

Unlit Clay Lamps, Unsung Bhajans

A Cultural Studies Perspective
on
The Experience of South African Catholics of Indian Descent



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DECLARATION

I declare that this is my own work, except for the acknowledged supervision and referenced citations.

It has not been submitted for any previous degree at any University.

Date : 15 December 1995

Signature : 

Name : Mary Alison Lucille Lazarus

DEDICATION

*To my parents, Margaret Hoffmann and Leslie Lazarus
In gratitude for the pride and confidence in your eyes as you watch
me grow,
And in awareness of the strength of your new spirituality you share
with me.*

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ABSTRACT

This study is an **exploratory study** of the identity formation of South African Catholics of Indian Descent (SACIDs). It seeks to describe the construction of their identity and experience of otherness and difference. It asks two main questions :

Firstly how relevant are the categories of culture, ethnicity, ideology ,race and religion in the construction of identity and the self understanding of members of this community ? This study is concerned with discovering whether these categories are operative and relevant to the experiences of the youth in this community. Therefore the first objective of the study is to discover how do the youth amongst SACID identify themselves? This forms the one focus of the study.

Secondly it examines the role of organic intellectuals of this community with specific reference to what they perceive as the identity of SACIDs. The study examines what they are saying and doing regarding the categories of culture, ethnicity, ideology and race vis a vis the transformation of the Catholic Church in South Africa. It is important to examine what is being done by such intellectuals as they are in a position to influence the way SACIDs identify and construct themselves. This constitutes the second focus of the study.

Both foci are related to the research objective which is to explore the self identity and identity construction of SACIDs. It attempts to analyse the feelings of otherness in the experience of SACIDs . The objective is to understand how SACIDs "see and feel themselves" in a context of change within country and church.

A Cultural Studies perspective is employed in the interpretation and analysis of identity formation. Central to this perspective are the key categories of culture, ethnicity, ideology, race and religion. The literature in this field provide the theoretical framework for interpretation. The study utilizes a qualitative methodological approach, specifically the participatory action research approach.

The study finds that SACIDs define themselves as a racial and religious minority. They perceive their identity as multi-layered. However, race is still a dominant and determining

factor in their self-understanding and construction of identity. They collapse the categories of religion and culture resulting in confusion and a hesitancy to embrace ethnic references in their identity formation and religious practice. It is this hesitancy and confusion regarding their cultural identity that the title **Unlit Clay Lamps, Unsung Bhajans** refers.

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CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF STUDY

This study is an **exploratory study** of the identity formation of South African Catholics of Indian Descent (SACIDs). South Africans of Indian descent who are also Catholics, can be categorised as a minority of minorities. Today, they comprise 30 000, a mere 3 % of the total South African Indian population (Catholic Census, 1993). The study seeks to describe the construction of their identity and experience of otherness and difference.

The study takes place at a time of change in South Africa. The country participated in its first democratic elections in April 1994. The Catholic Church participated with other Christian organisations in the struggle to liberate the country and its peoples from Apartheid (Tingle, 1992; Prior 1982; Villa-Vencio, 1992) and continues to commit itself to further transformation of the country. Many religious of all faiths sit on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, set up in December 1994 by an Act of Parliament. The brief of the commission is to uncover the truths about crimes perpetrated during the period of Apartheid rule and to suggest ways in which the country may act to offer reparation to victims and encourage a process of societal healing. It is headed by the Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Further, the church itself is undergoing transformation. This change within the Catholic church was initiated with the sitting of Vatican Council II between 1962-1965. The changes proposed covered every facet of the life of the church, notably its role within modern civil society and the life of the here and now. Of significance to this study are the new directions regarding culture and specifically the process of inculturation, inter-religious dialogue, the role of the media and ideologies in the relations of the Catholic Church in the world.

1.2. SOURCES OF THE STUDY

The impetus for the study originates from three sources: the personal experiences of the writer as a practising Catholic for the past thirty seven years; the academic discourse on the topic of identity and the political events unfolding in South Africa.

Personal Source

The personal source is the writer' group membership . This includes membership of both the broader South African community of Indian descent or as literature has defined it : The Indian South African community (Meer, 1969) and, the religious community of South African Catholics . For the writer, membership of these groups has been characterised by feelings of cultural conflict and cultural alienation. The reality of the writer is that she is constantly negotiating many identities. This negotiation takes place within a context of marginality. SACIDs are a minority in both the religious and racial groups. The problem of identity is compounded by the marginal existence experienced both within the broader racial category of Indian as defined by an Apartheid structure and the broader religious community of Catholics. Within the Indian community the cultural alienation is marked by the need to justify one's religious choice without losing claim to one's cultural history. Within the religious community, the cultural alienation is experienced as an alienation from cultural values, and forms of expression. The marginality leads to feelings of otherness. These feelings of otherness are experienced within the individual and in relation to both the Catholic Church itself and the rest of the South African Indian community.

As a Catholic one is socialised within the church which is characterised by a western lifestyle and anglicization. This includes the westernised names given to individuals, western dress code adopted and western foods consumed. Very few SACIDs speak any other language other than English. This does not differ from the trend in the broader Indian community where 95 % of this population have adopted English as their main home language. According to Maharaj(1995:41)

This does not mean that because the Indian community may not speak Indian languages in their home , they do not still identify strongly with that language. One is always aware of one's history and heritage even if it is not present in a tangible and concrete form like language. Although this link and ethnic identity would be strengthened by such an observable component, it is not necessarily entirely dissipated by the lack of such a component .

The sense of distance from the originary culture has its source in two factors : firstly, in the case of the writer, there has been at least five generations of "born" Catholics. This has lead to a greater distance from Indian culture as practised in the home. Secondly, in being made to feel "other" by fellow Indians, one tended to uphold one's religious affiliation as a defining

characteristic of one's identity.

The broader Indian South African community is characterised by affiliation to two other religions namely Islam and Hinduism, of which the latter is the dominant. The 1980 Census reveals the following distribution along religious affiliation : Hinduism 62 %, Islam 19% and Christianity 12% (1980 Census). Catholics number a mere thirty thousand of the approximately three million South African Indians. Further, the South African Indian community is multilingual and multi-ethnic. It comprises Tamil, Telegu, Gujarati and Urdu speakers. These linguistic groups are further characterised by particular customs, traditions and social etiquette. The community is still further divided along class lines. Under Apartheid , these differences were falsely homogenised in the classification of all groups within the racial category of Indian. Race was the overall and defining feature of this group whose construction from outside of the groups resulted in a homogenisation of political status vis a vis the location of power. In other words no matter what the economic, linguistic, religious or ethnic differences amongst the groups, in the eyes of the Apartheid state and legal system, all Indians were the same by virtue of their commonness of race. However, the religious, cultural, ethnic and economic identities of the groups are active factors in defining difference within the South African Indian community (Karrim,1993).

The personal feelings of cultural alienation, religious conflict and identity ambivalence in the writer's experience as a member of the community of SACID was the initial catalyst for this study. These experiences of religious conflict and cultural alienation are the consequences in part of a self identification process by the writer . In part, it is also arises from the perceived identity attributed to SACIDs by others who occupy either the religious or racial grouping that they have in common with SACIDs .

Membership of the religious group is characterised by a feeling of separation from the rest of the Indian community. This separation is in part a consequence of the choice to uphold one's religious affiliation in a situation where the dominant religious affiliation is Hinduism. It is also the result of the way Hindus view Christians in general. They have tended to see them as "other", and in the past even as "renegades"(Currin,1962). For example, in a case study of Impressions , a special programme slot for South African Indians, the coverage of

Christianity was not included as it was felt that this group was well catered for by other Christian programmes and religious broadcast and aired as part of general programming (Gokul, 1995). The implication of this, is that Indian Christians are seen to be more a part of the broader white Christian community rather than integral to the Indian community.

The religious tension is heightened by the fact that one comes into contact with Hinduism, through close and dear friends, through mixed religious marriages, shared schooling experiences, common political affiliation etc. This has led to a constant negotiation of ideas, symbols and forms of prayer between Catholicism and Hinduism, between white western ways of worship and Indian, eastern forms of worship. This has also meant a constant negotiation between ideas regarding spirituality taught by Christianity on the one hand and Hinduism on the other. The former has been coloured by early conditioning about other religions as "pagan", as foreign and dark. I recall especially in this regard, the warnings issued by priests, nuns and elders against the partaking of food offered during Hindu prayers. The religious expression through myth and art has further contributed to confusion eg. the significance of the image of the serpent. In Christian mythology it is associated with Satan, in Hinduism the presence of a serpent at a birth is a mark of divinity.

The emphasis on Christianity as an exclusive path to spirituality taught to grandparents and parents was handed down to the writer's generation. It was reinforced through various acts of separation. Catholic identity was moulded by the view that the Catholic Church was the "one true Church". This acted to further separate one from other Christians.

This experience of the writer is marked by identity ambivalence. The location of herself within the lived experience of South African Indians, shapes her identity. Identity is influenced by the past, the immediate past and the present. The past comprises roots and cultural history in the originary culture of India shaped very strongly by Hinduism. The immediate past consists of the identity constructed by Apartheid and Western Christian socialisation. The present presents conceptions of identity that is being shaped by the debates and understanding of cultural diversity within country and inculturation within the church. The country is concerned to accommodate all cultures in the new South Africa, and the church is concerned with adapting Christianity to incorporate other cultures into the ways of

Christianity.

Academic Source

The second source for this exploratory study is to be found in the literature and research conducted on South African Indians in general and SACIDS in particular. In terms of the former focus, historical studies have dealt with Christians as part of the broader racial, political and socio-economic location of Indians in general.(Henning,1993; Meer,1969, Bhana and Pachai, 1984))

Studies of the history of South African Indians in general document their arrival, conditions of indentured labour, their contribution to the economy of the British colony of Natal in the Nineteenth Century, and later their contributions to the labour movement and their fight for political rights in the Twentieth Century. Studies from historical and socio-economic and political perspectives abound.(Meer,1969;Bhana and Pachai,1984; Brain1983; Henning,1993; Karrim,1994; Marie,1986) .

The study conducted by Maharaj (1995) on the social identities of Indian South African in a time of social change, contributes to the debates around identity formation that concerns this study. The focus of this study however is specific to how religion factors in to determine or shape identity and feelings of otherness amongst a sub-section of the Indian South African community.

