formed the Conservative Party. Although the rift in Afrikanerdom was deepening, the door was now left open for the NP to abandon Verwoerdian Apartheid.[324]

The economic boom had slowed down and international pressure intensified. Also internally the pressure rose challenging the notion of "white" hegemony and control.[325] As a response to both internal and external pressure Botha implemented a comprehensive "total-strategy" plan to deal with the growing challenge from the "total-onslaught" coming from communist revolutionaries both inside and outside the country. The apocalyptic discourse of the total onslaught strategy, while evoking a serious chord in "white", and in particular Afrikaner racial psyche, deepened the rift between the *Verkramptes* and *Verligtes*. For the *Verkramptes* the battle was another in a long line of ceaseless conflicts between authentic *Volksleiers* and opportunist pragmatics, which ever since the arrival of the British had led Afrikanerdom into disaster.[326] The position of the *Verligtes* was ambivalent. The *Verligtes* was equally concerned with the future of the Afrikaner *Volk* and its language, and saw the implementations of the total-strategy at both a military level and a reformist level as the only way to ensure the survival of Afrikanerdom. However at the same time they saw the necessity of the removal of some significant segregationist laws concerning labour and African

[323] Giliomee, H (1984): "Adapting Strategies for the Maintenance of White Rule", in (ed.) University of the Western Cape, Proceedings of the Conference on Economic Development and Racial Domination": *On the Political Economy of Race.* paper no. 36. p. 13
[324] Louw, P (2004): *The Rise, Fall and Legacy of Apartheid.* Praeger Publishers. p. 87
[325] Kuperus, T (1999): *State, Civil Society and Apartheid in South Africa – An examination of Dutch Reformed Church-State Relations.* p. 123
[326] O'Meara, D (1996): *Forty Lost Years – The Apartheid State and the Politics of the National Party, 1948-1994.* p. 257-265

urbanization.[327] The partial reforms and increased militarization kept the country quiet for a while but not for long. Recognising that Botha's reforms were primarily a tool to keep the South African "whites" in a position of power and prosperity, protest increased and the political crisis worsened. In 1985 a State of Emergency were declared.[328] Botha was unwilling to implement any more reform and the crisis worsened. The reluctant liberation policy of Botha inevitably failed to break away from racial paradigm and blind anticommunism.[329] Only when F W de Klerk came to power did the political landscape change dramatically. Successful pact-building between the ANC and the NP established the beginning of a new political era, clearing the way for a freed South Africa. After four years of negotiations the ANC in 1994 won the first democratic election in South Africa. For the first time since 1948 the Afrikaners were not in power.

The state of the Afrikaner enclave by 1994

As we have seen, there were many external factors contributing to the downfall of the Apartheid regime. However disregarding external factors, under the circumstances one could argue that internally the Afrikaner enclave was doomed to fail. An enclave will arise out of and maintain its self from a situation of conflict/crisis. As the external resistances in the shape of the British and the "black" communities were silenced by the success of Afrikanerdom, the very foundation for the enclave structure became endangered. According to Douglas, the elimination of external threats

[327] In 1983 the state attempted to strengthen its strategy by offering some type of political representation in the form of the Tricameral Legislative. The legislative, although offering some degree of power sharing between the "Coloured", Indian and "white" population, ceased to offer any political representation for the "black" population and was boycotted by most "Coloured" and Indians. Kuperus, T (1999): *State, Civil Society and Apartheid in South Africa-An examination of Duthc Reformed Church-State Relations.* p. 125

[328] Kuperus, T (1999): *State, Civil Society and Apartheid in South Africa – An examination of Dutch Reformed Church - State Relations.* p. 127

[329] Adam, H.& Moodley, K. (1993): *The Negotiated Revolution – Society and Politics in Post-Apartheid South Africa.* Jonathan Ball Publishers. p. 41

will cause the initial enclave to suffer from fragmentation, and lead to "sub-enclaves".[330] This is what happened to the Afrikaner enclave. The crisis, as illustrated in the fights between the *Verkramptes* and the *Verligtes*, was the inevitable course of the enclave, suffering from its own success. The believed threats from the "total-onslaught" and the "victimised" status forced upon the Apartheid government from the international community momentarily prolonged the life of Afrikaner nationalism, but only until 1994.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission had two quite contradictory effects on Afrikaner identity. Based on Mary Douglas' enclave theory, the TRC, while devastating Afrikaner identity through the disclosure of the atrocities of Apartheid, in fact helped to inspire a re-construction of Afrikaner identity.

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that commenced in April 1996, was a tool to help the South African population deal with a past of collective and sustained violence. In the words of then Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar, "Reconciliation is not simply a question of identity and letting bygones be bygones. If the wounds of the past are to be healed, … disclosure of the truths and its acknowledgement are essential".[331] The TRC was an attempt to break "a culture of silence" and consequently deal with the psychological traumas of the past

[330] Douglas, M (1993): *In The Wilderness – The Doctrine of Defilement in Book of Numbers.* p. 53
[331] Liebenberg, I & Zegeye, A (2001): "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa: tentative implications drawn from public perceptions and contemporary debates", in: (ed.) Zegeye, A.: *Social Identities in the New South Africa – After Apartheid.* Vol.I. Kwela Books and SA History online. p. 321

through the sharing of narratives.[332] This was essential for building a new South Africa where both victims and perpetrators could live together. By sharing each others stories South Africans could fight a state of "total-amnesia" leading to a "total loss of identity".[333] In the words of Alex Boraine, the stories told to the TRC were meant to bring closure by letting the old die so a new life for all South Africans could begin.[334] Being confronted with the naked truth of violence and abuse and relating it to the future of South Africa was not an easy task for anybody. Reports revealed things of which many knew little, especially Afrikaners.[335] The widespread ignorance, especially amongst many Afrikaners, was due to what Russel Botman called *metaphorical locking devices,* existing behind the iron curtain of Apartheid, the Broederbond, Afrikaner culture and the CNO-schools. By referring to issues as *sensitive, emotional* and *delicate,* reality was made unsuitable for the broader Afrikaans community. Also within the church pastors were silenced or muted, and the same the *locking devise* used to keep reality outside of the church was used to keep "the flock" isolated on the inside. These *locking devices*, according to Botman, became intrinsic to the culture as a whole as the members brought this practice into their homes and families.[336] Denise Ackerman testifies to similar experiences with students. In the words of a young theological student, "My parents lied to me, my school lied to me, our leaders lied to me, the church lied to me. I don't even know about

[332] Dowdall, T (1996): "Psychological aspects of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission", in (eds.) Botman, R & Petersen, R: *To Remember and to Heal – Theological and Psychological Reflections of Truth and Reconciliation.* Human & Rousseau. p. 28
[333] Liebenberg, I & Zegeye, A (2001): "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa: tentative implications drawn from public perceptions and contemporary debates". p. 322
[334] Boraine, A (2000): *A Country Unmasked.* Oxford University Press. p. 9
[335] Liebenberg, I & Zegeye, A (2001): "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa: tentative implications drawn from public perceptions and contemporary debates". p. 326
[336]Botman, R (1996): "Narrative Challenges in a Situation of Transition", in (eds.) Botman, R & Petersen, R: *To Remember and to Heal – Theological and Psychological Reflections of Truth and Reconciliation.* Human & Rousseau. p. 38

God anymore."[337] Boraine describes a meeting with a prominent member of a death squad, sharing how his community and the church had supported him in his tasks. In retrospect he told Boraine:

> I know now that what I did was wrong but I believed that my political leaders and my church leaders supported me in what I was doing. I believed it was part of God's mission to destroy the ANC who I was told were terrorists and communists who would destroy our country and our religion...what can I do now?...I can never, ever go back to the Church which never criticised me in what I was doing as a member of the security police.[338]

The reactions from the Afrikaans population were varied. The DRC's ambiguous feelings towards the TRC, as they were expressed in *Die Kerkbode*, are a good indicator for the feelings of the wider Afrikaner community. This is so partly because of the traditional relationship between the church and Afrikaner identity and culture, partly because of close relationship between *Die Kerkbode* and the other newspapers in the NASPERS group, thereby aligning itself with a broader view of opinions.[339]

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[337] Ackerman, D (1996): "On Hearing and Lamenting: Faith and Truth-Telling", in (eds.) Botman, R & Petersen, R: *To Remember and to Heal – Theological and Psychological Reflections of Truth and Reconciliation.* Human & Rousseau. p. 47

[338] Boraine, A (2000): *A Country Unmasked.* p. 180

[339] In its early history *Die Kerkbode* was published and distributed independently of other newspapers. However more recently *Die Kerkbode* has aligned itself with secular news agencies and has been distributed along with other papers in the NASPERS (Nasionale Pers) group such as *Die Burger* and *Die Beeld.* This, says Christine Antonissen, suggests that *Die Kerkbode* has been comfortable with the general viewpoints and political position within the NASPERS group and that the perspective on secular matters in *Die Kerkbode* and its relation to public institutions is in line with the media whose circulation mechanisms it relays on. Antonissen, C (2003): "A critical analysis of reporting on the TRC discourses in *"Die Kerkbode"*, in *Scriptura, International Journal of Bible, Religion and Theology in South Africa.* 2003:2. p. 264

From the onset it was clear that the DRC had expected to play an important part in the TRC. As the mandate of the TRC was debated, the DRC promised its support, praying that the work of the TRC would be impartial and able to afford a fair treatment of all parties in front of the Commission. Piet Meiring, moderator of one of the regional synods, was chosen by the TRC to serve on the commission.[340] The attitude towards the TRC was quietly optimistic. Frits Gaum, the editor of *Die Kerkbode* commentated: "It will be a traumatic time for us all, but if undertaken correctly, it can also be a time of purging, a catharsis which can eventually heal the country".[341] But already in 1995 concerns were expressed whether the TRC would in fact be impartial. The focus of the TRC on the testimonies of the victims of Apartheid was not always shared in *Die Kerkbode.* The primary focus of *Die Kerkbode* was the present state of increasing violence in the country, that the TRC was expected to eradicate. Only secondarily were the concerns of the past massive abuse of power and people implied.[342] In March 1996 chairman of the TRC, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, assured that no "witch-hunt" was intended, and that though the process would be traumatic it would also be healing. This positive attitude was also shared by the forty-six DRC ministers, in a letter declaring their support to the TRC. They stated in the letter that it was now time to actively follow up on the several occasions in which the DRC had confessed its guilt of Apartheid.[343] As it came out in the testimonies, as testified by, amongst others, several members of the security force, the DRC fully supported the Apartheid-ideology, not only during the initial phases of Apartheid

[340] Meiring, P (2003): "The Dutch Reformed Church and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission", in *"Die Kerkbode""*, in *Scriptura, International Journal of Bible, Religion and Theology in South Africa.* Vol. 2003:2. p. 250

[341] Meiring, P (2003): "The Dutch Reformed Church and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission", in *"Die Kerkbode."* p. 251

[342] Antonissen, C (2003): "A critical analysis of reporting on the TRC discourses in *"Die Kerkbode"*. p. 264

[343] The first confession of guilt was given by Willie Jonker in 1990, in Rustenburg. For further information see Jonker, W. (1998): *Selfs die kerk kan verander".* Tafelberg

but also during the State of Emergency.[344] Yet the TRC was still viewed with some scepticism and the debate whether the DRC should in fact go in front of the commission was intensive.[345] Was the DRC willing to lead its members down that road? The debate was further intensified as two ministers representing The Stellenbosch Ring shared their story of how Stellenbosch, the birth place of Afrikaner nationalism, treated its people and how "whites" had failed to see the pain of their fellow Christians. [346] Although the testimony was praised by many including Tutu, not everyone within the DRC was equally happy about it. In the media, as well as in local discussion, the possibility of a presentation before the TRC was debated. Did the DRC really have to apologise to Tutu and his colleagues? What about the good intention of Apartheid? The General Synodical Commission was deeply divided on the question of such a presentation. Would the disturbance to DRC members not be too great? On 30 Oct. 1996 the Western Cape Moderator stated: "The Western Cape Moderator believes that the TRC offers a unique opportunity to testify, that must be utilized".[347] Yet at a membership level the feeling for the TRC was divided, as illustrated by the two following examples, both from the Northern parts of the country. The first reaction (4 Nov.1996) was largely a negative reaction against the unfair targeting of Afrikaners: "We detest the TRC and its methods. It is only Afrikaners, who must confess, while daily our people are murdered, raped and robbed by savages, and no words are spoken against it and no action is taken to protect us...." Many Afrikaners supported the anger expressed in this letter.[348] The second reaction (5 Nov. 1996) was characterised by the same feeling of victimization but with a wish to try to understand the work of the TRC: "...you will have to work very hard to convince the

[344] See amongst others Antonissen, C (2004): "Critical discourse analysis. A methodological discussion of the analysis of editorials of the state of emergency, *Die Kerkbode* 1986-1989".
[345] Antonissen, C (2003): "A critical analysis of reporting on the TRC discourses in *"Die Kerkbode"*. p. 265
[346] Meiring, P (1999): Chronicle of the Truth Commission – A journey through the past and the present, into a future of South Africa. Carpe Diem Books. p. 81
[347] Meiring, P (2003): "The Dutch Reformed Church and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission", in *"Die Kerkbode."* p. 252
[348] The letter is referring to a number of attacks on Afrikaans owned farms in the Northern parts of the country.

Afrikaners that the process is fair. It feels to us as if every white person, every Afrikaner, is placed in the dock."[349] Both reactions replayed the fear of impartiality that was expressed in the initial focus of the TRC process. The Open Letter from Beyers Naude, co-signed by a substantial number of DRC ministers and theologians, as well as ministers from other denominations, pushed the debate towards a more positive attitude to the TRC. As the Institutional hearing began, the question of a testimony of the DRC intensified. Arguments for and against such a presentation were a matter of great concern in *Die Kerkbode.* In September 1996, *Die Kerkbode* made it clear that it was in favour of such a presentation, as this would give the DRC an opportunity to not only acknowledge its mistakes but also to highlight the actions of the past that were good and righteous. However, *Die Kerkbode* added that going to the TRC was not the same as condoning what goes on there.[350] In the end, the General Synodical Commission decided to send Freek Swanepoel to the TRC. On the 19 Nov. 1997 Swanepoel gave the official testimony of the DRC.[351] Yet the positive attitude of co-cooperation from the DRC was short-lived. In March 1998, the tone of mistrust in the TRC process set in 1995 returned. The issues of amnesty once again raised the cry for impartiality, but with an expressive doubt as to whether Tutu would be able to keep his word of honour. In 2001, after a long silence on the matter of the TRC, under the headline: "Gee nou amnestie", *Die Kerkbode* advised the new president Thabo Mbeki in the interest of reconciliation to say: "Ja vir die sort algemene amnestie". Regardless of political affiliation this was a position *Die Kerkbode* held on to in the future.[352] In conclusion we can say that although Afrikaner identity had become deeply shattered and divided after the TRC, the increasing external pressure "against"

[349] Meiring, P (1999): Chronicle of the Truth Commission – A journey through the past and the present, into a future of South Africa. pf. 95
[350] Antonissen, C (2003): "A critical analysis of reporting on the TRC discourses in *"Die Kerkbode"*. p. 265
[351] Meiring, P (2003): "The Dutch Reformed Church and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission" in *"Die Kerkbode."* p. 253
[352] Antonissen, C (2003): "A critical analysis of reporting on the TRC discourses in *"Die Kerkbode"*. p. 266

the Afrikaner community at the same time inspired a reaction of both a wish and a need for a re-construction of a new identity after decades of internal rift.

The negotiation of Afrikaner identities and whiteness in post-Apartheid

There is a general consensus that many white people and in particular many Afrikaans "whites" suffer from an identity crisis. This was not only so after the change of the political landscape of 1994, but has continued to challenge the "white" communities in South Africa. In the words of Fanie du Toit in 2001, "...being white these days is a hell of a difficult thing".[353] This quote is an example of the contemporary academic debate concerning the re-construction and/or negotiation of Afrikaner identity that continues to focus on colour, in spite of, or perhaps because of, the legacy of the past. The association of whiteness with Afrikaner identity is logically linked with the past, but seems to continue today to be taken as a marker of identity on equal footing with, for example, language or culture. This may be so partly because of how the stigma of whiteness influences contemporary Afrikaner identity, partly because of the claim of a minority status, and minority rights that some groups within the community have embraced.

However, focussing on "whiteness" as opposed to "Afrikanerness" or "Englishness" can also be seen as another way of negotiating a new collective identity, around "race", with the "less guilty" English-speakers, instead of that of the stigmatized cultural past of the Afrikaners. The problem with the continued focus on colour as a marker of identity is that colour has historically been linked to the values and symbols attached to the cultural identity of the group, and can therefore be a problematic alliance for a future Afrikaans identity. The link between colour and identity that is

[353] Du Toit, F (12/13/2001): *Proud to be White, Free to be African.* The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. www.ijr.org.za/fdtca1.html.

found in much literature concerning the re-constructing of Afrikaner identity will also be used in this chapter, as this perspective in itself is a sign of the contemporary search for a new identity. We could claim that in the use of this perspective, academia is itself contributing to the association between colour and cultural identity.