Studies on South African Catholics of Indian Descent in particular have been few. This includes one study within the discipline of psychology. It adopts a Catholic viewpoint to describe the effects of Apartheid on specifically Black Catholic clergy. By Catholic perspective, is meant the critique of Apartheid by examining it against the values and experience of Catholics (Peters,1990).

The further study identified, emphasises a sociological approach. It is an exploratory study of conversion amongst the Roman Catholic Indian minority in Durban (Currin,1962). This study provides the starting point of the current study. The studies are similar in many respects Like Currin's study, this study is concerned with how Catholics of Indian descent identity

themselves. For Currin , this identity was measured by how far the practice of Catholicism meant the overt rejection of certain Hindu cultural patterns of behaviour.

The survey of related literature suggests there exists a research opportunity for utilising the Cultural Studies conceptual framework. This study uses the interdisciplinary approach of Cultural Studies, to make a further contribution to understanding identity formation in SACIDs. The concept of identity is examined in relation to race, ethnicity, culture and ideology. It describes the contribution of these factors or variables to the construction of group identity and the feelings of otherness when applied to South African Catholics of Indian descent..

Political Source

A third source of the study stems from concerns with transformation within South Africa as a whole, and within the Catholic church in South Africa in particular. Regarding the former, this study is concerned with the ways in which culture, race and ethnicity moulded and shaped the identity of SACIDs in the past under Apartheid. It also examines the understanding of the concept of culture that informs the current debates on the rights to cultural expression and cultural diversity or difference to be included in the new democratic constitution? How may these definitions of culture contribute to explaining the way SACIDs identify themselves.

With reference to transformation within the Catholic Church, the study takes its cue from the present concerns of the Catholic Church's regarding the culture and cultural expression of the many groups that form part of the Catholic denomination? Does the church's concern with inculturation in worship address the needs of SACIDS? Is the identity of the SACID a pastoral concern of the Catholic Church? To what extent does the development of The South Indian Rite of Marriage reflect this concern? What do the responses of the SACIDs reveal about their understanding of cultural identity and inculturation.

1.3. QUESTIONS POSED BY THIS STUDY

The study asks the following questions : Firstly how relevant are the categories of culture, ethnicity, ideology ,race and religion in the analysis and interpretation of the construction

of identity and the self understanding of members of this community ? These categories are defined later in this chapter.

Secondly, this study is concerned with discovering whether these categories are operative and relevant to the experiences of the youth in this community. Therefore the first objective of the study is to discover how do the youth amongst SACID identify themselves? This forms the one focus of the study.

Thirdly, the study examines the role of organic intellectuals of this community. The study examines what they are saying about identity formation among SACIDs with specific reference to the categories of culture, ethnicity, ideology and race . Further it evaluates their role in the Indian Pastoral Committee. It discusses their development of the **South Indian Rite of Marriage** vis a vis the transformation of the Catholic Church in South Africa. This rite incorporates specific aspects of Indian culture into the Catholic Roman rite of marriage. It is important to examine what is being done by such intellectuals as they are in a position to influence the way SACIDs identify and construct themselves.

Fourthly it evaluates the influence of the Catholic media in identity construction. This is carried out with specific reference to the role of **The Southern Cross**, a national English-medium, weekly, catholic newspaper.

The above foci are related to the research objective which is to explore the self identity and feelings of otherness in the experience of SACIDs . The objective is to understand how SACIDs "see and feel themselves" in a context of change within country and church.

1.4. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Within the context change in South Africa and the Catholic Church, this study examines

- * the process of identity construction and self-understanding among SACIDS, notably the youth
- * the views of organic intellectuals on the role played by such categories as culture, ethnicity, ideology and race in the identity formation and experience of SACIDs.
- * the work of organic intellectuals amongst SACIDs with specific reference to the

development of **The South Indian Rite of Marriage** (see definitions at end of this chapter) and

* the influence of Catholic media, specifically **The Southern Cross** in the identity formation process among SACIDs.

1.5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The current study adds three new dimensions to the topic.

Firstly, it updates information on the process of identity formation among SACIDs which was last noted in the landmark study by Currin(1962).

Secondly it differs in the methodology used . The Currin study was conducted by a non-member of the subject community. The present study is conducted by an insider. How does this contribute to debates on methodology? This study concerns itself with the participant as researcher and the value of reflexivity in the qualitative approach to research. This study attempts to utilize a critical theory approach. This is a fairly new approach to research and is not yet accepted by many fields of discipline. They explain that :

In some views of Critical theory, research is considered a tool for the redistribution of power and the improvement of the life circumstances of the participants. This approach to research has raised new debates on the fine line between politics and scholarship (Locke, Spirduso and Silverman 1993:101)

Embarking on a study of this particular subject grouping is of personal and academic interest to the author. As a member of this subject community , my own position in this study as more than participant observer and the issues of personal subjectivity will be discussed .

Further the study takes place at a time when organic intellectuals are engaging in addressing what Currin identified as the "neglect " of this particular community by the Catholic Church in South Africa (Currin, 1962:12). This study therefore looks at current initiatives by the Indian Pastoral Committee with regard to culture and ethnicity in the experience of Catholics of Indian descent. **The South Indian Rite of Catholic Marriage** is used as an ethnic and cultural marker . The response to the introduction of this rite is analysed to ascertain how far culture plays a role in identity formation. Further it analyzes the role of organic intellectuals within the framework of the critical theory approach to research.

The significance of the study is that an understanding of identity formation in SACIDs is necessary and contributory to the process of transformation within the Catholic Church in South Africa. It may, with further extensive research, contribute to the process of social transformation within the country as a whole. It may do this by contributing to the debate on the role and status of culture in identity formation in the new South Africa.

It is argued that the sense of cultural history is distant and far removed in processes of identity formation in the group under study. It is this distance or alienation that the researcher is particularly interested in. The study considers the hypothesis that with the progress towards democracy in this country and a commitment to cultural diversity entrenched in the new Constitution, this community should feel free to recover its cultural history and renew its cultural expression. Thus, it is argued, that culture and ethnicity will become a more salient marker of identity within SACID.

Cultural Studies theorists have explained that the new identity formations in Europe and the former USSR indicates that there exists as an interregnum between old identities and not yet completely formed new identities (Rutherford,ed. 1990). As Rutherford (1990:23) explains, a reflexive politics will help make sense of ourselves, the formation of our cultural-political identities, and how they are mapped onto wider symbolic and political identifications.

He explains further that the "cutting edge of new politics and new subjectivities exists within this relation of marginality (Rutherford,1990: 23).

This study attempts to interpret the findings on identity formation within SACIDs against the hypothesis that with the freeing up of political activity in South Africa, culture will become a more intensely contested terrain where a radical politics of cultural difference and cultural identity will manifest itself. This study attempts to explore the relevance of this view by asking to what extent does ethnicity, race and culture contribute to the old and new identities of SACIDs ?

1.6. INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS ON THE TERMS USED IN THE STUDY

South African Catholics of Indian Descent (SACIDs)

The term "South Africans Catholics of Indian Descent" (SACIDs), is the specific construction used in this study. It characterises for the author the closest description of a group of South Africans who are documented as having arrived in this country in 1860. Some place the presence of Indians in South Africa as early as the Fifth century. (Romnick, 1995)

Of all those who came to this country as part of the Indian Indenture Scheme only 1.4 % (2150) were Christians . Of these, 128 were passenger Indians (ie. those who paid their own way). Catholics formed the largest denomination amongst migrants in the first 6 years from 1860- 1866. They were Catholics of both the Roman and Syrian Rites. However after the first period of Indenture, 42% of the Catholics went back to India and it was Christians of other denominations especially the Baptists who arrived at the latter end of the scheme from 1875-1911 just after the Union of South Africa was declared. (Brain, 1983). It is the descendants of those few Catholics who remained that are the subject of this study.

The term SACID is multi-layered and multi- factored. The descriptive term of South African Catholics of Indian Descent (SACID) privileges nationality before religion and religion before cultural history. It suggests the relationship of distance or closeness that this group feels to the various components that are part of the construction of their identity. It presupposes and anticipates a sense of group identity that is rooted in its firstness by the lived experience of the participants who were all born in South Africa. Thus their national identity is felt in terms of the more objectively circumscribed geographically-bound concept of nationality . This is best articulated as " the place where I was born". Attached to this are various degrees of emotional, affective and subjective experiences of " belonging" and "not belonging" as a South African. The study will explore the articulation of this closeness or distance.

The term SACID suggests that religious affiliation is the next most important active factor in the identity formation of this group. It is experienced as a secondness. They embrace Catholicism as a consequence of parental choice but also actively accept the parental choice of religion. The study will explore the articulation of closeness or distance to this factor.

The term descent suggests the links to the original culture , prior to religious conversion or migration from India. The term introduces the factor of culture and cultural history into the exploration of identity formation amongst SACIDs. The idea of cultural history as a pertinent and dynamic aspect or marker of individual and group identity is suggested as the more buried or latent factor in the construction of identity amongst SACID. It implies a thirdness in experience of identity and self understanding amongst the subjects. The study will explore this closeness or distance to cultural history.

Finding a term to describe the broad community of South Africans whose ancestors came from India, is a terrain contested by groups in which the discourse is matrixed by particular ideological positions vis a vis the meaning of what it is to be Black, Oppressed, Indian, South African, Indian South African, South African Indian, an Ethnic Community, a Minority, an Ethnic Minority, an Ethnic Racial Minority? (Biko,1978 ;Karrim,1993; Meer, 1969,). How SACIDs choose and negotiate a meaning for themselves from and within these many descriptions is the discussion of this study.

The participants in the study include SACIDs. The purposive sample comprises:

- * the youth groups at two Catholic parishes located in former Indian Groups areas ie. specific areas set aside to house only Indians in accordance with the Apartheid policy of keeping the various racial groups living apart.
- * experts or organic intellectuals at both the parishes, these include the priests who sit on the Indian Pastoral Committee and members of the community of SACIDs who were judged as able to assist the investigation because of their profiles within the community and parish
- * two mixed religious couples, one from each parish

The key concepts used in this study will be presented in brief. A detailed discussion of the terms is covered in the review of literature in Chapter Three. The definitions of culture, ethnicity and race that follow are not discussed but merely presented in relation to the objective of this study.

Culture

The concept of culture employed as a conceptual category in this study draws on the Cultural Studies understanding of the term culture. Culture is conceptualised as the convergence between the anthropological understandings of the term as a distinct whole way of life and the Arnold Leavis tradition of culture as specialised, artistic and intellectual activity. Cultural Studies expands the anthropological definition by reading culture as the common thread in the "relationship between elements in a whole way of life" in which art is just one practice amongst many social practices such as trade, production, political practice and raising families (Williams, 1965). Culture is expanded to include all signifying practices, including language, art, philosophy, journalism, fashion, advertising and the various media both popular and mass media (Williams, 1981).

The concept of culture as articulated by the culturalist strand within Cultural Studies is characterised by its emphasis on lived experience and consciousness . It is concerned with the distribution of the power relations and the challenge to these power relations within culture (Williams 1973) .

In its different ways , it conceptualizes culture as interwoven with all social practices; and those practices, in turn, as a common form of human activity: sensuous human praxis, the activity through which men and women make history...It defines culture as both the meanings and values which arise amongst distinctive social groups and classes, on the basis of their given historical conditions of existence, and as the lived traditions and practices through which those understandings are expressed and in which they are embodied (Hall,1981:25-26) .

This study accepting the Cultural Studies approach, firstly examines the lived experience of SACIDs. This is achieved by members of " speaking for themselves" through oral histories and through focused group interviews.. It considers their consciousness and discourse on how they make sense of themselves in a context of power relations. Secondly, through interviews, the media habits of the participants are ascertained and examined for the influence, if any, of the Catholic newspaper **The Southern Cross** in the lives of the participants. This is considered in order to discover if Catholic media and therefore Catholic ideology through the newspaper, influences the identity of SACIDs. What is its contribution, if any, towards factoring in Catholic ideology as a variable in identity construction of SACIDs ?

Further, the newspaper is evaluated in the light of the processes of transformation in the Catholic Church world wide and in South Africa specifically. This process of change as stated earlier is discussed in the light of Vatican Council II. Is the paper part of the process of inculturation suggested by Vatican Council II ?

Ethnicity

This concept refers to those elements such as language, ancestry, sense of peoplehood, sense of cultural traditions that are responsible for the "distinctiveness" in the whole way of life or culture of a society. It refers also to that sense of group distinction or difference felt by groups within the broader society. It comprises also the ways that these differences are communicated or represented . Cultural Studies defines ethnicity as a historical, cultural and political construction.

Hall(1992: 257) explains ethnicity in terms of its content and its function in the representation of identity :

the term ethnicity acknowledges the place of history, language, and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated, and all knowledge is contextual. Representation is possible only because enunciation is always produced within codes which have a history, a position within the discursive formations of a particular space and time.

This study analyses the enunciation of SACIDs regarding their identity to ascertain to what extent identity can be considered to have an ethnic component. The study attempts to discover the salience of ethnicity in their self understanding. To this end, the **South Indian Rite of Marriage** , it is argued, is an ethnic marker. How do SACIDs respond to this rite? Do they embrace it? Do they oppose it? If so, why? What do their responses tell us about the way they identify themselves?

Hall (1993) defines cultural history as cultural inheritances, traditions, hidden histories that go to make up an individual. He explains the relationship between ethnicity and cultural history as follows :

the past is not only a position from which to speak , but is also an absolutely necessary resource in what one has to say. So the relationship of the kind of ethnicity I'm talking about to the past is not a simple, essential one...it is a

constructed one. it is constructed in history, it is in part, political and in part narrative. It is an act of cultural recovery (quoted in McLaren 1993:128).

The role of the organic intellectuals is evaluated against this understanding of cultural history. The work of the Indian pastoral committee is seen as an act of cultural recovery. What does this tell us about the way organic intellectuals amongst SACIDs identify themselves ? How does this influence the way SACIDs in general respond to their leadership in this regard? This study attempts to contribute to the debate around cultural identity that the South Indian Rite of Marriage has initiated in the community of SACIDs.

Race

The term race is defined and used in a number of ways in this study. Firstly to explain the location of the participant community, it makes use of the definition in the vocabulary or discourse of Apartheid , which has only recently been displaced . Participants have imbibed and often use this terminology regarding race. It is slowly changing, but significant residues remain, and mind sets are still to be changed. The term race refers to the Apartheid concept of an Indian race. It refers to one of the "four" races identified by the architects of Apartheid to categorise people in South Africa. Race in this instance is not only correlated to skin colour , but to the categorisation of people on the basis of a composite of physical features such as shape of nose, texture of hair, and skin colour. These were considered observable enough to categorise people into Indian, African, Coloured and White races. This classification carried with it stereotypes regarding intelligence, sexual tendencies and cultural practices . As a result of these physical , psychological and social categorisations, a hierarchy emerged that placed the white race at the top with Coloureds, Indians and Africans in descending order of social, economic and political status.

The second approach to the concept of race is to see it as a cultural ideology employed by Apartheid to separate people in order to effectively oppress them to the advantage of a group of people whose cultural heritage and cultural practice emanated in Europe. Thus the concept of Black emerged to identify all those whose cultures did not emanate in the west, and who occupied a similar position vis a vis the lack of political control and power over their own lives. In this instance Black represented not a racial category but a cultural and political category. It carried with it positive connotations of cultural, intellectual and psychological

pride. It forged itself in an attempt to challenge and liberate the country from Apartheid rule. (Biko,1978) .

In both the above elaborations, race is ideological. It is employed in order to construct a consciousness, or way of looking at the world, in order to justify a political dispensation or programme of action. It is material in that the social, economic and political structures that emerge as a result of such ideologies are concrete and material. It is felt and experienced in lived conditions. This study attempts to discover whether race is still a factor in identity formation and how the categories of Indian, Black, and South African are understood and experienced by SACIDs.

The South Indian Rite of Marriage

This is a marriage rite or ritual that comprises cultural elements, symbolic actions and signs associated with Indian culture. These elements of culture appear in Hindu marriage rituals also. The South Indian Rite has been devised by the Indian Pastoral Committee of the Catholic Church in South Africa. The committee sees the rite as an act of inculturation. Aspects of culture are introduced in to the traditions of the church, which in South Africa is characterised by the Roman, western Rite.

The Southern Cross

This is a national, English-medium , weekly Catholic newspaper. It is included in the study in order to evaluate the factor of ideology in the self-understanding and identity construction of SACIDs.

ORGANISATION OF THE REPORT

Chapter Two is a review of related literature. It will elaborate on the concepts and further define the terms used in this study. These include the concepts of culture, cultural history, the politics of cultural difference, ethnicity, hegemony , ideology and race.

Chapter Three focuses on the Methodology employed in this study. The first section discusses qualitative research in general and the role of Critical Theory in qualitative research is raised. The second section elaborates on the approach and limitations in the process of data collection. The choice of purposive and known sample is discussed, revealing the judgements made by the researcher. It is argued that such a sample assists the investigation and is useful in exploratory studies. (Hsia, 1988.p 132). The research techniques include the use of historical methods such as oral histories and a literary text as sources , focus group interviews, a self-administered open-ended questionnaire and a perusal of minutes of meetings and church registers.

Chapter Four gives a historical overview of Catholics of Indian descent, concentrating on their socio-cultural experience. The first section covers the period from the arrival of Catholicism in India in the Fifteenth Century to the arrival of Indian Catholics in Natal in 1860. The second section will give an overview of South African Catholics of Indian descent from 1900 to the 1980s, concentrating on their socio-cultural experience. The overview covers in broad sweeps a description of the experience of SACIDS in the first 80 years of this century. In order to accomplish the aforementioned, it employs two methods of information gathering : oral histories , literary text evaluation and perusal of minutes of St. Anthony's Parish Council meetings. This chapter does not set out to be a definitive history. It is concerned rather with highlighting past experience that may assist in the contextualising of the contemporary experience of SACIDS, particularly the youth. This is deemed necessary to contextualize the contemporary experience of the subjects in this study.

Chapter Five discusses the findings of the research. A summary of the research findings is followed by discussion of the findings. This chapter discusses the responses of the youth in the purposive and known sample. It includes the results of the focus group discussions with the subjects of this study, namely the youth groups of two Catholic parishes : St. John's in

Chatsworth and St. Paul's in Reservoir Hills. the open-ended schedule focuses on issues related to identity . In particular, responses to the introduction of **The South Indian Rite of Marriage** are canvassed as a marker for ethnic identity.

Chapter Six continues the discussion on the findings. The role of the organic intellectuals in the process of identity formation. It discusses **The South Indian Rite of Marriage** as an example of the work done by clergy and lay organic intellectuals involved in the Catholic Church. Their work on the rite is viewed as cultural activism . The concern is with how this rite contributes to the debates on the identity of SACIDs. The organic intellectuals include an ex-active member from Justice and Peace Committee who is also a parishioner at St. Paul's parish, the priests at each of the two parishes and a nun. . The clergy in the sample are members of the Indian Pastoral Committee that devised the South Indian Rite of Marriage. This section evaluates the work of the intellectuals against the impact and response it has generated in the community.

Chapter Seven continues the discussion on the findings. This chapter discusses the views of the purposive sample on the role of **The Southern Cross**. It examines this newspaper for the influence of Catholic media in the identity construction of SACIDs. It is included in this study because the study examines the media or specifically ideology as a factor in identity formation. It includes an analysis of the role of church media and therefore church ideology in identity construction. The analysis is conducted within the framework of the Vatican Council II stated objectives regarding the media.

Chapter Eight comprises the conclusions of the study and recommendations for further study.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This study seeks to understand and describe identity formation among SACIDs. Assumption about the nature and composition of identity within this paradigm undergirds this study. First, the lineage of Cultural Studies, its continuity and break with classical Marxism will be discussed. Secondly, the key concepts in the analysis and interpretation in this study will be discussed. Concepts include: culture, ideology, ethnicity and race as they pertain to a Cultural Studies interpretation of identity.