During the TRC, the Afrikaners witnessed the testimonies of the victims of the Apartheid ideology, an ideology with the sole purpose of preserving Afrikaner culture. This challenged the legitimating of the Christian-Nationalist version of Afrikaner history, thereby attacking the core of Afrikaner identity, severely threatening the cultural *comfort zone* of the Afrikaners, pushing them into the search for a new Afrikaans identity that better fitted the context of the new South Africa. The search for comfort zones cannot per se be taken to be equivalent to a search for a new cultural identity, but may however in many instances overlap, where the choice of a spatial comfort zone equally becomes a choice of a cultural comfort zone. Ballard says this is so in the question of "Semigration", a partial emigration within the geographical boundaries of South Africa.[354] Semigration has been used to classify the influx of "white" people to Cape Town, believing Cape Town to be more congenial. Yet the word is also used to describe the growing number of enclosed and gated "safety" communities, where most commonly "whites" can create a "safe" cultural and physical comfort zone. However one could say that as the walls of sub-urban South Africa grow taller, as a response to the growing crime rates, the search for a spatial comfort zone will often influence the individual identity, thereby nurturing a growing tendency amongst the "white" minority to separate themselves from the non-white majority. In this way the spatial comfort zone becomes a tool to hold onto an identity rooted in a local "white" community. The segregation

[354] Ballard, R (2004): "Assimilation, Emigration, Semigration, and Integration: "White" peoples' strategies for finding a comfort zone in post-Apartheid South Africa.", in (eds.) Distiller, N & Steyn, M: *Under Construction: "Race" and Identity in South Africa Today".* Heinemann. p. 52

policy during Apartheid was an easy access to power and control, but according to Ballard, racist segregation was also a way of building "white" identity. Ballard argues that the "othering" of the non-white population was a key process in which inferiority was projected onto the property of the racial *other*. The aim of such a classification was to produce positive images of European/white, Western people, as hardworking, moral, clean and civilized. This cultural identity of the "white" population over time became attached to "whiteness" and "Europeaness". [355] During Apartheid the traditional strategy for creating cultural comfort zones for the white people in South Africa was that of segregation; but today, the white supremist self-image of identity construction through "othering" has, according to Ballard, been de-racialised. Today "white" people in South Africa seldom identify with their "whiteness", but rather with their "ordinariness" as citizens of a modern, Western developed world.[356] This however still implies that there is identification with whiteness. In identifying with the Western world, one could argue that the values attached to the traditional whiteness of the Western world thereby become incorporated in the identity of "white" South Africans today. Yet at the same time this identification is increasingly being challenged as the Western world is developing into a racially pluralist society, and the wish to identify with a "white" West, a falsified *imagined community,* to use the terminology of Benedict Anderson.[357]

Also Melissa Steyn links the re-construction of Afrikaner identity closely to the notion of whiteness. In what Steyn refers to as "Afrikaner white talk" she analyses where and how

[355] Ballard, R (2004): "Assimilation, Emigration, Semigration, and Integration: "White" peoples' strategies for finding a comfort zone in post-Apartheid South Africa." p. 52. Ballard is drawing on studies by Melissa Steyn (2001) and Aletta Norval (1990).
[356] Ballard, R (2004): "Assimilation, Emigration, Semigration, and Integration: "White" peoples' strategies for finding a comfort zone in post-Apartheid South Africa." pf. 54
[357] Anderson, B (1991): *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism.* p. 15

Afrikaners place their identities in the new South Africa.[358] She identifies six strategies used by Afrikaners today in their search for a stable identity.

The first strategy is a purist white approach. According to Steyn, this strategy strives, despite the changing circumstances, to create a pure subjectivity that is sanitised from all other ideological as well as social traces. The role of *the other* still plays a significant part in the definition of the Afrikaner. Ethnic and religious symbols are used nostalgically to keep the dream of Afrikaner greatness alive and to re-energise it in the present circumstances. The people of Orania stand as an ideal for this strategy, while renegade Afrikaners such as Van Zyl Slabbert, F W de Klerk, and Martinus Van Schalkwyk are despised.[359] The ethnic and religious symbols used in this strategy are the same as those used by the group of political and religious fundamentalists on the far right wing of Afrikaner culture. According to Pearlie Joubert, the loss of identity and disorientation in a society seemingly without aim has sometimes made this group resort to violence as they fulfil the demands of their Christian-nationalist God, still in charge of the fate of the Afrikaner *Volk.* Another non-militant example is the right winged Afrikaans group calling themselves the *Suidlanders.* On 20th February 2007, this group embarked on a disinformation campaign that via sms and email spread the rumour that former President Nelson Mandela had suffered a stroke. This was allegedly a strategy to destabilize South African society and create a condition of chaos, which they somehow could take advantage of.[360] Although the majority of Afrikaners would separate themselves from the militant methods of the Afrikaner far right wing, the ideological and religious

[358] Melissa Steyn's survey is based on a total of 437 letters from both men and women published in the Afrikaans newspaper Rapport throughout the entire year of 2001.
[359] Steyn, M (2004): "Rehybridising the Creole-New South African Afrikaners", in (eds.) Distiller, N & Steyn, M: *Under Construction: "Race" and Identity in South Africa Today".* Heinemann, p. 71
[360] Mail & Guardian online. www.blogmark.co.za

roots of Apartheid still have some influence as a common denominator for the search of identity in a new society.[361]

The second strategy also draws heavily on the proud history of the Afrikaners *Volk*. However this strategy is the strategy of emigration. Outside South Africa they do not have to give up their identity and their whiteness. Placing the reason for the Afrikaner seduction into Apartheid ideology in the hands of the British, this strategy links their suffering during and after the Anglo-Boer War with the present situation of hostility against Afrikaners. Interesting enough, the unity of the Afrikaners outside South Africa is great and the cultural element played to a maximum, linking the immigrants with their ethnic Afrikaner traditions. Whereas many will immigrate to Australia, a large number of Afrikaners curiously enough immigrate to the country of the arch-enemy, England. This phenomenon can be due to a shared whiteness but also due to the easy immigrations laws for South Africans in England.

Strategy three suggests an alliance with the white English speakers. The English share not only whiteness with the Afrikaners, they also offer a guilt-free past and therefore a cultural international heritage with a higher self-esteem. The discourse in this strategy is that "the whites" needs to unite against the strong black political power base. This strategy, as well as the next one, aligns itself behind the political line of Tony Leon's Democratic Alliance (DA) to create a united English and Afrikaans opposition.

[361] Joubert, P (2003): unpublished and untitled conference paper from the: *"Memory, History and the Future"* conference at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2003.

Yet while the third strategy wishes to align itself with the English speaker through whiteness, the fourth strategy aligns itself with the language of Afrikaans, embracing a "semi-white" identity. [362] This approach dismisses the racial construction of "coloureds" as *the other* in order to embrace the interconnectedness between the Afrikaans and "Coloured" community based on language and, in some instances, the Reformed church tradition. The larger group of Afrikaans speakers (both "white" and "Coloured") is referred to as *Afrikaanses*. This attitude is mirrored, for example, in the *Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees,* a traditional Afrikaans festival, which has been focussing increasingly on incorporating the "Coloured" Afrikaans speakers. The choice of the much respected theologian and former freedom fighter from the "Coloured" community, Russel Botman, as the inspirational leader of the festival in 2006 also signifies this change. Another example is the group called "Group of 63", one of the more organized examples of this strategy. This group of diverse intellectuals argues for the protection of language rights in South Africa. Bringing together a broad range of political thoughts, more comprehensive than any Afrikaans cultural project since the last century, this group is at pains to stress the shared language with the "Coloured" community.[363]

The fifth strategy, rather than trying to create a unity with other populations groups, instead calls for one united Afrikaner front. For this to happen, the Afrikaners must overcome their internal divisions, stand strong as one ethnic group amongst other ethnic groups. This strategy calls for a unification of all ethnic groups to stand together, yet apart, as the victims of imperialism. The excavation of the history of the Afrikaner resistance against the British is a key component of this reassertion of Afrikaner values to all people of South Africa. In this discourse the existence of an

[362] Steyn, M (2004): "Rehybridising the Creole – New South African Afrikaners". pf. 76
[363] Vestergaard, M (2001): "Who's Got the Map? The Negotiation of Afrikaner Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa", in *Daedalus,* Winter 2001. p. 27

ethnic and cultural order is presupposed, but rendered invisible within the discourse, as the proclamation of the end of class and race groups has been de-legitimised.[364] To a large extent this strategy can be seen as a laundered version of Apartheid ideology, operating around the organisation of the principles of organic ethnic groups, rather than segregation between "Europeans" and "natives". A major difference is that today's discourse is delivering a service to the "non-white" groups as well as the "white" groups.

The sixth and last strategy is the option of "melanize whiteness". The "melanize" Afrikaners, rather than reaching for their whiteness, as in the case of the immigrant Afrikaners, reach into themselves to find their African-ness. Still founded on the pioneering spirit of the Afrikaner past, this strategy is not afraid of the future and of change but will meet the future with no fear. This discourse tries to build on the Afrikaans spirit and values without the racial and ethnic baggage, appealing to a pioneering spirit and love for the soil. Siding with the "Coloured" community, the Afrikaners and the *Afrikaanses* have something to share and offer in the new South Africa. They are a group, as African as anybody, exercising their constitutional rights as a national minority, sharing their language, culture, religion and communal life freely, without any cost to other cultural groups.

The six strategies listed by Steyn largely cover the development towards a rehabilitation of a new Afrikaner identity. While strategy four and six embrace an alliance with the "Coloured" Afrikaans speaker, the first two, by re-constructing their present identity on the past proud history of the Afrikaner *Volk*, an exclusive white history, base their unity on ethnic historical ties, which unites them over against *the others*, outside the ethnic identity. The unity based on a shared whiteness

[364] Steyn, M (2004): "Rehybridising the Creole – New South African Afrikaners". p. 79

with the English speaker in strategy three implies, if not deliberately, a redefined purist sense of belonging, that cannot be found equally in strategy four where the alliance with the "Coloured" community is a step away from the connection between identity and whiteness. However the historical rivalry between the Afrikaners and the British makes strategy three most interesting. While the second strategy uses the development of the pioneering Boer's and the victims of British imperialism, strategy three aligns itself with the British on account of colour. If we take Ballard's view of the symbolism of whiteness in colonial times, the identity of the English and Afrikaans speakers suddenly has a common denominator and a shared past.

Although Steyn's six strategies cover the development of a new Afrikaner identity well, a few perhaps less common strategies must be added. By embracing the shared foremother(s) of Krotoä some groups within Afrikaner culture re-claim a long "forgotten" part of their African inheritance. While angry Afrikaner intellectuals and political leaders in the early 1970's dismissed the findings of genealogical research, testifying to the high percentage of Khoi and slave ancestry in the Afrikaner community, the coin has flipped.[365] Today in amateur genealogical circles, "white" people compete to discover if they indeed are the descendants of Krotoä, the forgotten *Stammoeder* of the Afrikaners.[366] The attempt to embrace a different history by acknowledging the possibility of a genealogical link with the indigenous population group offers the Afrikaners not only a different history, but also a different and perhaps a more "genuine" African identity. Using the lives of women, especially from the former oppressed groups, many artists further this re-construction by using these women as metaphors for a general alienation, by which the Afrikaners

[365] Mda, Z (2001): "What it means to be an African: Shifting identities in the South African context", unpublished conference paper: *The State of Identity: Cultural genocide, Political Pluralism and Citizenship in South Africa.* p. 5

[366] Coetzee,C (2002): "Krotoä, remembered: a mother of unity, a mother of sorrows?, in (eds.) Nuttall, S & Cortzee, C: *Negotiating the Past – The making of memory in South Africa.* Oxford University Press. p. 119

are also the victims of oppression. This can be seen as an attempt to embrace a perceived wholeness with other cultural groups that for so long was denied by the all-white version of Afrikaner history.[367] Yet this approach also opens up the door for a double victimization and somewhat ambivalent identification, based both in the past, due to their ancestors and to a present oppression, due to "white" minority identity as Africans.

Using the lives of women as a common denominator for a shared identity can also be observed from a feminist academic perspective. This is most visible in Christina Landman's wish to "... reconstruct, rename and re-talk the Gods of our Khoi and slave foremothers and...explore the role such a re-construction can play in contemporary identity politics".[368] Making gender the common denominator for a shared identity, Landman calls out to both Khoi and Afrikaans women to de-construct the strong patriarchal God of both cultures.[369] As Khoi and slave women had "black", "Coloured" and "white" children, many South African women can today trace their ancestry back to their Khoi or slave foremothers. "Shall this be the basis for our common identity?" asks Landman.[370] Landman positively affirms this shared and re-constructed identity "On behalf of our muted Khoi and slave foremothers then...with the aim of constructing a common identity for religious women though renaming God...", she urges all South African women to re-construct their female identity.[371]

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[367] Coetzee,C (2002): "Krotoä, remembered: a mother of unity, a mother of sorrows?". p. 113
[368] Landman, C (1997): *Deconstructing Pre-colonial Religiosity or Deconstructing my Mother's Gods*. UNISA p. 1
[369] The male God of Afrikanerdom as described in chapter one, has, according to Landman, much in common with the male Gods of Khoi religiosity. The male Gods can according to Khoi religiosity only be pleased with offering of slaughtered female animals, preferably pregnant. According to Landman, Christianity and Khoi religiosity share the use of and control over female fertility through sexual laws within which women are given no control over their own bodies and lives.
[370] Landman, C (1997): *Deconstructing Pre-colonial Religiosity or Deconstructing my Mother's Gods*. p. 11
[371] Landman, C (1997): *Deconstructing Pre-colonial Religiosity or Deconstructing my Mother's Gods*. p. 12

Another group that needs to be singled out is the Afrikaner youth. Although this group may suffer from the same fragmentation as the adult group, the youth seem to be the ones effectively challenging the traditional Afrikaner values and symbols. This is noticeable especially amongst the young artists challenging the former patriarchal Christian-Nationalist values. There are several indicators which demonstrate this point. Amongst the more noticeable are the following *popular* cultural examples:

One such example is the *Bitterkomix*, a cartoon magazine that according to one of the founders, Botes, has a distinct goal to undermine the patriarchal status of the father, priest and principle.[372] However the challenge to the old ideals of Christian-Nationalism and "traditional" Afrikaans culture amongst the youth in 2001 was, according to Vestergaard tainted by an ambivalent position. In the words of a young painter: "I am an Afrikaner, though I hate the Afrikaners".[373]

Yet today this attitude towards Afrikaans culture, as depicted in the quote, seems to be slowly replaced by a more aggressive reclaiming of a new guilt-free Afrikaner identity today.

The Afrikaans youth band called *Fokofpolisiekar*, while fiercely challenging the Christian and patriarchal structure of both past and present, in their outburst against the influence of American culture in South Africa, are reclaiming their new Afrikaans identity.[374] This reclaiming of Afrikaans identity was also indicated at a group interview at the University of

[372] Vestergaard, M (2001): "Who's Got the Map? The Negotiation of Afrikaner Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa". p. 35
[373] Quoted in: Vestergaard, M (2001): "Who's Got the Map? The Negotiation of Afrikaner Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa". p. 35
[374] Fokofpolisiekar "manifest", www.fokofpolisiekar.co.za

Stellenbosch at the Theological Faculty in 2003. The general consensus amongst the nine Master students was that although they still felt that their Afrikaans identity was a stumbling block when they tried to reach out to people from former oppressed groups, this was changing amongst the younger students. The younger students were, in their opinion, much more at ease with their Afrikaans identity. This came out primarily in their insistence on speaking Afrikaans and not English, and in arranging special parties, where people were only allowed to speak Afrikaans. This phenomenon was not only observable at the theological faculty but within the broader university setting, linking in with the current debate on the question of language at the University of Stellenbosch. As the language "war" is raging the question of identity is at the same time being negotiated.[375] The nine students interviewed did not report on how reclaiming of an Afrikaans identity may or may not have affected their relationship to people from former oppressed groups.[376]

The observations of the students interviewed are concurrent with other observable trends in society.