2.1. THE LINEAGE OF CULTURAL STUDIES

Marxists Roots

Cultural Studies position itself within the broad Marxist paradigm. First, Marxist ontology assumes that reality and society is constantly changing. Secondly, it assumes society is divided into classes. The relationship between classes is based on conflict over the access to the means of production and power. The means of production and its increasing mechanisation and technological sophistication determines the general structuring and development of society. Social development occurs in a linear way from feudal, to a capitalist, to a socialist, to a Utopian society. These societies, except Utopia, all evidence a tension or class conflict between those who own the means of production (Capital) and those who do not (Labour)

Further, this class conflict drives human history or social development. Capital acts to maintain control of the means of production and to reproduce the resultant social relations of dominance. Labour, experiences the social relations as exploitative and act to take control of the means of production and to change the social relations.

Marxism upholds the view that the economic base is the determining factor in the construction of society into classes. Specific material conditions shape the consciousness of classes. The economic relations are fundamental to consciousness. They socially determine and socially construct the experience of individuals. Thus, individual experience corroborates group experience. This group experience is identified as a class . Thus individuals inhabit groups known as classes and their consciousness of themselves as a class emerges in their lived

experiences of class conflict.

Marx elaborates:

The mode of production must not be considered simply as being the reproduction of the physical existence of the individual. Rather, it is a definite form of activity of expressing their life, a definite mode of life on their part. As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are therefore coincides with their production, both with what they produce and how they produce it " (Marx quoted in Hall,1981:45)

Marx and Culture

Relations between men, men and the means of production, and men and their products characterise the concept of Culture as the 'way people live'. These relations are socially constructed through labour. Men intervene in nature with tools that reproduce the material conditions of existence, ie they reproduce the difference between those who have and those who do not have. This social organisation and collaboration of men mark the beginning of history, social development and human culture.

For Marx and Engels, a mere description of human culture is insufficient. Culture is a decisive material or productive force. Human culture is the result and record of man's developing mastery over nature, his capacity to modify nature to his use. This is a form of human knowledge perfected through social labour. This knowledge is materialized in production, embodied in social organisation, advanced through the development of practical and theoretical techniques. Above all, it is preserved and transmitted through language. This culture is the accumulated growth of man's power over nature, materialized in the instruments and practice of labour and in the medium of signs, thought, knowledge and language through which it is passed on from generation to generation. The knowledge is modified by the new generation but also prescribed for its conditions of life (Hall,1981:46)

However, Marxists face the problem of trying to explain how people experience themselves in ways that do not fully correspond with their material conditions. That is, economically they locate themselves in a particular class but do not experience themselves as a class in their consciousness, thought or values?

Marx and Ideology

Marx in his explanation of the above concern, argued that all consciousness is material ie the material conditions of an individual as a member of a class, shape consciousness. Ideas arise

from and reflect material conditions, to believe otherwise is a distortion and illusory. Bourgeoisie thought did not conceive of ideas as materially determined. Marx termed this "false consciousness". He used the term ideology to refer specifically to the manifestations of bourgeoisie thought. He used ideology "as a critical weapon against idealist philosophy" (Hall, 1986:30). Secondly, Marx conceived ruling ideas as the ideas of the ruling class. Thus, for Marx, ideas are class specific.

Critiques of Marx's conception of ideology include the view that it is reductionist. While it establishes the materialist basis of ideas, it reduces ideas to a dependency on the economic. Further, to maintain that the ruling ideas are the ideas of the ruling class is to suggest that ideas are class-specific and the exclusive property of certain classes (Hall, 1986:31)

Twentieth Century situations stimulated enquiry into Marx's theories of history, culture and ideology. The first, was the failure of the working class /proletariat to emerge as the new class rulers in Central Europe in the 1920s where communist parties were strongly represented. The second was the collaboration of the working class of Germany and Italy with the fascists. This cooption resulted in their own oppression and destruction in the 1940s. These events lead to a rethinking of Marx's theories. Theorists engaged in the rethinking process included: those associated with The Frankfurt School; other Marxist thinkers such as Habermas, Hans Enzensberger, Louis Althusser and those associated with Cultural Studies in Britain namely Richard Hoggart, E.P.Thompson, Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall.

Cultural Studies is concerned with how to explain the lack of the expected class consciousness in the proletariat. Cultural Studies however poses the question more inclusively: "How to account for the struggle, domination and the moment of active resistance in opposition to preferred readings?" (Tomaselli K.1987: 10). Broadening out the concern to include how to account for domination and resistance was influenced by the rediscovery of the Antonio Gramsci.

Two pitfalls common to socialist writing were addressed by Gramsci. First, economic reductionism (which reduces all social activity to movements in the economic base) ; and second, class reductionism (which collapses all social conflict to the capital versus labour contradiction)(Tomasellii, 1987:12).

Gramsci remains a Marxist. He was always aware of the economic foundations of society and

its relations . The value of Gramsci is in his originality:

It is in the much-neglected areas of conjunctural analysis, politics, ideology and the state, the character of different types of political regimes, the importance of cultural and national-popular questions, and the role of civil society in the shifting balance of relations between social forces in society - on these issues, Gramsci has an enormous amount to contribute. He is the first original Marxist theorist of the historical conditions which have come to dominate the second half of the twentieth century (Hall, 1986:8).

Gramsci's influence in Cultural studies was fundamental. It effected a reconceptualization of the analysis of society based on the economic and the superstructural elements. These superstructural elements include the role of culture, the media, education, law, politics and religion. This approach by, Gramsci stressed the importance of historical specificity in the analysis of society.

The analysis of the media in twentieth century society and culture is fundamental. Cultural Studies has its origins in the displacement of the emphasis on media effects and the dominance of the linear model of communication. The Communicator-Medium-Receiver model devised by Shannon and Weaver (C-M-R) dominated the study of communication in the United States. The content analysis approach of British and European students of communication replaced the emphasis on media effects. Cultural Studies in turn offered a further development in the field of communication.

Where the C-M-R scholars argued that media content was a 'reflection' of reality, and the content analyst drew attention to abstractions beyond the immediate appearance of the text, it was contemporary cultural studies which reconceptualised the content of media in terms of dynamic sets of internal systems of signs interacting with and responding to conditions in society. Interpretations of these signs was now argued to depend on class position, class ideologies, and the nature of the encounter between individual viewers/readers/listeners and the medium (Tomaselli,1987: 9) .

2.2.CULTURE

The Culturalist Strand

Two strands emerged in the early theorisation of culture within Cultural Studies: the Culturalist and Structuralist traditions. Within the culturalist strand, culture is a key concept.

The structuralist strand, ideology dominates analysis.

The culturalist strand is represented by the work of Richard Hoggart, E.P.Thompson and Raymond Williams. The work of Williams (1965) suggests two conceptualisations of culture. The first relates culture to " the sum of the available descriptions through which societies make sense of and reflect their common experiences " (Williams quoted by Hall, in Bennet et al. 1981:21). This definition stresses culture as ideas; it refers to the ideas of society as a whole and not just the best written or said. Culture refers to ordinary culture of which art is just one form of a general process of making sense of experience.

The second defines culture as social practices. "Culture is not a practice; nor is it simply the descriptive sum of the mores and folkways of societies - as it tended to become in certain kinds of anthropology. It is threaded through all social practices, and is the sum of their inter-relationships" (Hall, in Bennet et al. 1981:22). The purpose of analysis of culture is to discover the complex of these relationships that includes not only art but production, politics, economics, trading, family rearing etc. All these practices are experienced as a whole in any particular period. This is a society's "structure of feeling" (Williams quoted by Hall, in Bennet et al.1981:22). This definition stresses lived experience and a "radical interactionism". It rejects the idea of economic determinacy. (Hall, in Bennet et al.1981:23).

Culture however does not consist of a single, homogeneous, whole way of life, but of opposed ways of life. This notion of culture is concerned with class cultures in their historical particularity, class relations and popular struggle (Hall, in Bennet et al. 1981). It anticipates human agency in the idea of popular struggle. The emphasis is on people making sense and creating sense through common lived experience. It stresses the human agency of people in creating culture and resisting cultural domination (Thompson, 1962). This idea of different and opposed ways of life finds reference in the concept of dominant, residual and emergent cultural practices (Williams, 1973).

The culturalist strand of culture stresses the dialectic between social being and social consciousness. " The experiential pull in this paradigm, and the emphasis on the creative and on historical agency, constitute the two key elements in the humanism of the position

outlined. It accords experience an authenticating position in cultural analysis" (Hall, in Bennet et al. 1981:26) .

The Structuralist Strand

Cultural Studies defines ideology by building upon the contributions of Claude Levi-Strauss and Althusser. The former, an anthropologist, attempted to formulate a science of culture by comparing the organisation of culture to the organisation of language. He conceptualized culture as " the categories and frameworks in thought and language through which different societies classified out their conditions of existence (Hall, 1981:28) .

Claude Levi-Strauss conceptualized structuralism as that field of study within the social sciences concerned with the underlying structures or modes of thought, which generate the phenomena under study. Structuralism is concerned with the models or principles that underlie social relationships, not with the web of relations itself. For every body of material under study, or every aspect of culture studied, a structure is devised to analyse it. While it starts from cultural variety it is concerned with the ultimate basis that generates this variety. Change occurs not by changing the content of the material but by changing the structure of the relationships. It involves systemic change (Bullock et al. 1988)

Structuralism stresses the mental frameworks underlying phenomena. It studies human group behaviour as mental frameworks, concepts or ideas, systems of representation, imagery of thought, and language through which societies classified their experiences. In the analysis of society, structuralism emphasises the structures that exist in and through thought and language. These structures of thought are emphasized over the experience or manifestations in the material base. It priorities the mental framework of culture while culturalism stresses experience in cultural analysis. People are bearers of mental structures that place, speak, and position them. Structuralists see experience as an effect of the mental category of culture. They go further to suggest that these are individually produced and are unconscious (Hall in Bennet et al. 1981).

The structuralists strand in Cultural Studies rejects economic determinism but replaces it with a superstructural (culture, education, the legal system, the media) determinism. Cultural

Studies embraces Structuralism's concern with mental frameworks or modes of thought. It differs in its concern with how such structures obtain material force when certain ideas or representations come to dominate other representations. Relations of dominance and power among groups are the foci (Hall in Bennet et al. 1981, Tomaselli K.1987). In Cultural Studies this strand is known as the French structuralist contribution. It has developed to include Saussurian semiotics, various post-Marxist and neo-Marxist definitions of ideology, the study of discourse and representation.