De La Rey and the fast growing Afrikaans music industry. The "De La Rey song" has created a vivid debate about Afrikaner identity and nationalism, not only in Afrikaner circles but also in general South African society. The album *De La Rey* has gained enormous popularity. The singer Bok Van Blerk claims that the intention behind the song was never to review feelings of nationalism or a pronounced ethnic re-construction.[377] The song and the music video draw on the legacy of the Boer general De La Rey and the South African Wars,

[375] Du Preez, M (2006): "Language war at Maties about Afrikaners in the new SA", in *Cape Argus*, March 9.
[376] Group interview at the Theological faculty, University of Stellenbosch 2003.
[377] Interview with Bok Van Blerk by Koos A Kombuis. www.litnet.co.za

showing the struggle against British imperialism.[378] Even if it was not the intention of Bok Van Blerk to feed any kind of nationalism, the theme of the CD is centred around cultural claims and minority issues. For Bok Van Blerk, the General is to be seen as a symbol of peace. Another example from the CD is the second song on the album with the title: *Jy praat nog steeds my taal.*[379] Interestingly the album has gained great popularity, especially amongst the young, as Loammi Wolf testifies to: "For some time I had been expecting something like the De La Rey phenomenon to come from the younger generations of Afrikaners, but not quite in this form. It caught people totally off guard…".[380] Comments to be found on the *LitNet* website vary but all centre around the theme of De La Rey as a peace keeping man, a man of respect, freed from Afrikaner nationalism, giving hope in a time of crisis. This is translated into giving hope in a contemporary setting for all South Africans: "…'n man van aksie, 'n man met gewete…nie net ons Volk nie, maar die ganse Suid-Afrikaanse nasiedom sou help…".[381] Yet another comment points in the direction of De La Rey as a symbol of an exclusive Afrikaans cultural icon: "Hy was ons Steve Biko".[382]

The popularity of the Afrikaans singer Karen Zoid, with her very upbeat version of the old and traditional *Afrikaners Is Plesierig*, and other more recent songs, challenging yet claiming her Afrikaans inheritance.[383] In Zoid's version of *Afrikaners Is Plesierig*, one of her first hits, she carves out a niche for herself and other young Afrikaans women that fit her reality as a young female Afrikaans artist, liberated from the patriarchal order of the past. That her

[378] The Anglo-Boer Wars is today in some literature known as the South African Wars.
[379] Cd by Bok Van Blerk (2006): *De La Rey.* Suid Africa © - RISA
[380] Loammi Wolf quoted from *LitNet-argief.* www.litnet.co.za
[381] Anonymous quote on www.litnet.co.za
[382] Anonymous quote on www.litnet.co.za
[383] This song can be found on the album *Poles Apart* from 2001.www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karen_Zoid

musical message and redefinition of her female Afrikaans identity were relevant for many becomes clear in the expression "The Zoid Generation", as fans of her first album was called.[384]

The sale of skimpy t-shirts with slogans such as *Funky Boer Meisies*, is another popular example.[385] Not only is the slogan challenging the negative values attached to the Boer name in present day South Africa, but putting the slogan in Afrikaans on small and sexy t-shirts is negotiating and challenging the traditional gender role of Afrikaans women. Both examples are, interestingly enough, challenging and reclaiming a female Afrikaans identity. At the same time both examples take the identity of the contemporary Afrikaner back in time before "the dark past of Apartheid". These examples seem to indicate a change in the Afrikaner youth community, that is becoming increasingly more at ease with their cultural inheritance in however way they may choose to interpret it.

The Afrikaner identity struggle has come full circle. On the one hand, the Afrikaners find themselves in a situation where they, in the face of a greater majority, are fighting for the survival of language, culture and heritage. Yet on the other hand, the situation has dramatically changed and it is unlikely that the Afrikaners will ever again be in power. The TRC challenged the legitimating of Afrikanerdom, namely the oppression of others in the pursuit of the survival of the Afrikaner enclave. By doing this the TRC not only served to deconstruct the Afrikaner enclave, it also inspired a re-construction that amongst other things is also beginning to challenge the patriarchal hierarchy of Afrikanerdom and to some extent the gender structure within Afrikaner

[384] www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karen_Zoid
[385] T-shirt advert in *Femina*, September 2004.

culture. What is alarming is that a great number of Afrikaners try to reconstruct a new cultural identity based on the perception of whiteness, as this implies a racial identification once more. However to fully understand the identification with whiteness we would have to compare with other "white" cultural groups to fully comprehend the seriousness of this claim in a South African context. Yet the identification with whiteness also overlaps an ethnic identification that, as we shall argue in the following chapter, is part of a global development, which, although potentially alarming, is more and more prevalent as a result of globalisation.

Chapter Six

The post-modern identity struggle – A circular development.

The struggle around identity within the Afrikaner community needs to be located within a broader global perspective. In particular, the shift from late Modernity to Post-Modernity has potentially challenged the way which *the other* is understood, but has in fact not changed the relationship. The fundamental difference, however, is that of scale, namely from a more local to a more global context within which identities are now constructed. The forces of globalization have provoked the emergence of new forms of religion as well as ethnic formations, as mirrored in the case of Afrikanerdom.

From late Modernity to a post-modern identity

Over the last couple of decades the question of the identity of the *social subject* has become increasingly important within social theory. The argument in essence is that the old social identities that stabilized the Modern world have been in decline. By *social subject* is meant the subject of Modernity, where the inner core of the subject is transformed in relation to significant *others* that are part of mediating the values, meanings and symbols of the subject.[386] The social subject will therefore be equivalent to what we in chapter two called the cultural subject/identity. Yet as the world has expanded through media and increased mobility of large numbers of people, the forces of globalization are inspiring a change of the social subject and its cultural identity. This

[386] Barker, C (1999): *Television, Globalization and Cultural Identities.* Open University Press, Issues in Cultural and Media Studies. p. 14

development has given rise to "new" identities thereby fragmenting the unified subject of Modernity. This "identity-crisis" of the modern subject is seen as part of a wider development dislocating the central structures of modern societies thereby undermining the stability of cultural identity.[387] This claim was made by Hall already in 1992. As we will show, many of Hall's expectations have been realised in the development of new ethnic and religious enclaves as part of a global development of shifting identities. Globalisation is causing the break up of modern identities around the world. Fragmenting the cultural landscape of ethnicity, race, nationality, gender, class and sexuality has led to the break up of the safety net of social individuals. This has not only affected our own sense of self but also the relation to others within "our" local community as integrated subjects. According to Hall, this has meant both a de-centering and a dislocation of the subject leading to a double displacement, by de-centering the subjects both from their place in a social and cultural setting and from themselves as individuals.[388] According to Giddens' characterising, the subject is an identity made from discontinuity, being the result of it being "lifted out" of its social and local relations and restructured across indefinite spans of time and space.[389] Ernesto Laclau uses the concept of dislocation in late modernity as a de-centering of the singular core, replacing it with a plurality of powers.[390] Instead of looking at late modern societies as unified and whole entities, Laclau finds that it is more useful to look at them as being constantly de-centred and dislocated by forces outside the society itself. Characterised by difference, late modern societies are cut through by different social divisions and social antagonisms, thereby producing a number of different subjects within the same local space. Society does not necessarily

[387] Woodward, K (2000): "Concepts of identity and Difference", in (ed.) Woodward, K: *Identity and Difference.* The Open University, Sage Publications. p. 15
[388] Hall, S (1992): "The Question of Identity", in (eds.) Hall, S & Held, D: *Modernity and its Futures.* Blackwell. p. 275
[389] Giddens, A (1990): *The Consequences of Modernity.* Cambridge, Polity Press. p. 21
[390] Laclau, E (1990): *New Reflections on the Revolution of our Time.* Verso - London. p. 12

signify cultural unity between individuals but rather the possibility for these particular individuals to articulate different elements into a coherent system. Identity remains open as this articulation is always only partial and constantly changing.[391] This situation has caused the subject to adopt a shifting identity. This description of a post-modern subject shows that what we have taken for granted since the Enlightenment, namely the stable essence of a fixed identity, is not to be taken for granted any more. The stable cultural identity is no longer fixed within our cultural and social setting. The development causing this dislocation of the subject is the result of the effects of globalisation taking root in late Modernity.[392] By definition modern societies are, as opposed to traditional societies, characterised by rapid and constant change. Whereas traditional societies valued the past history and symbols as perpetuating the traditions of generations, modern societies are a reflexive form of life in which social practices are in a constant process of examination and reform, continuously altering the subject.[393] This not only affects the global society at an institutional level but also at an individual level. The fact that these late and post modern identities are shifting and dislocated does not necessarily mean that they have no self. Rather it is important to understand that the shift in identity is dependant on the different situations within which the subject is addressed. This shift means that the reactions of the subject are not automatic but can be influenced, depending on which situation it encounters.[394] What we now need to ask is how this de-centering and dislocation has affected the relationship to *the other*.

[391] Laclau, E (1990): *New Reflections on the Revolution of our Time.* p. 40
[392] Woodward, K (2000): "Concepts of identity and Difference". p. 16
[393] Giddens, A (1990): *The Consequences of Modernity.* p. 6
[394] Hall, S (1992): "The Question of Identity". p. 280

Globalisation, the post modern subject and *the other*

As globalisation is increasingly dislocating the modern subject, the question of what is replacing it arises, because globalisation has caused a de-centring of the subject both locally and nationally, and at the same time a strengthening of cultural, religious and ethnic ties globally.[395] Some theories say that while globalisation undermines the national identity of the modern subject, it strengthens a global identity. Yet although the time of the nation-state is said to be over, as a response to the end of the cold war the number of new nation-states has been on the increase, thereby placing a strong emphasis on ethnic belonging within a national and geographical setting. On the issues of citizenship and legal rights, national identity will still remain strong; yet as a result of globalisation global identity is becoming more important than national identity. The responses to globalisation vary considerably, however, and the effects of globalization create a dichotomy, as they at one and the same time dislocate the social subject from its local culture and provoke the strengthening of new ethnic ties and enclave communities, both at a global and local level. Not only is ethnicity on the increase. The emergence of religious politically inclined enclaves is once again becoming an issue in the world. The dichotomy of globalisation raises the question of how and if the post-modern subject can indeed be identified, and if so by what. As globalisation has provoked different reactions globally, it is not possible to pinpoint with the same clarity, with which we identified the modern subject, of what the post-modern subject consists. But it is an important question, because only if we can understand how the post-modern subject distinguishes itself can we try to comprehend the role of *the other* in a time of globalisation. In order to come a bit closer to the position of *the other* in the post-modern world we will try to look at the origin and the tendencies

[395] Hall, S (1992): "The Question of Identity". p. 302

of the post-modern world. John Tomlinson defines the connection between the post-modern world and globalisation:

> ...the core idea of global modernity as the social and cultural condition that proceeds from an epochal shift in the social organization of time-space remains a highly compelling way of understanding our present complex connectivity....[396]

The origin of globalisation, in its post-modern form, is modernity and therefore is not as such a recent phenomenon, Hall says "*Modernity is inherently globalizing*".[397] Therefore one cannot say that globalisation is a new phenomenon, yet the pace of global interactions has since the 1970's accelerated with great speed, thereby adding to the flow and linkages between nations. The nation-states, while to some extent sovereign and autonomous, are still very much part of a global and financial interaction in the forces of capitalism. Globalization, most seem to agree, lies at the heart of modern cultures and is a product mostly associated with the Western world.[398] This has some consequence for the perception of *the other* in a post-modern setting. The inherent view of the rest of the world from the perspective of the West is captured in the expression of *The West and the Rest.*[399] It possible to say then that the discourse of power behind this expression represents a discourse of power that is part of shaping the relationship between the post-modern subject and *the other.* The historical process behind Modernity is rooted in European history and the spread of the ideas of the Enlightenment. As the European states ventured into the world and gradually colonised large parts of it, these ideas provided not only a model for comparison and evaluation, but also a system of representation and a discourse of power between Western and non-Western.

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[396] Tomlinson, J (1999): *Globalization and Culture.* The University of Chicago Press. p. 70
[397] Giddens quoted in Hall, S (1992): "The Question of Identity". p. 299
[398] Tomlinson, J (1999): *Globalization and Culture.* p. 1
[399] Hall, S (1992):" The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power", in Hall, S & Gieben, B: *Formations of Modernity.* Polity Press in association with Open University. p. 276-317

This way the West, representing more than just a geographical location, came to represent a concept that has traditionally offered a perspective through which to view "the rest", according to Hall, a position also held by Edward Said in his theory of *Orientalism.*[400] Accordingly all other societies and cultures are ranked within this discourse. West meant *good, developed* and *civilized,* while non-western meant, *undesirable, under-developed* and *uncivilized.*[401] Arif Dirlik states that recent *Postcolonial* criticism has highlighted the Euro-centrism produced by the West's trajectory as it has appropriated the West as the centre and *the other* as the periphery.[402] This, while creating an identity for all outside the West as *Non Western*, also created the identity of the West itself, based on a relationship of *othering;* an *us* against *them* perspective. A side effect to the ideas of the Enlightenment, this way of encountering cultural difference became synonymous with the cultural subject of modernity as described earlier on in this thesis. Since the West comprised such large parts of the world, Western discourse became the dominant "truth". From this perspective, the de-centering of the Western identity as a global concept can be viewed as a positive development, opening up the possibility of a more democratic, multicultural and cosmopolitan meta-narrative; yet there are also numerous negative effects to be considered. The post-modern development of the de-centering of the cultural subjects shows in

> ...murderous ethnic conflicts, continued inequalities among societies, classes, and genders, and the absence of oppositional possibilities that, always lacking in coherence, are rendered even more important than earlier by the fetishization of difference, fragmentation, and so on.[403]

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[400] Said, E (2003): *Orientalism*. Penguin
[401] Hall, S (1992): "The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power". p. 277
[402] Dirlik, A (1994): "The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism", in *Critical Inquiry.* Winter, p. 333. The term *Postcolonial* refers to an academic discourse, questioning the position of the "Third world" as periphery in the academic debate, rather than a period in time.
[403] Dirlik, A (1994): "The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism". p. 347

Based on Hall's account of the close connection between the modern and post modern world, this has a profound effect on the relationship between the post-modern subject and *the other,* as it is repeated in both the modern and the post-modern reality. This fact comes out in the different global formation responding to the phenomenon of globalisation. Although the national identity and the global post-modern at some level are eroding as a result of cultural homogenization, national and other local communities are strengthening, as stated above. The reason for this development is mainly a resistance to the effects that globalisation has on the local cultures and religion.[404] In spite of resistance, the global reality is nevertheless creating a hybrid global identity, irrespective of whether it identifies itself as local, global, ethnic or religious. It is global identity, because it does not follow the structure of modern identity, because the individual through media can imagine him or herself to be part of the global society while still being locally bound to his or her immediate community. This is so whether the foundation for the identification is of an ethnic, cultural or religious sort. Part of the reason for this hybrid identity is explained by consumerism, presenting the same images and messages around the world, slowly threatening to erase the cultural differences.[405] However the impact of globalisation varies considerably around the world and the picture of globalisation as one homogenizing, one-way flow of culture from the West to the rest does not adequately capture the complex reality of the contemporary world.[406] And although the impact of globalisation may have a worldwide impact, the proliferation of identities probably is more extensive in the centre of globalisation, in the West, than in the peripheries where the impact may be experienced at a slower pace. Yet reaction to this impact and the resulting

[404] Hall, S (1992): "The Question of Identity". p. 300
[405] Hall, S (1992): "The Question of Identity". p. 302
[406] Inda, J & Rosaldo, R (2002): "*Introduction*", in (eds.) Inda, J & Rosaldo, R: *The Anthropology of Globalization.* Blackwell. p. 35

hybridisation of cultural identity is visible in the return of ethnicity and the new religious enclaves everywhere in the world. The return of ethnicity, as referred to earlier in chapter two as the rise of *ethno-linguistic* ethnicity, is the response to the increasing "pluralization" of national cultures through migration that, according to Hall, is primarily to be found within the West.[407] The "pluralization" of post-modern societies has led to the formation of a number of ethnic-minority enclaves within the nation-states, thereby furthering the development of several cultural identities. In Europe pluralization has also sparked the development of a right-winged resurgence of European identity, depicturing *the other* as a threat, often in the images of North-African or Middle Eastern refugees.[408] This re-identification with the country of origin not only plays itself out within the frame of ethnic or cultural identities but increasingly within the religious sphere. Within these new religious enclaves, *the other* is not defined along ethnic lines, but, as I shall show, along lines of a fundamentalist faith perspective. This development is the direct result of the time-space compression of globalisation as it comes out through mass-media and migration.

The collective imagination of the new global subjects

According to Arjun Appadurai, the unforeseeable relationship between mass-media events and migratory audiences forms the link between the post-modern world of globalization and the modern world, by the development of imagined communities. What Appadurai is suggesting is that the technological boom of the last century has over the last couple of decades created a plurality of

[407] The pluralization of societies as Hall calls it, is surely a phenomenon in the West but is most certainly also a reality in other parts of the world. The largest amount of emigration takes place on the African continent as a result of war, famine, conflicts and trade. These does in many instances, and certainly in a South African setting, provoke xenophobic responses against African refugees, inspired by an ethnic sense of belonging.
[408] Woodward, K (2000): "Concepts of identity and Difference". p. 18

collective imagined communities.[409] As part of modern theory the break between past and present is also mirrored as part of the global post-modern development. This break has changed the reality of the individual as the object of moral and social reality. Seeing the break between past and present as a continuous part of the identity of the post-modern subject, Appadurai uses a *theory of rupture* to explain the de-centred subject increasingly identifying with a global imagined community, produced by mass-media and migration.[410] Imagination, argues Appadurai, is an integral part of the modern subject. Through new resources and disciplines, mass-media offers the modern subjects the opportunity for constructions of new imagined selves and communities. As carrier of the distance between viewer and event, electronic media becomes a tool in the transformation of the everyday.[411]

In line with the effect of *Print Capitalism* in Benedict Anderson's theory of *Imagined Communities,* mass-media presents the opportunity for the social subject to construct and experiment with the making of the self. The constructive view of mass media for the development of the post-modern subject is part of poststructuralist theory, stating that language plays a vital part in constructing our identities. This means, in the case of media, that media language and discourse in reality does not represent the subject but constitutes it. Subsequently social realities and relations are constituted or constructed continuously through language. This potentially gives enormous powers to the media in the creation of narratives, as in the case of the creation of global consumers as part of the mass media discourse.[412] Yet also global migration adds to the ability of imagining the self as part of a community. The migration of labour is obviously nothing new but

[409] Appadurai, A (1996): "Modernity at Large – Cultural Dimensions of Globalization", in *Public Worlds,* Vol. 1, University of Minnesota Press. p. 5
[410] Appadurai, A (1996): "Modernity at Large – Cultural Dimensions of Globalization". p. 3
[411] Appadurai, A (1996): "Modernity at Large – Cultural Dimensions of Globalization". p. 3
[412] Barker, C (1999): *Television, Globalization and Cultural Identities.* p. 23-27

the acceleration of migration motivated either by war, famine, poverty or the search for economic benefits has spread people around the globe as never seen before. This accelerated migration has led to a "trans-national revolution", globally reshaping societies and cultures.[413] Combining the effect of mass-media with the rising global migration creates a new order of instability in the production of social subjects. Yet even if mass media is presented at a local level to people in their own local sphere, the knowledge of the global possibilities is still being presented and made available to them. What makes Appadurai's *rupture theory* interesting is the possibility of actions awakened in these global imagined communities, communities that are at any time capable of transforming their imagined community into collective action. Appadurai's perspective on mass-media resembles Anderson's *theory of imagined communities*, yet what make it different are the global nature of these imaginary communities and the potential power of them. Anderson talks about the effect of nation building as a response to media (print capitalism); the post modern reality goes far beyond the nation in shaping global formations, often based on politics or religion or mass culture identities, like the American hip hop culture. This is possible as the de-centred subject is capable of shifting its identity between the local and global, from a cultural to a global identity.

Ethnic and religious formations in the post-modern world

The disappearance of national boundaries and the appearance of an interconnected global market have been predicted to be the deathblow to cultural traditions, languages, customs and myths. Because of the unavoidable spread of cultural commodities, especially from the US, the fear has been the annihilation of cultural diversity and a standardization of the global world. Yet this

[413] Woodward, K (2000): "Concepts of identity and Difference". p. 16

prediction is being challenged. When talking about global communities today two developments spring to mind. Globalisation has unexpectedly inspired a return to both ethnicity and to religion, both thought to belong to the past. Both phenomena have become influential for the development of identities globally and locally. This is important, as this development have implications for the identity of *the other* from both a religious and an ethnic viewpoint.

The battle over cultural ethnicity

Globalisation was said to especially threaten and sometimes erase minority cultures in the name of cultural homogenisation. While this may be the case within some minor language groups, this has not been so at a larger scale. The West, and more specifically the US, typically has been accused of being behind the cultural homogenisation. The debate concerning globalisation's positive or negative effects on cultural diversity is passionate. Whereas some more conservative supporters of globalisation see the cultural homogenisation not as a decline of cultural distinction but rather as "...a measure of the progress of civilization, a tangible sign of enhanced communications and understanding"[414], others see the need to immediately "...mobilize everyone to stop the advent of a mono-culture."[415] The re-identification along ethnic line comes out strongly in the wish to protect the cultural markers of the ethnic community. The most notorious battle has been fought over the cultural identity of France, a country fiercely fighting against homogenisation through globalisation. This perceived threat shows clearly in the debate over the overflow of American movies to the rest of the world, a development that has led especially France to object, but also many other countries, wishing to control the influence of American culture through legislation. The award winning Brazilian director Carlos Diegues compared Hollywood with the

[414] Rothkopf, D (1997): "In praise of cultural imperialism?", in *Foreign Policy.* Summer, issue 107. p. 1-9
[415] Trautmann, C(1999): "The Cultural exception is not negotiable", in *Le Monde.* 11 October. pf. 1-3

Conquistadors destroying Inca and Aztec culture. Diegues' remark carries some truth. In 1997, the total percentage of American movies shown in European cinemas was between 70-95%. In the face of these statistics many countries are struggling to retain even a portion of local cultural identity within film making. In recent decades, the debate over the cultural protection measures also became part of the GATT negotiation. Legalisation against the influx of American movies has been strongly questioned by the US, the main benefactor of an open audiovisual market. The disagreement became so great that an impasse in 1993 threatened the general negotiations.[416] If we look back at the *imaginary powers* behind media, as described by Appadurai, the battle was not just over the financial benefits but in fact over the cultural identity. In the words of the former French President François Mitterand: "Creations of the spirit are not just commodities; the elements of culture are not pure business. What is at stake is the cultural identity of all our nations, it is the freedom to create and choose our own images."[417] Yet one must also ask what is behind the different positions. Whereas Rothkopf saw cultural homogenisation as a sign of civilization, he at the same time looks at this solely from an American perspective. He believes that globalisation offers an opportunity for America to promote the cultural values of the US "America should not deny that of all the nations in the history of the world, theirs is the most just, the most tolerant, the most willing to constantly reassess and improve itself, and the best model for the future."[418] Whether one agrees with Rothkopf's view of American society or not, it is certainly quotes like these that make smaller cultures uneasy about the prospects of the "Americanisation" of global culture. This has in turn inspired a protectionist policy on the question of culture in many countries. In the words of Catharine Trautmann, the minister of Culture in France: "Liberalization

[416] Shapiro, S (2006): "The Cultural Thief", in *The Journal of the New Rules Project.* Fall 2000. pf. 1-10
[417] Mitterand, F quoted in Shapiro, S (2006): "The Cultural Thief". p. 5
[418] Rothkopf, D (1997): "In praise of cultural imperialism?" no page no.

of the audiovisual and cultural sector will not bring any benefits".[419] Behind both quotes is the wish to be the one to influence and therefore control the global cultures though the media. At the same time both quotes signal a closed perspective of culture as something static instead of something alive and constantly in movement. This kind of modern reading of a post-modern social reality is not helping the debate. In the worst case scenario this view of culture promotes the return of ethnic nationalism often spreading conflict amongst different cultural groups within the same country, as was the case of the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Burundi. But also within the heart of Europe, a conflict played out between ethnic Europeans and the European born children of Middle Eastern immigrants rebelling against a second hand status inherited from their parents, a self-fulfilling prophecy threatening to run out of control.[420] But there are alternative voices which embrace, if not globalisation, then some of the positive effects of globalisation on the modern connection between culture and nationalism. In reality, writes Mario Vargas Llosa, globalisation does not suffocate local culture, but rather liberates them from the ideological conformity of nationalism. On the other hand, Llosa claims that this century will see less diversity of festivals, ceremonies, and customs, confined to minority sectors, while the majority of society will conform to the present reality. This however is not caused by globalisation, but is inherent to Modernity, making globalisation "just" the symptom. Although some forms of traditional culture may disappear it also opens opportunities for cultures to develop. Llosa insist that the view of cultural identity as a static concept has no historical basis. In his view categorising people as cultural subjects is a reductionism which dehumanises them. Instead globalisation offers the opportunity to all citizens of the world to construct their individual cultural identity through voluntary action, one that is not dictated by culture any more than by ethnic nationalism. Freed from the violence and

[419] Trautmann, C (1999): "The cultural exception is not negotiable". No page no.
[420] Leiken, R (2005): "Europe's Angry Muslims", in *Foreign Affairs*. 2005 July/August . pf. 1-8

conformity of ethnic nationalism, post-modern cultures can thrive within the openness of the global village, keeping all that is valuable and worthy. [421] Llosa's survival of the fittest theory does carry many truths, yet as many smaller societies cannot follow the rapid changes brought about by globalisation, the reaction to the rapid changes in the local societies will more often than not be one of fear, potentially provoking the development of a return of ethnic and/or religious closed societies.

The return of a "religiousized" world

The use of the word "religiousized" is a deliberate play on words indicating how religion is part of the construction of the post-modern subject. There is no doubt that the return of religion on a global scale is a reality. Yet as cultures appear to be continuously melding together, it seems that religion is once again tearing the world apart.[422] This has been largely ignored until recently. Although the Iranian revolution in 1979 signified the beginning of a modern grouping around politics and religion, it was with the bombing of the Twin Towers in New York, that the phenomenon of global fundamentalism came on the agenda of the general public and politicians alike, and the increasing development of religiously and politically determined enclaves was recognised. One of the reasons for this "denial" or late response to the significance of religion rests in part on "the project" of the Enlightenment. The persistence of a *culture of progress,* expecting a continued cultural secularisation, growth of scientific knowledge and technical and institutional creativity all furthered the expectation of religion becoming a fading tradition. This line of thought has been furthered within sociology within both the Frankfurter School's critic of mass-culture, building on Max Weber's view of modern society entrapped by an iron cage of commodity and

[421] Llosa, M (2000): "The Culture of Liberty", in *Foreign Policy.* No page no.
[422] Juergensmeyer, M (2005): "Introduction: Religious Ambivalence to Global Civil Society", in (ed.) Juergensmeyer, M: *Religion in Global Civil Society.* Oxford University Press. p. 3

secularisation in *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism,* and later by Peter Berger in *The Sacred Canopy,* to mention but two.[423] The growth and mobilisation of both militant and non militant religious communities is difficult to reconcile with the modern understanding of religion as being an opposite to progress. This however is a growing reality. As an example of the mobilisation and ability of collective action of the global imagined communities described by Appadurai, the rise of fundamentalist movements not only shows how the culture of mass media and migration furthers a global phenomenon of shifting identities but also shows how the link between religion and secular politics is once again becoming a reality. The so-called *Cartoon Crisis,* initiated in late 2005 in Denmark and developing into a global crisis in 2006, is a prime example of Appadurai's argument for mass media and migration as creating an identity as part of an imagined community that can at any time come together in collective action.[424] His example however also points in the direction of an increasing tendency for these "imagined communities" to be religious at core. Inverted commas are used to imply that these communities are not so imagined after all. These communities are very real. What needs to be redefined in a global context is the understanding of community as not being culturally and ethnically determined per se, but increasingly identifying along religious lines.

Emmanuel Sivan defines these types of global religious communities as both *Global Enclaves* and as fundamentalist by nature. However when using the term *fundamentalism* Sivan's goal is not to

[423] In *Peter Berger and the Study of Religion* (eds.) Woodhead et. al, Peter Berger has eradicated his original theory that the general secularization of the world , can only and even only in parts, be applied to Europe and more specifically to the Northern parts of Europe.

[424] The *Cartoon-Crisis* was inspired by a series of offensive cartoons depicturing of the prophet Muhammad in the Danish conservative newspaper *Jyllandsposten.* Whether or not the crisis is only a response to the cartoon series or indeed a response to general Western policy towards the Middle East, is a different question. However the crisis showed in full the mobility of the Muslim community, as one community irrespective of cultural belonging or geographical positioning, to arise globally against the perceived insult against Islam and the Prophet Muhammad.

describe the crisis surrounding terrorism, which has in popular media become synonymous with fundamentalism, but rather to understand "...the events, trends, and conflicts that will shape the interaction between radical religion and politics for years to come".[425] However the term does refer to some element of militancy:

> "Fundamentalism"...refers to a discernible pattern of religious militance by which self-styled "true believers" attempt to arrest the erosion of religious identity, fortify the boarders of the religious community, and create viable alternatives to secular institutions and behaviours.[426]

Although Sivan insists on the militant side of fundamentalism, is the term not also applicable to religious enclaves that do not share the militant characteristics? This seems to be so. According to Scott Appleby, an increasing number of non-violent religious militants are getting involved in conflict zones around the world. These are people obsessed by a "...sacred rage against racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination; unjust economic policies; unnecessary shortage of food, clean water, and basic education for the poor..."[427] If we look only at the first quote concerning the interaction between radical religion and the wish to *create viable alternatives,* could we not for instance call the more neo-conservative evangelism movements of the US, the religious backbone of the *new right,* fundamentalist by nature, in the sense that they, although not necessarily militant, as the fundamentalist militant communities share a general *Enclave culture* that adopts an

[425] Sivan, E et al. (2003): *Strong Religion – The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World.* University of Chicago Press, p. 9
[426] Sivan, E et al. (2003): *Strong Religion – The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World.* p. 16. My underlining.
[427] Appleby, S (2000): *The Ambivalence of the Sacred – Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation".* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. p. 6

> ...anti-secularist mood by drawing copiously on sermons, speeches and writings by Jewish, Christian, and Muslim leaders denouncing the costly and threatening side effects of modernization such as crime, moral decay, political corruption, the breakdown of the family and community....[428]

Furthermore, according to Sivan, the resistance to a modern form of secularisation is a defining common feature of religious fundamentalism. Although the resistance to secularisation may vary, fundamentalism, across religious traditions, shares an animus against "political cultures that would deny what they feel to be its central place in ordering society".[429] If the claim of the community is in its insistence that there is only one way of understanding reality and interpreting the sacred, then this will identify the community as an *enclave community.*[430]

As a response to or perhaps as a result of globalisation, religious enclaves are on the increase world wide. These new enclaves, as described by Sivan, provide an exile for the marginalised position of religion, produced by industrialised and developing societies. For these religious enclaves, the attempt to reshape to prevent their members being sucked into modernity is a prime concern. In structure "post-modern enclaves" are similar to Mary Douglas' enclave model as described in chapter two, meaning that any social and cultural context will be structured in such a way that the individuals within can negotiate their way through the constraints and experiences in

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[428] Sivan, E et al. (2003): *Strong Religion – The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World.* p. 21
[429] Sivan, E et al. (2003): *Strong Religion – The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World.* pf. 20-21
[430] Diane Eck quoted in Appleby, S (2000): *The Ambivalence of the Sacred – Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation,* p. 13. Eck also identifies the *Inclusivist*, that by contrast: "holds that while there are many viable religious traditions, communities, and truths, one particular tradition is the culmination of the others and is superior to the others or comprehensive enough to include the others in a subordinate position." The *Pluralists*: "hold that truth is not the exclusive passion of any one tradition community; rather, a diversity of communities and traditions are seen not as an obstacle to be overcome but as an opportunity for energetic engagement and dialogue with others."

society so as to make sense of the world they live in.[431] This is also true for the new enclaves, being the response to a community's obsession with its boundaries, as we saw with the construction of the Afrikaner enclave. The fear of pollution of the enclave and the obsession with upholding boundaries between the enclave and the rest of society is strong. A spiritual reward is virtually the only means with which the enclave can be held together. This reward in the post-modern enclaves would typically be martyrdom within both the Muslim and Christian enclaves. Therefore the importance and commitment of every member is highlighted as a way to create a *wall of virtue*. This *wall of virtue* is presented in sermons, speeches by leaders of enclaves, in a matter-of-fact fashion, to their fellow members to keep them in the enclave and to help them designate the new *true* Christians, Muslims or Jews.[432] What is important to understand is that these leaders of religious enclaves see themselves as the core of their religious community, as the *True Believers, the Jewish Jews*, as a *Christian Home* or an *Islamic Solution.* The American Fundamentalist writings use the vocabulary of *The Last Faithful*, *The Covenant Keepers*, *The Last Outpost*, *The Believing Remnant,* all the names signifying that these enclaves are the only true believers. This kind of vocabulary helps draw the line between the inside and outside, the pure enclave and the impure outside. This claim comes out especially in the terminology used to justify "holy-war", as the enclave tries to "save souls". In an American setting the "holy war terminology" is further energised by sports metaphors. The leitmotif is the polluted outside, modernity in sheep's clothing, trying in myriad ways to charm the true believers away from the right path. This trend can be observed with all religious fundamentalist traditions. The danger comes from *munafiqun* (hypocrites) that are only in appearance Muslim but that in fact pollute Islam from within. In the catholic Lefebvre movement, modernity and its supporters are the "the liberal plot of

[431] Sivan, E et al. (2003): *Strong Religion – The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World.* p. 32
[432] Sivan, E et al. (2003): *Strong Religion – The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World.* p. 34

Satan against Church and Papacy alike" carried out in the Second Vatican Council.[433] However the view of anybody outside the enclave as being an enemy, or at least part of the "unsaved" majority, is only true up to a point. If we look at American Protestant fundamentalism, with their emphasis on inner personal faith and individual salvation, through *the rapture,* should this not make them indifferent to the fate of the rest of the American population? This should be so in theory; however, these beliefs are infused with a strong patriotism that is translated into the belief of America as a nation elected by God, a shining City on the Hill.[434] This fusion between the religious beliefs of a certain enclave and a national shared American patriotism is presently creating a connection between the religious enclave and the common American around what can be identified as civil religious beliefs. The rhetoric of these beliefs has often come out in the xenophobic patriotism of first the anti-German, then the anti-Soviet and more recently the anti-Muslim language. Sport and military infused language, such as *the marines for Christ* or *be a champion for Jesus*, not only reflects American popular culture, but also creates a link to mainstream society outside the enclave. This shared patriotism combined with the post-tribulationist twist on the Premillennial vision became the prime mover in the direction of fundamentalist political activism in the 1980's, a development seemingly on the increase under the presidency of George W Bush. However the shared concern of the American people lends credibility to the fundamentalist Protestant movement, increasingly influential in American politics today, around what can be identified as a structure of civil religious beliefs. As America and its allies were fighting the war on terror, President Bush promised to launch a *crusade* against terrorism, a choice of words that seemed to go by relatively unnoticed in America, but highly alarmed the European Muslims.