Encompassing both the culturalist and structuralist conceptions of culture, Cultural Studies stresses the processes and categories through which and by which communities express themselves. The context of their operation is characterised by disparate and incommensurate power relations.

We return to Raymond Williams for a summary of the current approaches to the analysis of culture. It highlights the interdisciplinary nature of Cultural studies.

...there is some practical convergence between (i) the anthropological and sociological senses of culture as a distinct "whole way of life" within which, now, a distinctive "signifying system" is seen not only as essential but as essentially involved in all forms of social activity, and (ii) the more specialized if also the more common sense of culture as 'artistic and intellectual activities', though these, because of the emphasis on a general signifying system, are now much more broadly defined, to include not only the traditional arts and forms of intellectual production but also all the signifying practices - from language through the arts and philosophy to the journalism, fashion and advertising - which now constitute this complex and necessarily extended field (quoted in Donald & Rattansi, 1992: 43).

2.3. IDEOLOGY

The term ideology was first coined by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy to denote the "science of ideas which would reveal to men the source of their biases and prejudices"(Bullock A. et al. 1990 : 404).

The writings of Marx revived the concept of ideology. For Marxists and neo- Marxists ideology is linked to how people are placed in relation to the base or economic structuring of society. They are concerned with class formation and class struggle .

Ideology can be defined along a continuum of meanings that varies from inclusive to exclusive. All definitions however are concerned with human consciousness: how people make sense of themselves and the world. Ideology has its roots in the structuralist conception of culture as mental frameworks that people bear, place and position people. Ideology gives people a particular consciousness of themselves within relations in social formations (Althusser, 1970). "When social beliefs are linked to economic and political practices and organisation these social beliefs become ideological. Ideologies are not single ideas or propositions - but sets of connected beliefs which make sense of social relations. Ideologies provide the categories and rules whereby individuals represent society to themselves and where they represent society to definite individuals, groups and classes. Ideologies position us within social structure (Therborn, 1980:2).

In Marx's writings ideology has two different conceptions. One is that ideology is false consciousness. Here ideology refers to an idealist approach to human consciousness and the reasons for human action. Action is the effect of thought or ideas. False consciousness refers to that state of consciousness in which the actor is unaware of the real forces that move or impel the individual. The second definition refers to ideology as the medium through which men make history as conscious actors. Here ideology refers to the state of consciousness that results from class conflict. The medium of ideology makes individuals aware of their position as a group defined by their class position, by their relation to the means of production (Therborn, 1980:8).

The structuralist strand in Cultural Studies emphasizes the concept of ideology where the culturalist foreground culture as its focus. Structuralists applied the linguistic paradigm to the analysis of society. Ideology comprises the "categories and frameworks in thought and language through which different societies classified out their conditions of existence. The manner and practices through which these categories and mental frameworks were produced and transformed were based largely on the way in which language operated as signifying practices " (Hall, in Bennet et al. 1981:28). While Levi-Strauss talked of language as the means through which and by which culture operated, Althusser referred to the mental structures of thought as ideology.

Althusser (1970) breaks with the idea of ideology as a body of ideas or thoughts. He focused on the operation of ideology. The concern is with how ideology is internalized. He argues that the function of ideology is to reproduce capitalist social relations of production. The reproduction occurs through language or discourse of the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) such as education, church, culture. These ISAs act to ensure that ideas outside of individuals and located in state controlled apparatuses become naturalized and spontaneous in the individual.

Althusser's revisions opened the gate to a more linguistic or discursive conception of ideology...and how we come to speak 'spontaneously' within the limits of the categories of thought which exist outside us and which can more accurately be said to think us. This is the so-called interpellation of subjects at the centre of ideological discourse (Hall, 1986b:32).

Althusser also made use of the idea of Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) to explain how the state uses force to ensure the status quo. For Althusser, ideology forms the cement of social formations ensuring the reproduction of the capitalist mode of relations and productions. On the one hand, this cementing is produced through RSAs such as the army and the police force. On the other hand it is achieved through ideological state apparatuses such as socialisation through the church, the school. The dominant ideology formulates subjectivities and the identity of groups by positioning and holding in that position such groups by ideological dominance and coercion. It was the combination of ISA and RSA that resulted in the maintenance of power and capitalist social relations. There is little space for resistance by the dominated groups (Althusser, 1971). This conceptualization of ideology could not explain the existence of subversive or oppositional ideas or ideological struggle.

Therborn (1980:vii) identifies what he terms "the serious deficiencies with current studies on ideology". He points out that there is a need to go beyond Althusser's conception of ideology as social cement and the way subjects are addressed. Ideology should include the process by which social actors are made and where social actors function as actors for change. He thus rejects the immobility and determinism in Althusser's idea of "social cement" and introduces the element of ideological change in the conception of social actors. He explains how human subjects are formed through two processes : subjection and qualification. Subjection refers to the dual process of subjecting individuals under a particular order and making subjects social actors or creators. Qualification occurs through the same

process in which subjects are subjected to a particular order. Individuals, through that same particular order, become "qualified" to take up and perform the repertoire of roles given in the society into which they are born. These roles include the role of possible agents for social change. Those who have been subjected to a particular patterning of their capacities (socialisation), qualify for the given roles and are capable of carrying them out. Contradiction may develop: "New kinds of qualifications may be required and provided, new skills that clash with the traditional forms of subjection...the effects of a contradiction between the subjection and qualification are opposition and revolt or underperformance and withdrawal" (Therborn, 1980: 17)

Therborn recognises ideology as a social process of interpellation or speaking to us through signs. These signs however, are not deterministic but should be seen as contradictory, complementary and supplementary. He argues that in every ego ideology there exists an alter ideology. He explains the instance of positional-historical ideology: "The ruling bourgeoisie should be analysed as both an ego-ideology, forming the subjects of the bourgeoisie itself, and as an alter-ideology, dominating or striving to dominate the formation of other class subjects" (Therborn, 1980:28). Linked to this, is the idea that class ideology is not economically deterministic and driven by economic interest. Ideology is about class rule and class struggle.

He defines ideology broadly:

as that aspect of the human condition under which human beings live their lives as conscious actors in a world that makes sense to them in varying degrees. Ideology is the medium through which this consciousness and meaningfulness operate...This conception of ideology includes everyday notions and 'experience', elaborate intellectual doctrines, the 'consciousness' of social actors and the institutionalized thought-systems and discourses of a given society. But to study these as ideology means to look at them from a particular perspective : Not as bodies of thought or structures of discourse *per se* but as manifestations of a particular being-in- the -world of conscious actors, of human subjects. In other words to conceive of a text or utterance as ideology is to focus on the way it operates in the formation and transformation of human subjectivity (Therborn, 1980:2).

Althusser introduced interpellation, a psycho-analytic interpretation, into Marxism . This approach influenced later theorists to abandon the classical Marxist theory of ideology. By concentrating on how ideological subjects were formed, the emphasis shifted from the

constitution of class consciousness and class structuring of ideology, to individual subjectivity and psycho-analysis. Althusser's work lead in the end to the "abolition of the category of ideology " in the work of theorists such as Foucault (Hall in Bennet et al. 1986b:32). Hall argues that a rereading of Marxism through the work of Gramsci recovers the concept of ideology. Gramsci writing in the 1920s also preempts some of Therborn's concerns regarding the historical specificity and the existence of ego and alter ideologies in a given social formation.

Gramsci defined ideology as: "a conception of the world, any philosophy, which becomes a cultural movement, a religion, a faith, that has produced some form of practical activity or will in which a philosophy is contained as an implicit premise" (Hall, 1986a:20).

Hall explains the link between "philosophical premise" and the "practical activity and will". There are two "floors" in Gramsci's conception of ideology : philosophy and common sense. Gramsci is not only concerned with the philosophical element in ideology but with also with the way in which philosophy manifests itself in practical everyday common sense. This common sense, he terms organic ideology. It is organic in that it organises human activity, behaviour and consciousness. Organic ideologies are ideologies found in popular thought, practical everyday thought. They are organic in that people act on these thoughts. This results in action, movement and history.(Hall, 1986a).

Common sense or popular thought is the terrain on which practical consciousness forms. These practical and popular forms of consciousness refer to cultural and religious movements, faith and political tendencies. However "it requires political education and cultural politics to renovate and clarify the constructions of popular thought" (Hall, 1986:21).

Popular thought is culture. Culture comprises the popular beliefs of people which generate human action and practical consciousness. It is a material force. It is an important site of struggle. The raising of popular thought to political theory and political action for change in society, is part of the process of creating a collective will. This process of creating a collective will in which intellectual and ethical unity is used to achieve leadership by a particular group, is known as Hegemony. The hegemonic moment in history, is the point at which the dominant group is able to make their particular interests, the general interest of other groups and the state. The process of the naturalisation of the dominant ideology therefore is more subtle than the domination thesis Althusser presents. This makes culture a site of cultural and ideological struggle and contesting subjectivities .

In order to achieve this moment of leadership, intellectuals play a role. The distinction between philosophy and common sense is also the basis on which Gramsci makes a difference between a philosopher and an intellectual. Everyone is a philosopher as far as everyone can think and reflect, own a conception of the world, possess moral conduct. However everyone is not an intellectual in that everyone does not carry out the function of the intellectual. The intellectuals:

have a specialized responsibility for the circulation and development of culture and ideology and either align themselves with the existing dispositions of social and intellectual forces (traditional intellectuals) or align themselves with the emerging popular forces and seek to elaborate new currents of ideas (organic intellectuals (Hall, 1986a:21).

Gramsci in discussing the relations of force in society describes three moments in the process towards the hegemony or leadership of a dominant group. These are: the economic corporate stage, the class corporate stage and the hegemonic moment. The first two stages are located in the economic sphere. The economic corporate stage refers to the stage where professional and occupational groups recognise their basic common interests but are conscious of no wider class solidarities. Class corporate stage is one in which class solidarity of interests develop. The hegemonic moment effects organisation, consciousness and unity in the moral, intellectual and political spheres (Hall, 1986a).

Gramsci recognises the use of force in the achievement of hegemony. However, he highlights the complementary process of consent seeking, through intellectual and moral leadership by the dominant group for the maintenance of its position of power. The fundamental group holds and manages the discourse which constructs the identity of other groups. At the hegemonic moment, the interests of sub-ordinate groups do not disappear but are co-ordinated through the processes of incorporation and mediation. The intellectual, moral and the economic and political unity of the fundamental group prevail not as a ruling class but as a historical bloc (Showstack, 1987).