[433] Sivan, E et al. (2003): *Strong Religion – The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World.* p. 36
[434] Sivan, E et al. (2003): *Strong Religion – The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World.* p. 45

At a local level Christian fundamentalist residential communities have become places where what one could call the purity of the enclave is upheld. This means for example Christian shopping malls where blue movies, adult bookshops and homosexual vendors are prohibited.[435] As with identity in general, the notion of the past as a foundation for present identity is also of great importance in the enclave, with a slight difference. Just as the civil religious beliefs of the initial Afrikaner enclave interpreted their past as a divinely structured history, this urge for a divine influence also exists in the present day enclaves. History must produce miracles, not only the formative period of the enclave; in both past and present, miracles or other obvious signs of divine providence are expected. The Jewish Gush as well as the American fundamentalist celebrated the establishment of the Israeli state and the Six Day War, just as Islamic radicals interpreted the demise of Nasser as a sign of divine influence. The cognitive function of the past as entwined with the future is a spur for action, because the past and present are situated in connection with the future. In this way the present is viewed as the end of a long historical tradition. This view comes out strongly in the Premillennial movement in America, awaiting the rapture and the seven years of Tribulation that will show that the last stage of the church and the world is finally here. This raptore is expected to happen any day in the near future. In spite of this perception of time, the Premillennists do have some concern for collective as well as individual salvation. Sivan claims that the strong political pressure and attempts to change the political outlook regarding abortion, for example, "...through influence upon (and perhaps ultimately control of) government is, for them, quite feasible."[436]

[435]Sivan, E et al. (2003): *Strong Religion – The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World.* p. 53
[436] Sivan, E et al. (2003): *Strong Religion – The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World.* p. 62

The new religious enclaves all have in common the fears of globalisation as the prolonged arm of Modernity. By formatting into closed communities they continue an essentialist view of *the other* either as a threat or at least as an outsider challenging the purity of the enclave. The return of enclosed religious society brings back an essentialist understanding of ethnicity and religion, as is the case with the fundamentalist Protestant movements in the US. However this is not the case everywhere. The fundamentalist wings of both Islam and Judaism get their members by drawing on a contemporary understanding of shifting identities in a global setting. Yet is globalisation necessarily the enemy of religion and therefore also of the Christian identity? This question is of great consequence for the identity of Christians who do not wish to align themselves with religious enclaves. We shall return to this question shortly.

Afrikaners in the post-modern society – from a racial to an ethnic identification.

Within a short span of time the South African society experienced a shift from a structure constructed to keep out the ideas of the Enlightenment and the influence of Modernity to the reality of the global post-modern world. As the post-modern world is the furthering of the modern project it would not be accurate to say that that South African society entirely missed out on Modernity. Rather the forces of both modernity and post-modernity became a reality at the same time. Although the history and the circumstances that led to the change in reality for all cultural groups in South Africa are unique, reactions to them follow the pattern of the post-modern subject in a number of ways. The de-centering and dislocation of the social subject responding to globalisation is in many ways replicated in the cultural struggle of the Afrikaners after 1994. One consequence, apart from the loss of power, was the reality that was unravelled before the TRC that profoundly de-centred the Afrikaners from their cultural platform. One effort of the TRC, amongst

others, was through the many narratives to create one collective embracing narrative for the new South African nation. By visiting the past, closely monitored by ministers, healers, psychologists, educators, etc., a new national identity was slowly being constructed. Sustained and supported by the media, the pressure was for one grand concluding narrative, clearing the way for *one South African nation* that could become part of the global economy and international interactions. Social engagements and cultural practices that reflected a "break" with the past were praised. This to some extent put pressure on the victims to "forgive and forget" and thereby "get the past out of the way", a state of amnesia chosen by many "white" South Africans.[437]

Although Desmond Tutu's concept of the *Rainbow Nation* was meant to embrace the multicultural reality of South Africa, it also raised a number of questions. Disregarding the theological message of this concept for the time being, the *Rainbow Nation* signalled the image of "the new South Africa", both to itself and to international tourism. Yet in this process ongoing tensions and inequalities were often glossed over, challenging the unity and the concept of "newness" in the new South Africa:

> In South Africa, a politics of multiculturalism which does not recognise inequalities and battles for power within cultural groupings will simply begin to reiterate categories and notions espoused by Apartheid orthodoxy, revitalised but still bearing its essentialist and reactionary agenda.[438]

[437] De Kok, I (1998): "Cracked heirlooms: memory on exhibition", in (eds.) Nutall, S & Coetzee, C: *Negotiating the Past – the making of memory in South Africa.* Oxford University Press. p. 61
[438] Kelwyn Sole quoted in: Distiller, N & Steyn, M (2004): "Introduction: Under Construction", in (eds.) Distiller & Steyn: *Under Construction: "Race" and Identity in South Africa Today.* Heinemann. p. 2

While reconstructing the past within the different cultural communities, a still ongoing development, the re-construction of a new identity of one cultural group amongst other cultural groups within the nation of South Africa began.

The often quoted yet haunting words of the Afrikaans poet Antjie Krog not only show the despair of the past, but also the sense of dislocation between Krog and her identity as an Afrikaner as the truth of the Apartheid regime becomes known to her: "Was Apartheid the product of some horrific shortcoming in Afrikaner culture?...how do we live with the fact that all the words used to humiliate, all the orders given to kill, belonged to the language of my heart?".[439] The identity partly built on a cultural and linguistic community, partly on a racial foundation, was now unacceptable for the majority of Afrikaners. So were large parts of the Afrikaner past, further dislocating their identity from is cultural basis. This fact meant the separation of Afrikaner identity from its cultural foundation, thereby placing the "collective" Afrikaner identity in a sense of crisis. Another reality of the TRC was that the testimonies broke down the traditional *Imagined community* of the Afrikaners, which, according to Anderson, is part in the construction of a distinct culture. By laying bare the careful structure behind the Apartheid ideology, constructed to further the Afrikaner culture, the Afrikaner community was no longer *Imagined* but now painfully exposed. This may have furthered the need for a re-construction of Afrikaner identity and a new global *imagined community.* Yet what is interesting to note is that the reaction pattern of the Afrikaner community is following a global pattern and therefore a return to an ethnic and religious formation as a reaction to perceived threat of cultural homogenisation due to globalisation.

[439] Krog, A (1998): *The Country of my Skull.* Random House. p. 238

According to Suren Pillay, the Afrikaner community has gone from a self-identification of race to one of ethnicity.[440] As explored in the previous chapter, as part of the re-construction of the Afrikaans community the identification with the concept of "whiteness", traditionally linked to a western "superior" identity, is today being used to build a present identity. By using this concept, Pillay contends, the Afrikaners have gone from racialised claims of "supremacy" to ethnic claims demanding "protection" as a cultural minority. By doing so, "whiteness" is de-racialised and transcribed through the language of "culture" in the form of the *Volk*.[441] The concept of "whiteness" is as much a construct as race. The identity of whiteness both in the past and in the present is made through contestation of the internal *other*. One example of this transcription between *Volk* and culture is the sixty schools nationally that, in accordance with constitutional protection of minority rights, are based on "Calvinist principles" for the *Boer* nation, with a strong emphasis not on state symbols, but cultural symbols. The designated role for the schools, says the spokesperson, is to make the pupils good Christians and members of "our" culture, as they are taught in their mother tongue. The schools have nothing to do with Apartheid ideal, but the spokesperson adds: "We are very strict on the ethnic principles, which are what we allow into our schools who qualify as members of the Boer nation".[442] No "people of colour" pupils have been admitted to any of these schools. According to the spokesperson this means that there is an interrelated connection between what it means to be members of "our" culture, i. e. the *Boer* nation, and being a Christian. This principle of the protection and furthering of the ethnic interests of the Afrikaner and of Christian principles is the same argument used in the Afrikaner Bond

[440] Pillay, S (2005): "The Demands of Recognition & the Ambivalence of Difference – *Race, Culture & Afrikanerness in post-Apartheid South Africa!"*, in (ed.) Robins, S: *Limits to Liberation after Apartheid – Citizenship, Governance & Culture.* James Curry, Oxford. p. 62

[441] Pillay, S (2005): "The Demands of Recognition & the Ambivalence of Difference – *Race, Culture & Afrikanerness in post-Apartheid South Africa!"* p. 58

[442] Pillay, S (2005): "The Demands of Recognition & the Ambivalence of Difference – *Race, Culture & Afrikanerness in post-Apartheid South Africa!"* p. 66

today. Chairman of the Afrikaner Bond, François Venter, stated in 2001 that everybody, irrespective of cultural background, was welcome within the Bond, as long as he or she supported the preservation of Afrikaans culture, language and Christian ideals. Although no "blacks" were at that time members, there was in 2001, according to Venter, a small number of "Coloured" members of the organisation.[443] These strategies to promote the protection of the Afrikaner cultural minority is, according to Pillay, to be seen as masked racism; the shift in the discourse of claims from race to minority culture is a strategy to "narrate the culture" by de-centering other voices talking on behalf of Afrikaners in order to speak of *The Afrikaner*. This claim of being *The Afrikaner* resembles the strategy utilised by the religious enclaves, when they claim their status as the *True Believers, the Jewish Jews*, etc., a strategy also to be found amongst the Afrikaners of *Orania*. Yet the claim of a minority status is also used through the identification along language lines. This ethno-linguistic identification is within some groups embracing the "Coloured" Afrikaans speakers. This at first glance frees the new moderate Afrikaners from the charge of racism, but can also be seen as a strategy to fight for minority rights without being accused of racism. Symbols that were used under Apartheid as *symbols for the state*, as language and Christian education, have today shifted discourse and are now claimed as *cultural symbols* of a minority. Control over the nation-state is now being shifted to governance over "the ethnic nation", since the dominant political control over the state now resides elsewhere.[444] Steyn's survey of Afrikaner white talk has shown that this ethnic-linguistic discourse in many but not in all respects follows a racial identification. Ballard further testifies that the phenomenon of Semigration and an identification with a European sense of belonging amongst the Afrikaners is a strategy of "whiteness" as the Afrikaners are re-constructing their identity. Yet no matter what racial

[443] Interview with François Venter, Chairman of the Afrikaner Bond, University of Potschefstroom 2001.
[444] Pillay, S (2005): "The Demands of Recognition & the Ambivalence of Difference – *Race, Culture & Afrikaerness in post-Apartheid South Africa!"* p. 66

connotation follows these different strategies, whether they include "Coloured" Afrikaans speakers or a genealogical heritage with the indigenous Khoisan population, the re-construction of Afrikaner identities is beyond doubt ethnic by nature, following the global development. The question is how this ethnic identification is mirrored in the DRC and how it has affected the Christian identity of the Afrikaans DRC members. A question we shall now return to.

Chapter Seven

The reconstruction of Afrikaner identities and the DRC

The role of the DRC in transition within Afrikanerdom is far less clear than it was during the formative stages of constructing Afrikaner identity. This is partly due to the division within the DRC, but it is also the result of a breakdown in the theological consensus that gave coherence to the role of the DRC. Despite this the DRC still seeks to fulfil its cultural mandate and in doing so searches for a new theological discourse to make this possible. This, however, is still very much in process, at the centre of which are conflicting formations with divergent views on the future of the DRC, some of which undermine its historic ethos as a Reformed Church.

The DRC in transition – a change of theological discourse?

There were some critical voices questioning the theology of the DRC long before the political transition forced the DRC to change its theological discourse. The theological message of the Cottesloe Consultation in 1960 made the split within Afrikanerdom apparent at a theological as well as at a political level. For a short while it seemed that the DRC would follow the critical voices of other South African churches, condemning the inhumane policies of the Apartheid government. But the immediate response from Prime Minister Verwoerd himself, and resulting in the withdrawal of DRC support to the Cottesloe Consultation, showed how the loyalty of the DRC towards the political cause of Afrikaners still weighed stronger than the loyalty to the prophetic message of the Cottesloe Consultation.[445] This however was not true for all DRC theologians.[446]

[445] De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa.* pf. 63

Dr. Beyers Naudé, along with others, felt that the time had come for personal participation through an ecumenical approach freed from denominational ties. Out of Naudé's vision grew the Christian Institute (CI), an ecumenical organisation with the dual aim of promoting dialogue, between English-and Afrikaans speaking Christians, and at the same time witnessing to justice and reconciliation in South Africa within all Christian faith communities. Naudé, Moderator of the DRC Transvaal Synod at the time, created quite a stir in the Afrikaans community.[447] Not only was Naudé a distinguished figure within the DRC, he was also a member of the Broederbond and his roots lay deep within Afrikaner culture and traditions. The leadership of Naudé had become a major threat as he refused to denounce the Cottesloe Consultation. Accordingly Naudé was voted out by seven-hundred members of his own congregation and later defrocked in his Johannesburg parish.[448] By accepting the leadership of the CI Naudé had in reality rejected the dominant position of the *Volk* within the DRC. For Naudé and the CI, confessing Christ meant rejecting the cultural-Christianity of the DRC in its support of Apartheid. The CI, along with Naudé, created a deep rift within Afrikanerdom, showing how the enclave was in danger of cracking also at a theological level. In 1965 the General Synod of the DRC resolved that all DRC members should resign their membership from the CI. The CI, along with Naudé himself, was banned in 1977 and the bond between the DRC and Afrikanerdom was strengthened, kept strong in a time of growing unrest in the country.[449]

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[446] Christoff Pauw's: *Anti-Apartheid theology in the Dutch Reformed Family of Churches – A depth-hermeneutical analysis* offers an interesting and detailed analysis of the anti-Apartheid theological attempts within the DRC from an early stage. PhD 2007, Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam. The same subject can be further investigated in Hans Engdahl's PhD thesis (2006): *Theology in Conflict – Readings in Afrikaner Theology.* Peter Lang, European University Studies.