There is no total victory of one set of forces over another, of one group over another. Rather there exists always, tendencies that are oppositional to each other. They might be covert but alive. They do not disappear from the terrain of struggle. Thus challenge to a dominant ideology is possible.

Hall (1986) explains that it is rereading ideology through the writings of Gramsci that the theory of ideology is recovered:

The theory of ideology helps us to analyse how a particular set of ideas comes to dominate the social thinking of a historical bloc, in the Gramsci sense, and, thus, helps to unite such a bloc from the inside, and maintain its dominance and leadership over society as a whole. It has especially to do with the concepts of languages of practical thought which stabilize a particular form of power and domination or which reconcile and accommodate the mass of the people to their subordinate place in the social formation. It also has to do with the processes by which new forms of consciousness, new conceptions of the world arise, which move masses of people into historical action against the prevailing system (Hall, 1986b:29).

Cultural Studies then, examines the ways in which groups become subjects, represent themselves and contest representations of themselves. This occurs through the various forms of human action, popular thought and cultural expression. These forms include: popular music, sub-cultures, interest groups, the various forms of mass media (television, radio, film, newspapers), popular theatre , visual art and any other system of symbolic codes or signifying practice. It views symbolic human action such as those expressed in sub-cultures, urban rituals, myths and legends as signifying practices and sites of representations (Tomaselli, K. 1987).

2.4. ETHNICITY

A brief history of the concept

Ethnicity is a term that has only recently come into popular usage. David Riesman was the first to use it in 1953. Thereafter, it only appeared in the **Oxford Dictionary** in 1975 (Glaser & Moynihan, 1975). The 1983 version of the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, refers to the word ethnic as "pertaining to nation not Christian or Jewish". For the word ethnicism, it gives the meaning "heathenism and paganism". It is important to note the negative equivalencies for the term ethnic. The term connotes difference where this difference carries a negative connotation of ungodly, without beliefs and uncultured. It equates ethnicity with religions other than Judaism and Christianity. This in effect refers to all those who are not of the Judeo-Christian traditions. This refers to more than half the world. It establishes an 'Us and Them' dichotomy, where 'Them' refers to the ethnic group.

Hutnik (1991) traces the development in the term Ethnicity. In writings of sociologists in the 1960's, the term characterised the cultural content of ethnicity, processes of persistence and maintenance of ethnic boundaries and the part played by self-ascription.

What follows is a summary based on Hutnik's trace:

Milton Gordon (1964) conceived of ethnicity as a sense of "peoplehood" created by a common race, religion, national origin, history or some combination of these. Theodorson and Theodorson (1969) describe ethnic group as "a group with a common cultural tradition, a sense of identity which exists as a sub-group of a larger society". Shubatani and Kwan (1965) state that an ethnic group forms when people conceive of (ie think of) themselves as being alike by virtue of a common ancestry, which may be real or fictitious and who are regarded by others as belonging to the group.

Barth (1969) pointed out that ethnic markers such as dress, language, house form, lifestyle and even basic values used by members of ethnic groups may change over time. However, the process of self-ascription and identification may not. "Ethnic groups may become behaviourally assimilated to other groups but still maintain a sense of ethnic identity." This view stresses that ethnicity then is more an outcome of self-awareness and self-identification rather than a sense of shared or common lived experiences.

If identity and collective identity is a matter of common ancestry (which may or may not be real) and self identification, it becomes possible to choose one's ethnic identification in a self-conscious way. One could then belong to many groups for strategic reasons.

Wallman (1983) points out that ethnic identity is not fixed nor necessarily singular. It can be one of many identity options. This reading of ethnic identity as salient when the situation arises, may account for why ethnicity may appear dominant at times and lay latent at others.

Chun (1983) points out that individuals are constantly trying to locate and place themselves in a world of relationships and meanings. This they do through a process of "socio-epistemic self-placement". An individual asks: Who am I? What am I? These questions are asked within a context of social relations on the one hand (socio) and existential questions and quest for knowledge (epistemic) on the other. In other words identity consists within a total

configuration of social relations and ontological and epistemological questions.

Hutnik (1991) summarises four strategies in the process of self-categorisation, self-placement and cultural adaptation: the **acculturative** strategy where the individual identifies him/herself using a hyphenated identity eg Indian- South African or South African -Indian, the **assimilative** strategy, where the individual concentrates on the majority group label of his/her identity eg just South African, the **dissociative** strategy where the individual defines himself as entirely within the bounds of the ethnic minority group and the **marginalisation** strategy where the individual is indifferent to ethnic group identification and chooses to identify with neither group.

Glaser and Moynihan (1975:27) explain that ethnicity today has a broader sweep than its past use:

Ethnicity refers not only to subgroups or minorities but to all the groups of a society characterised by a distinct sense of difference owing to culture and descent .This reflects a **shift** in the understanding of ethnic groups - formerly seen as survivors from an earlier age to be treated variously with annoyance, toleration, or mild celebration. We now have a growing sense that there may be forms of social life that are capable of renewing and transforming themselves As such perhaps the hope of doing without ethnicity in a society as its subgroups assimilate to the majority group can be as utopian and as questionable an enterprise as the hope of doing without social classes in society (Glaser and Moynihan,1975).

Cultural Studies and Ethnicity

Within Cultural Studies, Hall explains the concept of ethnicity through a reading of Gramsci. He points out that Gramsci did not write about race, racism and ethnicity per se but that his concepts may still be useful to us in our attempt to think through the adequacy of existing social theory paradigms in these areas (Hall, 1986a: 8)

It is Gramsci's conceptualisation of the ideological subject, that one finds an analytical tool for understanding ethnicity and race. There is no given unified ideological subject that defines an ethnic, racial or class formation. To quote Hall's example:

There is no given proletarian with 'correct' revolutionary thoughts or blacks with their already guaranteed current anti-racist consciousness. Gramsci recognises the plurality of selves or identities of which the so called subject of

thought and ideas is composed. He argues that this multi-faceted nature of consciousness is not an individual but collective phenomenon, a consequence of the relationship between 'The self' and the ideological discourses which compose the cultural terrain of society In recognizing ideology is always collective and social, not individual, Gramsci explicitly acknowledges the necessary complexity and inter-discursive character of the ideological field. There is never any one, single, unified and coherent 'dominant ideology' which pervades everything(Hall, 1986a:22).

Hall (1992) argues that there is a need to contest the concept of ethnicity and reappropriate and articulate it in a **radical** retheorization of difference. Negative equivalencies for difference in the 'Us and Them' dichotomy was set up by the original usage of the term to denote paganism and heathenism. This must be challenged as racist. Hall explains:

The term ethnicity acknowledges the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated, and all knowledge is contextual. Representation is possible only because enunciation is always produced within codes which have a history, a position within the discursive formations of a particular space and time. The fact that this grounding of ethnicity in difference was deployed, in the discourse of racism, as a means of disavowing the realities of racism and repression does not mean that we can permit the term to be permanently colonized. That appropriation will have to be contested, the term disarticulated from its position in the discourse of "multiculturalism" and transcoded, just as we previously had to recuperate the term black, from its place in a system of negative equivalences (Hall, in Donald and Rattansi (ed), 1992:257)

To effect the reappropriation of ethnicity, the processes of articulation and disarticulation are required. These processes occur simultaneously but not equally in social change. It involves the processes of de-construction and re-construction by which "old alignments are dismantled and new alignments can be effected between elements in different discourses and between social forces and ideas...This process is not one of substitution or imposition. Rather, it is a process of **articulation and disarticulation** "(Hall, 1986b:23). What is suggested by Hall is that ethnicity must be disarticulated from its past discourse and articulated in the discourse of the contemporary Left, giving it a radical reading.

The new conceptions of ethnicity and identity are characterised by a cultural politics that engages rather than suppresses cultural difference. It distinguishes between diversity and difference. The former is associated with multiculturalism and the latter with a radical politics

of difference.

Homi Bhabha (1990) writing on colonialism, race, identity and difference in plural, democratic societies explains how the notion of cultural diversity is encouraged and accommodated as a sign of the 'cultured' or 'civilised' attitude. Bhabha highlights how the term became, in the construction of multi-ethnicity and multiculturalism, a justification for racism.

Western connoisseurship is the capacity to understand and locate cultures in a universal time-frame that acknowledges their various historical and social contexts only eventually to transcend them and render them transparent. You begin to see the way in which the endorsement of cultural diversity becomes the bedrock of multiculturalism: Although there is always an encouragement of cultural diversity, there is always also a corresponding containment of it. A transparent norm is constituted, a norm given by the host country or the dominant culture, which says that 'these other cultures are fine, but we must be able to locate them within our own grid'. This is what I mean by a creation of cultural diversity and a containment of cultural difference" (Bhabha in Rutherford, (ed) 1990: 208).

Hall (1990) argues that if black experience or for that matter white experience is not a matter of biology or nature, then it must be constructed. Therefore, it is historical, cultural and political in its process of making. If ethnicity is a construction devised to identify differences, then it is possible to construct difference to carry a positive equivalence. It is possible to articulate ethnicity in a positive sense.

Ethnicity as Cultural History

Gramsci's definition of cultural provides a good entry point for understanding cultural history as a dynamic and necessary component of ethnicity and identity: "Each individual is the synthesis not only of existing relations but of the history of these relations. He is a précis of the past" (Gramsci, quoted in David Forgas, 1988:326).