[447] De Gruchy, J & De Gruchy, S (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa.* p. 67

[448] Engdahl, H (2006): *Theology in Conflict – Readings in Afrikaner Theology.* p. 40

[449] De Gruchy, J (2005): *The Church Struggle in South Africa.* pf. 101

As the cracks within the Afrikaner enclave became more and more visible at a political level, the DRC had two options. It could either try to be sensitive to the voices both inside and outside the DRC pushing to reform Apartheid or it could try to uphold the status quo for as long as possible. As an attempt to listen anew to what Scripture had to say on race relations, the General Synod in 1974 adopted its first comprehensive document on the racial problems of South Africa. The document, *Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of Scripture* (*Ras, Volk en nasie*), as mentioned in chapter 3, proposed a theology of separation. To some extent, the document mirrored the increasing conflict between the *Verligtes* and the *Verkramptes* that was so apparent at the political scene. According to Botman, the document was the result of a theological conflict between the younger theologians following Barth's dialectical theology and the senior theologians that following the neo-Calvinist theology based on Kuyper.[450] In essence the theological conflict focussed on the character and identity of the DRC in a plural contemporary South Africa, and came to greatly influence both the relation between unity and pluriformity in the DRC and the social reality of South Africa. The dialectical theology of Barth did not so much challenge the DRC's view on revelation, Scripture, election and universalism per se, but rather critiqued all forms of natural theology in its "religionistic", anthropocentric and humanistic foundation.[451]

Willem Jonker summed it up in his Barth centenary lecture:

> The complacency of the church, the self-satisfaction of some forms of Neocalvinist theology with which we were acquainted, the shallow moralism of Christianity as a

[450] Botman, R (2004): "Belhar and the white Dutch Reformed Church. Changes in the DRC: 1974-1990". p. 125
[451] Naudé, P (2004): "The DRC's role in the context of transition in South Africa", in (eds.) Weisse, W & Anthonissen. C: *Maintaining Apartheid or Promoting Change? The Role of the Dutch Reformed Church in a phase of increasing conflict in South Africa*, in Religion and Society in Transition. Vol. 5. Waxmann. p. 39

> whole, the self-deception of pietistic...preoccupation with personal holiness and perfection with which we were perpetually confronted within out circles – these were the things for which Barth opened our eyes.[452]

However the Barthian opposition came too late and was never really heard within the Kuyperian circles that needed it the most, although Barthian theology was taken seriously as a threat against Kuyperian theology by, amongst others, the powerful theologian Potgieter, professor of Dogmatics at University of Stellenbosch; until his retirement in 1977 Potgieter fought against the Barthian influence and theological outlook in the pluralistic context of South Africa.[453] The document *Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of Scripture* was the final and decisive theological defence of the DRC, insisting upon racial separation, created to close the rift that the Cottesloe Consultation has produced.[454] Yet rather than mirroring the theological conflict that was developing within the DRC, it furthered the dominance of the Kuyperian theological discourse, subsequently determining not only the change that took place within the church but also the future hermeneutics of the DRC up until the 1986 DRC document called *Church and Society*.[455]

In 1982 the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) condemned the theological position of the DRC as heretical and Apartheid as a sin.[456] The same year the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, also known as the *Sendingkerk,* made a stand against the DRC in agreement with the position of the WARC and formulated a confession of their own, later named The Belhar Confession. The drawing of the *Kairos Document* and the *Belhar Confession* was the result of the

[452] Willem Jonker quoted in: Naudé, P (2004): "The DRC's role in the context of transition in South Africa". p. 39
[453] Engdahl, H (2006): *Theology in Conflict – Readings in Afrikaner Theology.* p. 61 + pf. 104-115
[454] Engdahl, H (2006): *Theology in Conflict – Readings in Afrikaner Theology.* pf. 41
[455] Botman, R (2004): "Belhar and the white Dutch Reformed Church. Changes in the DRC: 1974-1990" pf. 125
[456] Cloete, D & Smit, D (1984): "Preface" & "The Draft Confession and Accompanying Letter", in (eds.) Cloete, D and Smit, D: *A Moment of Truth – The Confession of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church 1982.* p. vii

theological debate and conflict that came in the aftermath of the Cottesloe Consultation and the *Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of Scripture.*[457] Later that year the General Synod of the DRC decided that the 1974 document had to be revised. Numerous meetings and reports between 1979-1985, on the issue of mixed marriages, preceded the revised statement of 1986. Although the church eventually declared that there was no scriptural proof forbidding mixed marriages, it stood clear that for sociological reasons the church still preferred the diversity of South African society. Mixed marriages were undesirable as they would destroy the cultural, historical and linguistic differences that obliterated the biblical essence of marriage, that is, unity.[458] The revised statement of 1986 called *Church and Society* (CS) did show slight movements. It was admitted that the Bible did not sanction Apartheid and again that there was no proof against mixed marriages. Yet the response of forty thousand members of the DRC as they left the church to form *Die Afrikaanse Protestantse Kerk* showed that this change of hermeneutics was not welcome, mirroring the break up of the Afrikaner enclave within the political sphere between the *Verkramptes* and the *Verligtes*. Although one could say that CS did soften the focus on the racial elements somewhat, it should be understood in the wider frame of things. According to Willem Nicol, University of Pretoria, one of the reasons for the softer line of the General Synod's decision was that at the time Afrikaner civil religion had shifted its emphasis from racial separation to state security. Any means to defend the Apartheid state and the Afrikaner people from the threat of the total onslaught was acceptable, even at the expense of the Afrikaner enclave. According to Nicol, the DRC did not lead the Afrikaners into Apartheid, but it did follow the

[457] Engdahl, H (2006): *Theology in Conflict – Readings in Afrikaner Theology.* p. 42
[458] Kuperus, T (1999): *State, Civil Society and Apartheid in South Africa – An Examination of Dutch Reformed Church-State Relations.* p. 136

flock, the wish of its people.[459] Although CS reflected the movements of society by softening its stand on racial separation, it can be said that it did so in order to protect the survival of the *Volk* as it still supported the state in its fight against the total onslaught.[460] Dirkie Smit, Professor of Theology at University of Stellenbosch, testifies of how there was some optimism on the side of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church in 1987, that now perhaps the time had finally arrived when the two churches could come together and grow together on the basis of the Belhar Confession. This however never happened. As a large group of people had left the DRC, the time for public unity was not right, according to the DRC. Although there was, at the time, a general theological consensus between the representatives from the two churches, the stumbling blocks were the local congregations and regions of the DRC. The DRC ministers simply did not feel that they could go back and present this to "their people". That day, Smit says, he knew that nothing had changed:

> ...the deepest commitment of nationwide leadership of the DRC was, ultimately, when tested, to their own people, to the *Volk*, and not to us, their brothers and sisters in faith, or to theological convictions, or Reformed theology, not even the content of their own synodical documents.[461]

This loyalty first and foremost to the *Volk* also came out in the DRC's position to the State of Emergency as it was covered in *Die Kerkbode*. *Die Kerkbode*, as did any media in the years of the State of Emergency, held the power of constructing social identities and relations. That made the DRC, as it was represented in *Die Kerkbode*, powerful in its way of projecting its own view to its

[459] Nicol, W (2004): "Accompanying the Flock: The Development of the Dutch Reformed Church 1974-1990". pf. 115
[460] Nicol, W (2004): "Accompanying the Flock: The Development of the Dutch Reformed Church 1974-1990". pf. 117
[461] Smit, D (2004): "Has there been any change? On the role of the Dutch Reformed Church 1974-1990", in (eds.) Weisse, W & Anthonissen. C: *Maintaining Apartheid or Promoting Change? The Role of the Dutch Reformed Church in a phase of increasing conflict in South Africa*, in Religion and Society in Transition. Vol. 5. Waxmann. p. 139

readers, the DRC members. According to Antonissen, the way that *Die Kerkbode* handled the covering of the State of Emergency was to deal with the news in an impersonal way, as if powers, not people, were set against each other. Yet the slight relaxation on the racial relations as expressed in CS came out in the way people/powers were grouped. The alliances of the DRC, the government, concerned South African Christians but also "responsible" authorized black leaders and policemen were put on one side, while on the other side, the "irresponsible black masses" were referred to as the ones that did not fulfil the government's task of restoring order according to Scripture.[462] Although there is a shift in the editorials from the early years of fully justifying the government's action, to the later years where careful remarks about the ever-present danger of the misuse of power were made, the general position of *Die Kerkbode* was one of consent with government policy.[463] Fritz Gaum, editor of *Die Kerkbode* during the State of Emergency, answers this critique by on the one hand agreeing with the view that the DRC should have taken a less theoretical approach to the crisis, yet on the other hand pointing out that the fear of communism, even though it may seem so today, was not exaggerated. Communism, Gaum points out, "…indeed was a real threat to the church and to the country", anyone that does not understand this "...also still don't (sic.) understand the significance of the fall of the Berlin Wall".[464] However, as Gaum points out communism as a reason for the more or less impartial support to the State from the DRC, he at the same time gives another reason for the lack of *seriousness* on the part of the church:

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[462] Rosenfeld, A (2004): "Reporting on the State of Emergency 1985-1990 in *Die Kerkbode* 1985-1990", in (eds.) Weisse, W & Anthonissen. C: *Maintaining Apartheid pr Promoting Change? The Role of the Dutch Reformed Church in a phase of increasing conflict in South Africa*, in Religion and Society in Transition. Vol. 5. Waxmann. p. 197

[463] Antonissen, C (2001): "Critical discourse analysis – A Methodological discussion for the Analysis for Editorials for the State of Emergency, '*Die Kerkbode*' 1986-1989. p. 189

[464] Gaum, F (2001): "The Dutch Reformed Church: Present Challenges in the Light of the Past – Response to a socio-linguistic and theological analysis of *'Die Kerkbode'*", *Scriptura* 2001: 1. p. 131

> It was on account of its (the DRC) profound and justifiable identification with the destiny of the people whom it serves in the first instance – the Afrikaners – that the Dutch Reformed Church often tended to put the interest of its people above those of other people. The church was concerned about the survival of the Afrikaners and did not always pay the same attention to the desperate circumstances endured by other people on a daily basis.[465]

For Gaum then, the threat of communism, in whatever shape or form it took, either as ANC rebels/freedom fighters or *as other people in desperate circumstances*, was a *profound* and *justifiable* reason for the DRC to put the interest and survival of its people above that of other people. Gaum's perspective is in essence, even if in a more digestible form, representing the pragmatic view on *other people* that sustained the theological discourse behind Afrikanerdom. Although the racial element had been downplayed in the theological discourse during and after the State of Emergency, the loyalty of the church to the cultural cause of the Afrikaner did not change in spite of a changing society in crisis. This was, according to Piet Naudé, also mirrored in the diaconal commitment of the church:

> …with regard to diacony (sic.)– potentially one of the most powerful changing forces at the church's disposal – the DRC primarily mirrored the society in which it lived and missed the opportunity to make a social transformative contribution in the decade preceding 1994. [466]

[465] Gaum, F (2001): "The Dutch Reformed Church: Present Challenges in the Light of the Past – Response to a socio-linguistic and theological analysis of *'Die Kerkbode'*". p. 129 My brackets

[466] Naudé, P (2004): "The DRC's role in the context of transition in South Africa", in (eds.) Weisse, W & Anthonissen. C: *Maintaining Apartheid or Promoting Change? The Role of the Dutch Reformed Church in a phase of increasing conflict in South Africa*, in Religion and Society in Transition. Vol. 5. Waxmann. p. 45

Although the civil religious element of Afrikanerdom was fading away, the core discourse, and the DRC' continued acceptance of these beliefs lived on, even if in another form. By placing such emphasis on the threat of communism and the fall of the Berlin wall as responsible for the demise of Apartheid Gaum, as the former editor of *Die Kerkbode,* showed a lack of understanding of the political circumstances and suffering of others that was the result of the survival of the Afrikaner *Volk* and thereby furthered the perception of *the other* as an opposite. The fall of the Eastern Block was not the only determining factor for the abolition of Apartheid, but it was a determining factor for the survival of Afrikanerdom. In the DRC this was reflected in the revised edition of the CS in 1990. The General Synod rejected the biblical legitimising of Apartheid, and in fact acknowledged that Apartheid had become a repressive and unjust system. This however was more a reflection of the changing political position of the people than a change of theological discourse. As Botman argues, the revised edition of CS in 1990 left the DRC without any theological discourse, an absence still apparent today.[467] Although the language of Apartheid was being stripped from the theology of the DRC during the 1980's, this did not change the church's involvement in Afrikanerdom. Nicol argues that the changes in the DRC reflected the change of heart in Afrikanerdom, but also reflected the awareness that for the sake of its own survival Afrikanerdom had to move away from Apartheid.[468] The DRC involvement with the cultural cause of the Afrikaner left the church standing as an empty shell with no theological discourse as the country elected its first democratic government.

Post 1990, with the denouncement of the Apartheid theology and the loss of a theological discourse, many expected and/or hoped for the DRC to work towards unification with URCSA.

[467] Botman, R (2004): "Belhar and the white Dutch Reformed Church. Changes in the DRC: 1974-1990". p. 128
[468] Nicol, W (2004): "Accompanying the Flock: The Development of the Dutch Reformed Church 1974-1990". pf. 117

This unification would mean liberation of the DRC and the beginning of a reconstruction of the identity of the DRC.[469] Yet to this day in 2007, the DRC has still not been able to accept the confession of Belhar as part of their confessional heritage. In 1996 the general Synod of the DRC decided that the confession of Belhar would be too big a stumbling block for its members because of its strong political connotation and liberation theology elements; the view was that the Belhar confession had the power to divide the DRC.[470] Yet the struggle for church unity that has been a reality for decades is, according to Dirkie Smit, not even top of the agenda after the political transformation. The confession of guilt from the DRC, although supported officially by the church, was viewed by the flock at large as neither seriously meant or practically experienced. As the Afrikaners and the DRC were undergoing rapid and dramatic changes, any serious interest in church unity was lacking, just as dealing with Apartheid and its legacies did not play a major role.[471] When considering the position of the DRC since 1990, the view that the ethnic character of the church has still not been broken is strengthened, says Nicol:

> If the confession regarding Apartheid had been from the heart, one would expect to see a church that moves and sacrifices to reunite with its family members and that leads its people to make a positive contribution towards building a new nation. [472]

[469] Lategan, B (2004): "Prepering and keeping the Mindset Intact – Reasons and Forms of a Theology of the Status Quo". p. 53
[470] Botman, R (2004): "Belhar and the white Dutch Reformed Church. Changes in the DRC: 1974-1990". p. 129
[471] Smit, D (2004): "Has there been any change? On the role of the Dutch Reformed Church 1974-1990". p. 140
[472] Nicol, W (2004): "Accompanying the Flock: The Development of the Dutch Reformed Church 1974-1990". p. 120

The construction of religious and cultural identity within the DRC post 1990

One can perhaps claim that with the loss of political power the Afrikaners also lost a core element in their identity that had driven the cultural project within the political, cultural and religious sphere, namely the quest for identity and culture. This quest was also very much a reality within the DRC, as the church from an early time began to support the development of an Afrikaner identity, and from the 1930's on, played a decisive role in this development. Providing a theological platform for the cultural project of the Afrikaners, the DRC not only through its theology, but also through loyal support for the Afrikaner cultural movement, created a frame designed to keep the Afrikaner inside and everybody else outside. Yet with the current lack of a theological discourse we need to establish what role the DRC plays in contemporary South Africa in the reconstruction of Afrikaner identity. The commitment to the preservation of the flock, as testified by numerous scholars, makes it clear that the DRC is still functioning as a bulwark for Afrikaner culture. Although the DRC denounces the theological discourse behind Apartheid ideology, the traditional cultural function of the church remains a reality:

> ...the Afrikaner people, realizing that their political power has been irrevocably lost and feeling that their cultural heritage, the Afrikaans language above all, is under real threat, still find in their churches the last vestiges of a longed-for past and one of the few remaining safe havens of Afrikanerdom. [473]

This indicates that a cultural discourse, the preservation of the flock, remains a reality within the safe havens of the DRC, but it may well inhibit the DRC from developing a new theological discourse that reaches beyond the cultural enclave of the Afrikaners.

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[473] Durand, J (2002): "Secularism, Pluralism, and the Afrikaner Churches in the Twenty-First Century". p. 175

The so-called theological void within the DRC has inspired a number of developments deconstructing both the cultural and religious identity of the DRC as it was. What today characterises the DRC, at every level, more than anything else, is the lack of theological coherence. The diversity of theological direction within the DRC stretches from orthodox reformed, evangelical/Charismatic to liberal modern/post modern ways of thinking and practicing.[474] The reasons for this development are diverse.

First of all the fragmentation can be interpreted partly as a result of a sense of freedom from what is now perceived as the highly restrictive and authoritarian way of worshipping and interpreting in the past, and partly as a reaction to the theological void that has led many DRC ministers to be inspired by theological influences outside the Reformed tradition. This fragmentation was already a reality in 2002, according to Durand, evident not only between different congregations, but even within the same congregation. The pattern is easily observable today at a congregational level, where an increasing number of congregations now have separate services for different groups within its membership. These are generally divided into a conservative group, or as Durand calls it, a traditional group, and a more Charismatic group.[475] A provincial picture, says Carel Anthonissen from University of Stellenbosch, shows that the influence of Charismatic worship and theology is considerable and needs to be taken seriously.[476] This new direction reflects the need to withdraw from the secular lifestyle characterising the new South Africa, resulting in a tendency to withdraw

[474] Naude, P(2003): "Constructing a coherent theological discourse: The main challenges facing the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa today", in *Scriptura.* 2003:2. p. 195
[475] Durand, J (2002): "Secularism, Pluralism, and the Afrikaner Churches in the Twenty-First Century". p. 187
[476] Anthonissen, C (2004): "The Benjamin Option" ", in (eds.) Weisse, W & Anthonissen. C: *Maintaining Apartheid or Promoting Change? The Role of the Dutch Reformed Church in a phase of increasing conflict in South Africa*, in Religion and Society in Transition. Vol. 5. Waxmann. p. 299

from any real involvement in public life, concurrently inspiring a more inward spirituality that in many cases has led to the fragmentation of traditional congregations.[477]

A second reason lies within the DRC theological tradition itself. By aligning with Charismatic theology, DRC members can align themselves with the legacy of the pietistic theology of Andrew Murray. By choosing this direction, the members are able to build on an already existing trajectory within the DRC, one that has traditionally been part of their identity as Christians, and a heritage that has deep roots in the cultural identity of the Afrikaners. Simultaneously, by choosing a Charismatic way of worship, the DRC members can align themselves with a global development reaching out beyond the borders of South Africa and the legacy of the Apartheid era, becoming world citizens even within their own ethnic/Charismatic setting.[478]

Yet in some cases this development has not limited itself to a Charismatic influence on the church's liturgy and theology, but has been known to take over the traditional Reformed and Protestant theology of the congregations. This has been the case in one congregation in the Northern suburbs of Cape Town.[479] Although the Charismatic development in this particular congregation is intense, many congregations, not only in the Cape but also at a national level, show the same tendencies, although to a lesser extent.[480] Charismatic influences in the Cape Town congregation come out in a strong attachment to a global evangelism, strongly influenced by American neo-conservatism and right-wing religion. This influence has had a far reaching effect

[477] Durand, J (2002): "Secularism, Pluralism, and the Afrikaner Churches in the Twenty-First Century". p. 187

[478] This strategy can also be seen in the increase of mission work in the DRC as described by Kritzinger, K. et al. (2004): "Riding a new wave? A new mission awakening in the Dutch Reformed Church", in (eds.) Weisse, W & Anthonissen, C: *Maintaining Apartheid or Promoting Change? The Role of the Dutch Reformed Church in a phase of increasing conflict in South Africa*, in Religion and Society in Transition. Vol. 5. Waxmann. p. 259-283

[479] Fieldwork in the Parow - Bellville area in the Northern suburbs of Cape Town. The congregation described is not mentioned by name for the sake of discretion.