Stuart Hall articulates the relationship between cultural history and ethnicity:

There is a need to honour hidden histories from which (people) come. They need to understand the languages which they've been not taught to speak. They need to understand and revalue the traditions and inheritances of cultural expression and creativity..., (they need to understand)... the past is not only a position from which to speak, but is also an absolutely necessary resource

in what one has to say. So the relationship of the kind of ethnicity I'm talking about to the past is not a simple, essential one --- it is a constructed one. It is constructed in history, it is constructed in part politically, and is part narrative. It is an act of cultural recovery (quoted in McLaren, 1993: 128)

Ethnicity as a Radical Politics of Difference

The acceptance of difference is not a bland accommodation of diversity and the superficial manifestations of different cultural traditions or present proclivities. It is not a mystified glorification of the past or "roots". Rather it considers what Stuart Hall terms the "Diaspora experience" composed of the processes of "unsettling, recombination, hybridisation and cut-and-mix involved in identity formation and a new politics of representation" (Hall quoted in McLaren, 1993:75)

To quote Hall again:

What is involved is the splitting of the notion of ethnicity between, on the one hand, the dominant notion which connects it to nation and 'race' and on the other hand to what I think is the beginning of a positive conception of the ethnicity of the margins, of the periphery. That is to say, a recognition that we all speak from a particular place, out of a particular history, out of a particular experience, a particular culture, without being contained by that position...We are all in a sense, ethnically located and our ethnic identities are crucial to our subjective sense of who we are. But this is also a recognition that this is not an ethnicity which is doomed to survive, ...only by marginalization, dispossession, displacing, and forgetting other ethnicities. This precisely is the politics of ethnicity predicated on difference and diversity (Hall, in Donald & Rattansi (ed). 1992:258).

The above understanding of ethnicity as positive difference subsumes two ideas. One, is need to mainstream difference in a real acceptance of difference. The second, is the rejection of the reductionism and fossilisation of self in order to justify an incommensurate distribution of power.

2.5.RACE

Stanfield & Dennis(1993) point out that early studies on race and ethnicity show a political and cultural bias. These classical studies as a result, are generally unacceptable today. They highlight the concerns in the study of race and ethnicity in social science. These are: the lack of critical reflection about methodology, the pervasiveness of logical positivism and the wishful thinking in the prevalence of the ideology that race will decline in significance. Race

has failed to disappear as a category in the lived experience of most societies. They point to a serious need for new ways of explaining the racial and ethnic dimensions of human life. Race is a category in the understanding of human behaviour, identity, conflict and communication. Today the emphasis is on race as a social and political construct rather than on its biological significance.

Recognising that all knowledge is ideologically determined and culturally biased, academic concerns shifted to how to theorize racial conflict, intercultural and cross cultural communication. Race and Ethnic Studies have focused on questions of pluralism and cultural diversity, the impact of social mobility on race and ethnic identity and strategies of adaptation (Stanfield & Dennis, 1993). This is reflected in the work of UNESCO. Its project is to promote appreciation and respect for cultural and racial identity. It sees communication as complex, as taking place within the perimeters of diversity of origin. It recognises that there is a positive and negative side to ethnocentrism. It aims to promote the positive side ie the cultural specificity of groups while at the same time encouraging intercultural relations and dialogue.

Writers such as Franz Fanon, Stuart Hall, Homi Bhabha and other writers within British Cultural Studies, are concerned with how the discourse of race develops, maintains and justifies the disproportionate allocation of economic, social and political power. In this respect race is analysed and interpreted within the category of ideology outlined in this chapter. Cultural Studies places the analysis of race within the discourse of power and processes of signification. For example it shows how Black can have different political and cultural meanings in different socio-economic and political contexts. It is concerned with how race makes subjects of individuals and with how it subjugates. It theorises race as an ideology. It focuses on the contestation over the discourse of race. Race as ideology can be interpreted along the continuum of meanings for ideology. These have been discussed earlier and will apply in the analysis and interpretation of this study.

Race and South Africa

However, it is necessary to examine the concept of race as it applies in the literature and common sense or organic ideologies of South African writers.

The formulation of the concept race has two sources : the architects and politicians of Apartheid on the one hand and the political activists and opposition to Apartheid on the other. The term race in the Apartheid discourse refers to the biologically based understanding of the term. This concept conceives of "four" races in the categorisation of people in South Africa. Race in this instance is not only correlated to skin colour, but to the categorisation of people on the basis of a composite of physical features such as shape of the nose, texture of hair, and skin colour. These were considered observable enough to categorise people into Indian, African, Coloured and White races. This classification carried with it elaborations of other common group characteristics associated with each race. These characteristics included biologically defined group characteristics such as intelligence levels, sexual tendencies and cultural practices. These physical, psychological and social categorisations were correlated with levels of inferiority and superiority in a context of discrimination and oppression. A hierarchy emerged. The white race was positioned at the top, with Coloureds, Indians and Africans in descending order of social, economic and political status (Prior,1982).

The second approach to the concept of race is based in cultural discrimination. This approach highlighted how discrimination and oppression is based on notions of cultural rather than biological superiority. The one group of people whose cultural heritage and cultural practice emanated in Europe, is viewed as culturally superior to the other groups whose culture emanated in Africa or the East. The ideology of Blackness or Black Consciousness emerged to identify all those whose cultures did not emanate in the west, and who occupied a similar position vis a vis the lack of political control, social power and power over their own lives. In this instance Black represented not a biological or racial category but a cultural and political category. It carried with it positive connotations of cultural, intellectual and psychological pride. It forged itself in an attempt to challenge and liberate the country from Apartheid rule (Biko,1978).

In both the above elaborations, race is ideological. It is employed in order to construct a consciousness, or way of looking at the world, in order to justify a political dispensation or programme of action. It is material in that the social, economic and political structures that emerge because of such ideologies are concrete and material. It is felt and experienced in

lived conditions.

In the work of anti-racist educationist in South Africa, two concepts viz. racism and racialism emerged to clarify the levels at which discrimination is felt and practised (ERASE,1980). Racism refers to the institutionalized basis of discrimination in law, economic structures, schools, religious institutions etc. It refers to the racial organisation of infrastructures. These systems or structures oppress and subjugate individuals at the level the system, through rules and regulations. Racialism refers to derogatory attitudes and views adopted by individuals based on stereotypes, prejudice and negative generalisations about the way people behave because of the way people look. Racism critiques the ideology of race by focusing on the social level of its operation. Racialism critiques ideology at the psychological level of operation. This analysis of race attempts an analysis of the relationship between the material conditions of racism generated at the economic level and those generated at the superstructural levels of culture and ideology. Race is considered an ideology and will be discussed as such in this study.

This concludes a discussion of the main terms and concepts used in this study. A brief discussion on the way these concepts will be utilized in this study follows. The actual application of the concepts to the findings constitutes the analysis and interpretation . This will be discussed in chapter Four.

2.6. Relationship between Key Concepts and the objectives of this Study

Firstly, the Cultural Studies perspective as outlined above is applied to the question: By what processes, categories and knowledge does the community of South African Catholics of Indian descent (SACIDs) define or identify itself. What is the role of culture, ethnicity, ideology, race and religion in identity construction and self understanding? How does one understand SACID utilising the constructs of Cultural Studies perspective?

This study takes its cue from the task outlined by Stuart Hall and others: to reappropriate ethnicity. It examines the valence of ethnicity in the identity formation and self-understanding of SACIDs. Further it, evaluates the relevance of the task outlined by Hall, by focusing on the reasons for and the responses to the development of the **South Indian Rite of Marriage**

by the Indian pastoral Committee. The work of the committee is examined as an instance of cultural activism and cultural politics as identified within the Cultural Studies perspective and reading of Gramsci.

Thirdly, the Cultural Studies approach emphasizes the role of media in Twentieth Century experience as a site of signification and ideological contestation . The responses of the SACIDs to the Catholic newspaper, **The Southern Cross**, are discussed in the light of transformation within the church itself.

CHAPTER THREE : METHODOLOGY

3.1. THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING

This study locates itself within the qualitative and critical theory approaches to research. Researchers point out that qualitative research is a relatively new approach to study which is characterised by disagreement among scholars. There are variations regarding the term qualitative research. Terms such as interpretative, naturalistic, fieldwork, case study and ethnography are designations for qualitative research. (Locke, Spirduso, & Silverman, 1993)

This type of research has been described as "disarmingly simple". It has been defined as " a systematic, empirical strategy for answering questions about people in a bounded social context. Given any locus for interaction, it is a means of describing and attempting to understand the observed regularities in what people do, say and report as their experience". (Locke, Spirduso, & Silverman, 1993:99). Thus in qualitative research the focus of attention is on what participants perceive and experience.

Qualitative research upholds the view that social reality is not objective, but constantly changing ie. It is dialectic. People make sense of their experience and therefore create their own reality. This type of research is not concerned with a cause and effect model of reality but with changing and multiple realities (Locke, Spirduso, & Silverman).

However the assumptions held by the researcher or investigator are what separates qualitative research from quantitative research in social science. Qualitative research rejects the view held by positivist or quantitative research. It maintains that research cannot be objective or value free. They argue that a researcher becomes part of the social object he or she studies and that we cannot separate the values of the researcher from the research. To add validity to the study, it therefore becomes important to take cognisance of the values, aspirations and aesthetic imaginings of the researcher during research. (Du Plooy. (ed),1995: 1-25)

Further it stresses the use of theory to interpret findings rather than empiricism. Social reality must be questioned because it is always changing. It therefore becomes necessary to question all knowledge about social reality because this knowledge too, is impermanent. (Du Ploy,

This introduces a third paradigm in research known as critical theory. This approach to research encompasses several forms of inquiry including participatory and empowering traditions, feminist approaches to research and action research. The characteristic of the critical theory approach to research is that it is concerned with how research can be used in the redistribution of power. It also commits research to the improvement of the life circumstances of participants. It draws a fine line between politics and scholarship. It is this fine line that makes the critical approach to research a still unacceptable approach in many fields of study (Locke, Spirduso, & Silverman, 1993:101)

This study, as pointed out earlier, uses a combination of qualitative approaches that include critical theory approaches such as action research. In explaining an Action Research Approach to Education, Jean McNiff (1988) makes a point for the approach used in this study. She responds to questions regarding the objectivity of her study. The criticism is that her data, sources, even her subjects are chosen, perceived and interpreted by her and therefore she cannot claim objectivity. McNiff (1988) argues that objectivity in Action Research means including subjectivity:

I agree that my research is subjective. So is the research of children, parents and colleagues. All, together they accumulate, and through intersubjective criticism they increase their objectivity...Action Research involves other people, all applying their own personal, subjective knowledge in a critical way. If they all agree, then it is possible to claim objectivity. However, objectivity is perhaps not a vital criterion. Does it matter if my research is subjective? (1988:128-129).