[480] One such well known congregation in Johannesburg is *Morelettapark* in Pretoria.

on the conciliar Reformed structure of the congregation, replacing it with a rigid hierarchal structure, where the church council and "junior/second" minister unite behind a "senior" Charismatic leader. Links to American churches that provide support are strong, with the congregation receiving financial assistance for missionary work within the congregation and for social work outside the congregation.[481] Liturgical practices as well as hymns are to a large extent replaced by American Charismatic traditions. This strategy has attracted people from other DRC congregations, so the congregation is growing in numbers. The theology behind this development is in line with what one can call a market strategy for church growth, drawing on a "consumer-theology" offering people a big and powerful church foundation and, as we will return to shortly, a new global Christian identity.[482] This development has led to an alienation of the voices of a traditional reformed theology, separating them from the majority who support the "new theological identity" of the congregation. We need to consider the consequences of this influence. Firstly, we need to look at what implications this Charismatic influence as a theological discourse has on the relation to *the other;* secondly, we need to examine how this theological influence plays itself out within the framework of the traditional DRC in relation to the reconstruction of Afrikaner identity today.[483]

[481] Fieldwork, 2002-2004

[482] For more information on so-called "consumer theology" read Robert Bellah (1995): "How to understand the Church in an Individualistic Society", in (ed.) Petersen, R: *Christianity & Civl Society.* The Boston Theological Institute vol.4, Orbis Books. pf. 1-15

[483] The Charismatic development in the Afrikaans community is not played out only within the DRC. A number of former DRC has left the DRC to form independent Charismatic churches, which are predominantly Afrikaans. Yet many Afrikaners have also joined existing Charismatic Churches as the *Apostolic Faith Mission* or *His Peoples Church.* Even though this development does not fall within the scope of this thesis, the reasons for joining a Charismatic way of worship are the same inside as outside the DRC, except that this is played out outside the safe haven of the DRC as a cultural institution.

The construction of the "new" DRC Women

From a feminist viewpoint women within the DRC have gained from the opportunity to deconstruct the highly patriarchal church leadership after the political and theological transformation. With the abolition of Apartheid theology, the opportunity to deconstruct the patriarchal identification of women as *the other,* as argued initially by Simone de Beauvoir in her classic work *The Second Sex,* was potentially a big opportunity not only for Afrikaner women but also for the DRC. Deconstructing the traditional identity of the silent other means to contradict what Mary Daly called the *structured evil of patriarchy,* thereby restoring humanity and the church.[484]

The reconstruction of women's identity within the DRC is not without importance for the identity of the DRC in the new South Africa, as Elna Mouton, Dean of the Theological Faculty at University of Stellenbosch, points out:

> To speak of the position and role of women in the DRC is to assert that such a discourse does *not* have as its sole object the identity and condition of women in the DRC, but the whole of the Reformed tradition, theological as well as pastoral. Therefore, to speak about women and the DRC within the context of transition is to speak about the self-understanding of the DRC as characterised by various responses within the present situation of change.[485]

[484] Ackermann, D (1993): "Defining Our Humanity: Thoughts of Feminist Anthropology", in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa.* June 1992. p. 14

[485] Mouton, E (2004): "Remembering Forward and Hoping backward? Some thoughts on Women and the Dutch Reformed Church", in (eds.) Weisse, W & Anthonissen. C: *Maintaining Apartheid or Promoting Change? The Role of the Dutch Reformed Church in a phase of increasing conflict in South Africa*, in Religion and Society in Transition. Vol. 5. Waxmann. p. 283

The allocated inferior position of women in the DRC was, according to Mouton, a fundamental flaw in the church's understanding of itself, God and society throughout the centuries, compromising not only the Reformed tradition but the heart of Christianity.[486] The *othering* of women within the DRC, as we described in chapters one and three, has been a reality since the initial construction of Afrikaner identity and culture. This caused many women to become disillusioned with the church, as Scripture was used in a repressive way to keep both women and "people of colour" in a submissive position. Only in 1986 did the General Synod of the DRC give women permission to serve as deacons and in 1990 as elders/dominees. This meant in theory that women in the church were now granted a dignified position; yet in practice this has never really become a significant reality as church councils and parishes do not feel comfortable with the change. Therefore, in hindsight the story of Afrikaans Christian women is "a cry out", says Mouton, although a silent one, of a group of people that have had to plead from the "outside" to be heard and therefore to be recognised as full members of the church.[487]

Yet in spite of the opportunity to change their identity, the position of women within the DRC has changed little. The perception of feminism as a threat to the identity of Afrikaner women still prevails within the church as does the lack of the social reality and of gender equality. As Ackermann says:

> I'm saddened when I hear of a lack of interest in women's liberation among some younger generations of women. They don't realise how much was achieved for them by older generations that has enabled them to be what and where they are today. They also

[486] Mouton, E (2004): "Remembering Forward and Hoping backward? Some thoughts on Women and the Dutch Reformed Church". p. 284
[487] Mouton, E (2004): "Remembering Forward and Hoping backward? Some thoughts on Women and the Dutch Reformed Church". p. 286

haven't done sufficient social analysis to understand how much more still has to happen before we can have a truly egalitarian society.[488]

To a large extent, if the financial means allow it, the traditional gender structure within the Afrikaner community follows the same line as before. If possible, the man will be the breadwinner, while the woman will stay home to take care of house and children. This way the status of women in society is strongly linked to the public status of the husband.[489] This structure is also mirrored within the DRC, both in the traditional and the Charismatic structure, where women will predominantly partake in the practical associations traditionally designated to them, as opposed to leadership positions in church.[490] The traditional associations may in fact create a comfort zone for the women, providing a safe space from the dominant patriarchal structure and management style in the church.[491]

Yet the question is why women within the DRC have continuously accepted this role. One answer is that many women feel pride in doing "their duties" and in addition, they can feel some security in a society that has otherwise changed so drastically during the last fifteen years. This is, however, also connected to the historical development in the country during the 1980's, when there was a decrease in the number of men attending church service in the DRC. This was partly due to military duties and partly a result of the crisis of Afrikanerdom, as illustrated in the divisions within the political and theological sphere. This situation had two very diverse consequences. It gave women the chance to uplift themselves as they now had the opportunity to serve in decision-

[488] Denise Ackerman interviewed by Klein, B (2004): "On Becoming and Being a Woman Theologian in South Africa: In Conversation with Denise Ackermann" in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa.* 118, March. p. 43
[489] Fieldwork 2002-2004 and Interview with Judith Kotzé, May 2006. Judith Kotzé was employed in her capacity as a DR theologian in the General Synod for a period of 5 years.
[490] Fieldwork 2002-2004
[491] Mouton, E (2004): "Remembering Forward and Hoping backward? Some thoughts on Women and the Dutch Reformed Church". p 286

making positions such as the church council. Yet while this may have inspired some mainly educated Afrikaner women to wish for a more equal gender structure within the DRC, it also created some discomfort in a society where the absence of a strong male figure in a traditional patriarchal community left an uncomfortable void in the church-community. According to Judith Kotzé, the latter does to some extent explain the willingness of many Afrikaner women today to accept a submissive position within a more Charismatic influenced faith community.[492] Charismatic worship emphasises the attendance of both men and women. By aligning with this theology, Afrikaner women gain a better access to their husbands within the structure of Charismatic worship. Afrikaner men will again be active in church, along with their wives, and in that process reclaim and reinforce their dominant position both inside and outside the church.

Many male and feminist theologians have criticised Afrikaner women for not being vocal enough, as their silence reinforces the dominant male structure of the DRC.[493] Yet if Afrikaner women give their support to a Charismatically influenced church structure, it keeps them in a submissive position to their husbands. In this way Afrikaner women today, just as early Boer women, use their choice of faith as a tool to intimacy, in the face of a loneliness produced by that same structure. While the Boer women turned to an Andrew Murray inspired inward pietism, the Afrikaner women today can to a certain extent be said to follow the same reasoning as they engage in Charismatic forms of Christianity, that in some instances fall into line with a traditional religiosity of their foremothers. In many ways, therefore, the Charismatic influence on the DRC provides not only Afrikaner women but men also with structural comfort, mirroring the patriarchal structure of the DRC before 1990.

[492] Interview with Judith Kotzé, May 2006.
[493] Mouton, E (2004): "Remembering Forward and Hoping backward? Some thoughts on Women and the Dutch Reformed Church". p. 286

In 2003 Dr. Elna Mouton was appointed the first woman Dean of the Theological Faculty at University of Stellenbosch. Although this is a good sign for the long term development of a more gender equal theological environment, the fact is that only a few female theologians are today ordained and even fewer are the chief pastor of a congregation. The continued patriarchal gender structure is assumed to be the reason for this. As long as the mentality prevails that a woman is supposed to submit to her husband, both leadership by women and equal position for women within the DRC remains a distant goal.[494]

Deconstructing Afrikaner identity in the DRC – *the alternatiewe* Afrikaners

There is a loosely identifiable and diverse group within the Post-Apartheid DRC that does not support the Charismatic development and that also seeks to deconstruct Afrikaner identity.

This diverse group desires a constructive development in its dealing with the legacy of the DRC by working towards eradicating the mistakes of the past for the sake of a more fruitful future. Many are disillusioned about the slow development within the church. Although they usually attend Sunday service, they are usually not active in the church otherwise. In the words of a DRC member interviewed in 2006: "...there is a small intellectual group sitting in the back of the church, disillusioned and with no real wish to be active in the church."[495] A commonality of this group, consisting of mostly educated people and so-called *alternatiewe* Afrikaners, is that they

[494] Heuser et al (2004): "Gendered Leadership in South African Churches: Case Studies of African Instituted Churches and the Dutch Reformed Church", in *Journal for the Study of Religion.* pf. 85-88
[495] Interview with DRC member conducted May 2006, in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town.

have put much trust into the transformation of church and society alike, but are now disappointed by the lack of real progress.

While the continuous problem of unity with the URCSA is part of this disappointment, the continued conservative theology within the DRC that upholds the traditional patriarchal structure is another. This comes out not only in the critique of the patriarchal structure, as just described, but also in dealing with the issue of homosexuality, as exemplified in the case against dominee Laurie Gaum. The case against Gaum highlights not only the conflicting developments within the DRC, but also the wish to deconstruct traditional Afrikaner male identity, and the willingness to go through the painful experience of reconstructing that same identity. The case can be briefly stated:

> Laurie Gaum, a DRC dominee was fired in August 2005 from his congregation in Cape Town on the recommendations from the official Cape of Good Hope Circuit as a response to his sexual orientation.[496] The reason given by the Circuit was that Gaum had had same sex relationships. The Circuit subsequently gave Gaum the options of either assuring it that he would stay celibate or being de-robed. As Gaum could not give that assurance he was subsequently de-robed in April 2006. The reason now given was not on the grounds of same-sex relationships but the fact that Laurie Gaum and a former partner had received a Christian blessing over their relationship in Amsterdam, an act that by the circuit was interpreted as a same-sex marriage. What must be noted is that the decision chosen by the Circuit was based on the 1986 official DRC document on the issue on homosexuality as opposed to a newer official DRC document from 2004.[497] Whereas the 1986 document rejected any homosexuality as an abnormality and against Scripture, the 2004 document declared that as there was a diversity of opinions on the matter, homosexuals were welcome in the church. The case has not yet ended as Laurie Gaum appealed to the General Assembly, where a final decision will be reached

[496] The case as described is based on an interview with Laurie Gaum, May 2007.
[497] Du Plessis, J (2005) *Die Burger,* 25 August.

in June 2007. In support of Gaum, an open letter signed by five-hundred people was sent to the General Assembly, supported amongst others by Dr. Allan Boesak and former Human Rights commissioner Rhoda Kadalie, as they both believe this to be a human rights issue.[498]

By founding the case against Gaum on the 1986 document on homosexuality, the DRC received much criticism. Many felt that not much had changed within the church, but also that the 1986 document was against the South African Constitution.[499] Why the church chose to stay with the 1986 decision we shall return to shortly. For many this decision finally alienated them from the DRC. There was a fear that the church would break into two parts as witness in the hefty debate in the press: "Twis woed in kerk oor Gaum. Teoloë sê NG Kerk kan skeur" as the front-page of *Rapport* read on 28 August 2005.[500] That the resentment against the church was also felt at a congregational level is clear as many people voiced their disappointment as summed up in this quote: "Ons wil saam met De Stadler, Ma Henda en vele ander sê dit is te laat. Die kloof is al te groot, ons wil nie deel van so 'n kerk wees nie."[501]

The debate in the Afrikaans newspapers, especially in the latter part of 2005, shows how the case of Laurie Gaum provoked a deconstruction of the hierarchal image of the patriarchal heterosexual male Afrikaner, a deconstruction that although painful may even yet prove helpful when applied to other issues such as gender structures and even church unity. Laurie Gaum's father, dominee Fritz Gaum, a former editor of *Die Kerkbode* and leading minister in the DRC, strongly upheld Apartheid during the State of Emergency. Yet the case against his son and his involvement in it provides an interesting example of how some people in the DRC are open to the reconstruction of their identity as DRC members.

[498] Die Burger (2007), 29 May.
[499] Du Plessis, J (2005) *Die Burger*, 25 August.
[500] Marlan, M (2005): *Rapport*, 28 August.
[501] Abel and Sanita van der Merwe (2005): *Die Burger*, 3 September.

In an article in the Afrikaans magazine *Rooirose,* Fritz Gaum shares how he has changed both as a theologian and as a man. As Laurie Gaum struggled with his sexual orientation his parents struggled with him, and did in time learn to accept and appreciate this as something that should and could not be changed. Just as Fritz Gaum had previously believed with the DRC that Apartheid was the best for the country, he had learned to see that although the intentions can be well meant in theory, the outcome can be gruesome.[502] The same applies to the case of homosexuality; Fritz Gaum agrees that the 1986 document was very hostile to the question of homosexuality but that at the time it was not his problem. Yet as with the case of Apartheid he was able to change his position. This also applies to his view of Scripture as a theologian, pointing to the importance of a more contextual reading, which does not isolate the text. As Gaum points out, the Bible only speaks against same-sex relationships where it is done in an ungodly and promiscuous way but not against a same-sex relationships built on love and partnership.[503] The case against his son taught Fritz Gaum tolerance, openness and an acceptance that each one is what the Lord has created him or her to be. That Fritz Gaum has stepped away from the official DRC in this matter shows in his appreciation of Desmond Tutu's view on the matter when he said: "Ek skaam my dat ek 'n Anglikaan is", a point also adopted by Fritz Gaum: "Ek hoop nie dat ek eendag sal moet sê ek is skaam om 'n NG-lidmaat te wees nie."[504]

Although the above described example of the deconstruction and reconstruction of Afrikaner male identity as shown in the case of Laurie and Fritz Gaum is not applicable to the whole issue of a

[502] Fritz Gaum quoted in Dunn, C (2007): "Laurie en Fritz Gaum oor vergifnis en aanvaarding", in *Rooi rose,* June, p. 25
[503] Fritz Gaum quoted in Dunn, C (2007): "Laurie en Fritz Gaum oor vergifnis en aanvaarding" . p. 26
[504] Desmond Tutu and Fritz Gaum quoted in Dunn, C (2007): "Laurie en Fritz Gaum oor vergifnis en aanvaarding". p. 26

deconstruction of identity within the DRC, it is nevertheless is a good indicator that one group of DRC members is in the process of reconstruction.

DRC youth – the construction of a new DRC identity?

The development within the youth culture does to a large extent follow the development within the older generation of the DRC, expressed both in the attraction to the Charismatic movement and in the disillusionment with the past. Yet the youth, to a greater extent than the older generations, has at the same time adopted the global identity of the Post-modern world, as a consequence of their exposure to the range and value of knowledge, an exposure to plurality and diversity, resulting in a growing individualism. This fact, according to Antonissen, has often left this generation, also know as the *Millennium generation,* disorientated and confused, resulting in an apparently indifferent and careless state of mind mirrored in an overindulgence combined with depression and scepticism, most strongly expressed in the search and need for a spiritual dimension.[505] As a result, Afrikaner youth are following the still ongoing move out of the DRC, aided by the secularising effects of exposure to the global world. Contrary to older generations of Afrikaners that could in part construct their religious identity in opposition to the "danger" of the *Roomse Gevaar,* the Catholic church, Afrikaner youth are accepting of other religious traditions, and attracted to the Charismatic movement. Charismatic worship attracts more liberated and open-minded youngsters, and at the same time its theology fulfils the need amongst this generation for more clear-cut answers and moral indicators.[506] This need is, according to Anthonissen, also observed in a lifestyle of overindulgence within the Afrikaner youth group. The need for comfort and success as a result of the quest for identity can also be observed in the support of sports events.

[505] Anthonissen, C (2005): "The Benjamin Option". p. 294
[506] Anthonissen, C (2005): "The Benjamin Option". pf. 298

According to Johann Rossouw, Executive Officer at the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge*, the extreme attachment to sports events such as Rugby by some groups within the Afrikaner youth is comparable to the emotional longing that characterises the support of the Charismatic churches. This can be seen as a longing to be part of something triumphant and successful as manifested in the theological outlook of these churches. This association between God and something triumphant and successful was illustrated recently when a victorious *Bulls* player put on a t-shirt that read: "Jesus is King" after they won the Super 14 Rugby competition.[507]

Yet the effect of the Charismatic influence is not necessarily that youth leave the DRC; rather they see this influence as an opportunity for much needed renewal within their own DRC denomination. This attraction to Charismatic worship and theology, as previously mentioned, is to be found within all groups of the DRC: "Some of our most talented scholars and students feel deeply attracted to it and will earnestly seek what it has to offer." To some extent, Anthonissen adds, just as new and independent groups have in the past challenged the church to find its weak areas and theological deficits, so can this new development. At the same time it is a timely reminder that especially in our age "...the ministry cannot ignore the emotional, social and spiritual needs of young people." [508]

A return by youth back to the DRC is in line with preliminary research done by Mathias Gensicke from 2003, which shows that a large percentage of Afrikaner youth wish to stay in their church, but that this is dependent on a reconstruction of the DRC. Many youth left the church as a response to the past, questioning the leaders and the Reformed theology its leaders were still promoting. In

[507] Rossouw, J (2007): "En wat as daar 'Allah is koning' gestaan het?", in *Bylae by Die Burger.* 26 May.
[508] Anthonissen, C (2005): "The Benjamin Option". pf. 299

the words of one student: "The fact that they could support such an unjust system suggests to us that they did not foster a deep spiritual life."[509] Gensicke describes the same development, yet with a different outcome. While the youth questioned wished to stay in the DRC, they lacked a critical perspective on the past, evidenced by their "forgive and forget" attitude. The problem of eradicating and perhaps lamenting the past is not considered the problem of the youth but only that of their parents.[510] Young people wish to stay in an un-political church, which is the DRC as it was before it became involved in an unjust political system.

As many find the unification with the URCSA the final step away from a theology of separation, the attitude of the youth to both the history of the DRC and the future of unification is interesting. Although Gensicke found that there was in general a positive attitude towards unification with the URCSA, less than 31% actually believed this would happen within the next ten years.[511] Considering the history of separation within the DRC going back to 1881 with the foundation of the *Sendings kerk* for the "Coloured" DRC members, the wish for a church without political involvement is problematic. The unification could in fact heal this rift within the DRC, at one and the same time constructing a coherent theological discourse.[512]

Yet Anthonissen's two objections responding to the development within Afrikaner DRC youth are also applicable to a general predicament in the DRC. Both point to a culture of escapism and amnesia that is dangerous for a sound development of the DRC and the construction of a new

[509] Anthonissen, C (2005): "The Benjamin Option". pf. 298
[510] Gensicke, M (2003): "Religiosity of students within the DRC: Preliminary empirical findings", in *Scriptura,* 2003:2. pf. 280
[511] Gensicke, M (2003): "Religiosity of students within the DRC: Preliminary empirical findings. p. 281
[512] Naudé, P(2003): "Constructing a coherent theological discourse: The main challenges facing the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa today". p. 199

theological discourse. Antonissen's first concern, the Charismatic influence, is problematic for the formation of a responsible and integrated life as Christians, as it may serve (unconsciously) as an escape mechanism from the reality of the DRC history and the current state of South African society. This is possible as Charismatic movements seem frequently to lead to "...a social attitude which is escapist, non-prophetic and sentimental, while its most progressive posture is one of reformism."[513] This is particularly so in South Africa where the popularity of the Charismatic movement is a response to an inability to cope with the situation, thereby suggesting that the movement is "...a way of evading difficulties of Christian responsibilities by taking refuge in inner experiences of warmth and the accompanying jargon which reinforces the solidarity of the in-group."[514]

This attitude leads to Anthonnissen's second point of concern, namely the *anti-intellectualism* and *academic scepticism* of the Charismatic theology expressed openly within these Charismatic circles. This is dangerous from a Reformed denominational viewpoint as it is a dishonest attitude that "...if accepted as a faith option, alienates us from our received Reformed and ecumenical traditions and the wonderful opportunities these could offer for the renewal of the church".[515] This is partly so as the Charismatic movement stems from the neo-Pentecostal tradition whose use of Scripture is of a more fundamentalist nature, with views of sin and salvation that are often of a more subjective kind, according to Anthonissen. This presents a problem as it prohibits a responsible dealing with reality: "To my mind a Christian accountability entails a response to the

[513] Leech, K (1994): *Soul Friend, Spiritual Direction in the Modern World.* Darton, Longman and Todd Ltd. quoted in Anthonissen, C (2005): "The Benjamin Option". p. 301
[514] Leech, K quoted in Anthonissen, C (2005): "The Benjamin Option". p. 301
[515] Anthonissen, C (2005): "The Benjamin Option". p. 300

realities of South Africa that includes the courage to deal with the past (theologically, politically and socially) as a basis of discovering hope for the future."[516]

Anthonissen's last point specifies the problem of dealing sufficiently with the past. The "forgive and forget" attitude mentioned as a problem for the youth generation can also easily be applied to a general attitude within the Afrikaner community. Quotes like: "Let us leave the past behind us. We do not want to hear all the painful stories. In any case, we were not involved in all the atrocities that have been revealed. Let us rather concentrate on building a new future" or "How many times must we say sorry for the wrongs of the past? We have shown repentance, now it is *their* turn to forgive".[517] Quotes like these point to the problem of dealing constructively with the past in order to truthfully embrace the plural reality of South Africa.

The detachment as witnessed in the handling of the TRC when dealing with the fundamentally Christian notions of repentance, forgiveness, justice, truth and reconciliation, represent a great problem for the DRC and for the construction of a new theological discourse; yet this is not possible without *truthful memory* and *hopeful vision,* says Robert Vosloo. Yet, this can only be obtained if one is able to step away from a static view of forgiveness and repentance, disconnecting the past, making them empty gestures. Only through truly embracing the past can the hope for the future grow: "...no reconciliation, justice or peace through repentance and forgiveness are possible without *truthful memory* and *hopeful vision.* "[518]

[516] Anthonissen, C (2005): "The Benjamin Option". pf. 300
[517] Quoted from Vosloo, R (2001):"Reconciliation as the Embodiment of Memory and Hope", in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa.* 109, March p. 25
[518] Vosloo, R (2001): "Reconciliation as the Embodiment of Memory and Hope". p. 26

The culture of "forgiving and forgetting" presents a real obstacle to the future of the church, especially as the younger generation within the DRC adopts this strategy of dealing with the legacy of the church. Using this strategy, the youth put the emphasis on their own preoccupation to free their consciousness of the collective guilt of the DRC and the Afrikaner community. By not disengaging from a static view of repentance and forgiveness, the injustice of *the other* fades in the background as the emphasis is no longer on the restoration of the communion, but *the other* is instead used as a means to improve one's own condition.[519] The same problem can be applied to Anthonissen's criticism of the Charismatic movement, as followers are taking refuge in inner experience as opposed to dealing with the reality of society. By not relating to the reality of both the past and the present "...the search for truth and justice are relegated to some form of private soul-searching that fails to engage with a concrete other."[520]

Concluding remarks on Afrikaner identity in the DRC post 1994

South African has within a short span of time experienced a shift from a closed society that for decades was constructed to keep out the liberal ideas of the Enlightenment and Modernity, to an exposure to the global plural reality of the Post-modern world. The forces of both Modernity and Post-Modernity became a reality at the same time. Although the history and the circumstances that led to the change in reality for all cultural groups in South Africa are unique, the reactions to this change follow the pattern of the post-modern subject in a number of ways. The de-centering and dislocation of the social subject responding to globalisation is in many ways replicated in the identity struggle of the Afrikaners post 1994.

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[519] Vosloo, R (2001): "Reconciliation as the Embodiment of Memory and Hope". p. 30
[520] Vosloo, R (2001): "Reconciliation as the Embodiment of Memory and Hope". p. 30

The exposure to a global reality has expanded the geographical space of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined community* from a local to a global space. The definition of cultural identity is still responding to the meeting with *the other* as an opposite from which to differentiate. This is so as the Post-modern has grown out of the Modern paradigm, built on an ideology of *the West and the Rest*, as Stuart Hall identifies it. What has changed, however, is that *the other* can now be met in global as well as local context. The plurality of the global space has added to the number of *others*, inspiring an upsurge in ethnic and religious enclaves. Interestingly enough the perspective of the Mary Douglas enclave theory once again becomes relevant in the structure of these ethnic and religious communities, that can best be described as belonging to the ethno-symbolic theory built on a mythical basis of the collective, using a cultural-linguistic strategy for the construction of a community, a strategy that to some extent mirrors the view of cultural community of the Essentialist/Organic paradigm. This circular development of identification with ethnic and religiously defined identities can also to some extent be observed within Afrikaner culture post 1994. However as the "success" of the *laager* erased the need for the dualistic mentality of an inside/outside versus pure/impure worldview, the enclave of Afrikanerdom began to crack at both a political and theological level. The way of dealing with difference and otherness had perhaps at an initial level been useful for the survival of Afrikanerdom, but in the long run failed not only at the DRC level but also at a political and financial level.

The deconstruction of Afrikaner identity within the DRC reaches far back into the past from the time of the Cottesloe Consultation and the establishment of the Christian Institute based on Beyers Naudé's vision and resistance to the strongly alienating theology of anyone outside the Afrikaner enclave. Yet the insistence of the DRC on the neo-Calvinist theology of Kuyper in support of Apartheid, until the document *Human Relations and the South African Scene in the Light of*

Scripture in 1976, showed how far they would go and for how they would persist to keep *the flock* intact, and thereby the church's position of *Volkskerk* for Afrikanerdom. Although more and more voices against a theology of separation were heard up until the official rejection of Apartheid theology in 1990, many still argue that the last step away can only be made by unifying with the URCSA. This step will beyond doubt challenge the traditional role of the DRC as the cultural haven for the Afrikaners, as it would have to accept the cultural plurality of a united church. But at the same time it would provide the DRC with a much needed new theological discourse, for the benefit of all its members.

This recent and ongoing reconstruction of cultural and religious identity within the DRC shows an openness to other Christian traditions in the Charismatic developments especially amongst the youth, yet it also confirms the enclave cultural identity of former times. This has to a large extent prolonged the existing strongly patriarchal gender structure within the church.

As the "sacralisation" of patriarchy shaped Afrikaner society, the position of women became that of the silent *other*. This is still most visible in the DRC both in the past and present reality. Women as the silenced majority in church, have suffered under the image of God as a male concept:

> When the image of God mirrors the patriarchal concept of the head of the family, it becomes an exercise of power by ruling-class males over all others. Such images can be the cause of ethical problems in the construction of relationships not only between men and women but also between people as they are divided by class and race into the dominating and the subservient. An even more dangerous consequence of patriarchal images is idolatry.[521]

[521] Ackermann, D (1991): "Being Women, Being Human". p. 97

This quote by Ackermann covers the whole spectre of problems presented by patriarchy to a mutual relationship based on a shared humanity and brings us to the problematic Christian witness of the DRC as they became the *Volkskerk* for Afrikanerdom.

Yet as Pillay pointed to the shift from a racial identification to an ethnic identification taking place within Afrikaner culture, this theological outlook may limit the ability within the youth group to embrace other cultural groups within the wider South African setting. We agree with Pillay in this observation, as especially the youth amongst the Afrikaners are increasingly showing signs of following the global development of Ethno-linguistic identification of identity.

The identification of cultural identity in language comes out strongly amongst the youth and in the group of *alternatiewe* Afrikaners. The cultural event, the *Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunsfees,* initially a predominately "white" festival, in 2006 emphasised the unity of white and "Coloured" Afrikaans speakers by using the slogan *Die Renaissance van Afrikaans,* and by choosing Russel Botman, a prominent "Coloured" theologian from the URCSA, as chairman. Although the festival is mainly concerned with the survival of Afrikaans language and culture, it is clear that strong forces are determined to make this definition inclusive at every level. There is a growing perception that the *alternatiewe* Afrikaners, together with the youth culture, are advocating a very strong foundation for a new Afrikaner identity. Yet this development is to some extent disproved by developments within the DRC. The lack of unity is one indicator that the Afrikaners at large are still not ready to reach out beyond their cultural *laager*. The case of the DRC youth is slightly different as they try to *reclaim* more than *reconstruct* a former DRC identity before the church became involved in the political cause of Afrikanerdom and the cultural project of the Afrikaners. Yet, if we look at the growth and reclaiming of a cultural identity within the youth group, and take the refusal to deal

with the legacy of the DRC into account, the question arises whether the youth within the DRC in the future will be able to deal responsibly with cultural difference. At the same time the pursuit of a religious identity in connection with cultural events, such as sports events, is showing that the youth to some extent are following a global trend of a widespread consumer theology that is strongly individualistic. Although the younger generations increasingly have chosen to pursue a more triumphant and successful theology of the Charismatic churches, many still return to the DRC, inspiring a transformation of the DRC from within. It is important here to differentiate between *cultural* and *Christian* identity. The younger Afrikans generations are the advocates of this cultural reconstruction, strongly reflected in the insistence upon the use of Afrikaans, and in their insistence on reclaiming and reconstructing their *cultural* identity, but not necessarily their *Christian* identity. The youth do not want to reconstruct their identity as Christian Afrikaners; they want to reclaim it.

Yet of far more concern, within this group, is the disengagement with the past of the church. As the youth want to reclaim their Christian identity within the DRC on the basis of this disengagement, it may in fact be an obstacle to the reconciliation with the former suppressed groups and therefore an obstacle in meeting *the other* on an equal basis. As Robert Vosloo has pointed out, detachment from dealing responsibly with the past is not only a lazy legitimating of the status quo but also a static view of repentance and forgiveness that may block the way to reconciliation, justice and peace. Although the youth may not believe that they are in any way responsible for the deeds of their parents, the unwillingness to deal with the past may be a stumbling block between them and *the other* from another culture background. As they disengage from repentance they will also disengage from forgiveness, which is the restoration of communion and healing of brokenness. As Vosloo further states: "Repentance and forgiveness are not

dislocated episodes in the lives of autonomous individuals, but part of a narrative that has its telos in the restoration of community".[522]

The restoration of brokenness and the possibility of a common future is captured within *truthful memory*. Only when we truthfully take the past into account can we build a future community. As the relation between us and *the other* is founded within identity, the reclaiming of a cultural identity can, if not carefully developed, work against a mutually responsible dealing with otherness. In the words of Miroslav Volf: "...the problem of ethnic and cultural conflict is part of a larger problem of identity and otherness".[523]

The problem of ethnic and cultural conflict, according to Volf, places identity and otherness at the centre of theological reflection. How do we relate to *the other* without killing our own identity? Volf is not arguing for the eradication of boundaries. In fact the boundary is needed, for without boundaries there is no *other*. As this thesis has argued for the *inclusive* nature of the church, Volf argues against the pursuit for *inclusion* as an impossible choice, potentially placing one between "chaos without boundaries" or "oppressing the boundaries" between one's self and *the other*. In the sense that the *inclusion* implies the annihilation of boundaries between the *I* and the *You*, this thesis is in full agreement. However the *inclusive* nature of the church does not and does not wish to do away with the boundaries between us and the *other*. On the contrary. *The other* must, as Volf himself argues in agreement with Bonhoeffer, always remain *the other* for us. Only in Christ can we fully encounter *others*. Otherwise, as Volf argues, they will merely be romanticized extensions of ourselves. Yet the point is that the *inclusive* nature of the church is not challenged by boundaries but welcomes them, as the church in essence must be a *community in difference*. Instead, Volf

[522] Vosloo, R (2001): "Reconciliation as the Embodiment of Memory and Hope." p. 27-28
[523] Volf, M (1996): *Exclusion and Embrace.* Abingdon Press. p. 16