Locke et al (1993) suggest a way to contend with the influence of the researcher in qualitative and critical research :

come clean about the ways in which personal biography will influence the research process. Clear threats to accurate perception in terms of previous experience in the research setting, personal values, characteristic assumptions and obvious bias must be addressed in the proposal. This is not done in an attempt to cleanse one's self of personal viewpoint and become neutral relative to the subject of study. Most qualitative researchers hold objectivity to be an illusion, a human state that is both impossible and undesirable to achieve. What the investigator brings to the setting can become a positive part of the research process, but only if it is recognised as an inextricable background for

every step from question to conclusion. Coming clean thus means the creation of awareness, not the divestiture of self (Locke, Spirduso & Silverman, 1993: 114)

A further characteristic of qualitative research, is the issue of sampling. Sampling refers to the procedures used for selecting the individual unit of analysis. Two types of sampling are identified: scientific or probability sampling and non-probability sampling. A probability sample is selected according to mathematical guidelines. It is called a probability sample because every member of the population has an equal or probable chance of being selected as the sample. The non-probability sample is used if only a sub-group of a population is studied. The sample does not represent the population because it cannot be guaranteed that every member of the population has an equal chance of being in the sample. Error cannot be determined on a non-probable sample but, error can be calculated on a probable sample. This makes generalising to the target population difficult. Non-probability samples are therefore considered, by some, to be inconclusive. The way to counteract the view that findings based on a non-probable sample is a one-time occurrence is to repeat the study. (Du Plooy, (ed), 1995: 54-65)

It must be pointed out that non-probable sampling has its uses. It is suited to exploratory research, pilot studies, field research and pre-testing of measuring instruments such as questionnaires. (Du Plooy (ed), 1995: 25-65).

The above brief overview of qualitative research provides the methodological framework for this study. I will now address some of the above mentioned characteristics and apply them to the concerns to this study. In discussing the research design, firstly I will examine the researchers values and assumptions as they may affect this study. It is done in order to "come clean" as suggested by Locke et al (1993). Secondly I will discuss the sample and its pertinence to this study. Thirdly, I will discuss the research techniques used.

3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

3.2.1. UNIT OF ANALYSIS

Given that this study uses the theoretical framework of qualitative research and participatory action research, the unit of analysis consists of both the researcher as a member of the subject community and the purposive sample chosen .

The Position of the Researcher

The researcher is a member of the broad subject community as stated in the introduction. The writer is a practising Catholic who is involved in a mixed religious relationship. The religion subscribed to by her partner is Hinduism. The family ancestry of the researcher indicates that paternal relatives were of the Tamil linguistic and ethnic group. Maternal ancestry is traced to the Hindi linguistic and ethnic group . Both the paternal and maternal sides of the family have been practising Catholics for at least four generations. Further, she is a member of the Roman Catholic denomination by birth and by individual choice. However she locates and associates with the articulation of Catholicism as expressed by Liberation Theology. This means in brief that she supports programmes within the church that are aimed at addressing the needs of the poor, pursuing human rights for all and challenging and supporting efforts in the church to bring about justice and peace.

The early and formative political influences on the researcher as a high school student in the 70s was the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, whose principles have been articulated by the writings of Steve Biko . This influence was further enriched by contact with members of South African Students Organisation (SASO). Later political influences included participation in the 1980s in the programmes of the Natal Indian Congress and the African National Congress. These various political movements introduced and shaped the researchers understanding of the categories of race, culture and ethnicity. She embraces the concept of Black as articulated by the BCM. This means that she considers herself proud to be of a cultural heritage other than European and considers herself to be a South African by birth and choice. Also she considers her status within this country as permanent and a birthright. Further she understands her politics to be of the socialist strand. At present the writer is not actively working in a political party, however the way in which she understands the world is through the ideology of a broad and changing Marxism.

Being positioned as above, it is clear that my own self understanding of my identity is that I am a South African Catholic of Indian Descent. I recognise and embrace a nationality, religion and cultural history. The factors of culture, religion and ethnicity are active components in how I construct my identity. Race is active in the construction of my identity in so far as I feel under threat to protect my dignity and right to a free mind and free land or country. I support the introduction of the South Indian Rite of Marriage indicating my support for a recovery of cultural history, cultural expression and descent.

The Sample

The sample chosen is a purposive and known group sample. That is the researcher has made a judgement based on previous knowledge of the population and the aim of the study. Literature suggests that this is acceptable. This judgement call is acceptable in qualitative research. The units are selected to assist in the investigation. According to Hsia (1988:132), this type of sample is called a judgement sample.

The participants in the study include :

- * the youth groups at two Catholic parishes located in former Indian Groups areas ie. specific areas set aside to house only Indians in accordance with the Apartheid policy of keeping the various racial groups living apart.
- * experts or organic intellectuals at both the parishes, these include the priests who sit on the Indian Pastoral Committee and members of the community of SACIDs who were judged as able to assist the investigation because of their profiles within the community and parish
- * two mixed religious couples, one from each parish

The Youth Sample

This sample was purposive, known sample in that it provided a convenient group that according to the researcher displayed the population parameters of the study. The group comprised a racial , religious and ethnic group. They were especially suited in that they were clearly factoring in religion in their identity, by their participation in a religious based youth

group. They were all of South Indian origin as evidenced by their surnames .

The youth subjects numbered 13 from St. John's Parish, and 11 from St. Paul's. The subjects were young people who defined themselves as youth. They ranged in age from fifteen years to twenty two years and were voluntary members , some even founding members ,of the youth groups of their parishes. They were all, except for one, Catholic by parental choice having been born into families where their parents were Catholic. The one, a 2nd year College of Education student chose to convert from Hinduism to Catholicism. All have Indian ancestry, the majority on both the maternal and paternal sides . Some (2) had only one Indian parent on the paternal side. Both groups comprised members across the spectrum including those in high school and tertiary education, employed and unemployed youth. Their involvement in the study was uneven, with some participating in all aspects of information sharing, and others being present in only some aspects. All information was volunteered .

Two groups were chosen : one from St. John's Parish , located in Bayview, part of the sprawling economic township called Chatsworth set aside for Indians during the late 1960s as part of the Group Areas Act. Here people were housed in government built homes, having been uprooted from settled communities in the centre of Durban, Greyville, Mayville and Cato Manor to name a few areas from where people came. The other group was located at St. Paul's Parish in Reservoir Hills, a middle class Indian Group Area, where people bought land and built their own homes. The other difference between the two parishes is that St. John's presently has a white South African priest of Portuguese descent, and St. Paul's has a South African priest of Indian descent.

Similarities between the groups were : The parents of the youths of both these parishes had their roots in the common parish of St. Anthony's, historically the first church for Indian Catholics in South Africa. All the parents of the youth were either baptised, made their first Holy Communion, married or attended mass at St. Anthony's Church. All of the youth ,with the exception of two, attended government high schools set aside for Indians only. A few of the youth had a few years of primary schooling at St. Anthony's Catholic State-Aided Primary School.

The study was first conducted at St. Paul's Parish and then at St. John's. The process at St. John's was a close replication in most aspects of the process at St. Paul's. It may be considered that such a replication adds a degree of validity to the study. The findings were similar as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

The Expert Sample

Whyte (1991) points out the difference between mainstream and alternative research as follows :

In mainstream research , the social researcher should aim at discovering basic scientific facts or relationships and not get directly involved in linking social research to action. The alternative view is that it is as important , both for the advancement of science and for the improvement of human welfare, to devise strategies in which research and action are closely linked (Whyte,1991:7).

The concept of expert sample is used here as it is understood by the alternative view of research. Anyone who has served as a participant observer for an extended period of time in an organisation or community discovers that not all provide information of equal value. Those informants identified as experts are those key informants whose contribution to the research process is "especially knowledgeable, insightful and perceptive regarding the dynamics of their organisation or community. He argues that "it is useful to the researcher and more enjoyable to the key informants if we expand the social process to discuss with these individuals what we are trying to find out and also consult with them about how to interpret what we study" (Whyte,1991: 9) .

This sample comprised six members. They are considered by this study to be experts and organic intellectuals and constitute a purposive sample . The two parish priests and the nun formed part of the Indian Pastoral Committee that designed the South Indian Rite of Marriage and are involved in popularising the rite. One individuals was a member of the Justice and Peace Commission set up in some parishes. The commissions set up in the later 1980s were introduced to look at the issues of injustice in the broader society and to bridge the racial divide within the church. The sample also included active or known members of the community. One, known for her contribution to education and for her membership of a well respected Indian Catholic family. The mother and aunt of this participant are especially remembered for their contribution to the field of music education and teacher organisation

amongst Indians. The other participant is known for her contributions in the field of politics. While she no longer actively practices as a Catholic her reasons and decisions for this provide insight into the process of identity formation amongst SACIDs with specific reference to the role of ideology or politics in the process of identity formation.

It is important to point out that the concept of expert is different to the understanding of expert employed in traditional mainstream research. In traditional research, it is the researcher who is considered the expert. In qualitative research namely action research, it is the participant that is considered the expert. This study focuses on the way participants identify themselves through processes of self-understanding and identity construction. Participants are asked to examine the way they think of themselves and give possible interpretations of their self-understanding as members of a group that is also part of an identifiable organisation. The organisation is the Catholic Church which has clear lines of communication and role functions for clergy and laity. According to Whyte (1991), Participatory Action Research (PAR) has its roots in three intellectual streams, namely social research methodology, participation in decision making by low ranking people in organisations and committees and socio-technical system thinking regarding organisational behaviour.

This study links with the Participatory action research (PAR) approach in that examining the identity formation of SACIDs, it does so within the context of SACIDs as members of an organisation, namely the Catholic Church. As an organisation, the Participants are located in its various structures and follow the various lines of communication.

3.2.2 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

This study uses a combination of methods to collect data. These included quantitative methods such as a survey of reading habits and voting behaviour. The most successful methods in gathering data for this study however, were those associated with the qualitative approach to research design such as life histories, in-depth, fairly unstructured group interviews, and an open-ended self-description questionnaire. The constraints and limitations in the use and results of each of these will be discussed later as I examine each method.

All methods of information gathering were aimed at finding out how the group and individuals in the group defined themselves and what influenced that definition : religious participation, racial categorisation and ideology, ethnicity culture , political education, or combinations ?

It would seem on first reading that the researcher merely tried a variety of ways to achieve information from the Participants and in doing so appears unfocused or eclectic. While it may be true that some methods adopted in this study failed to follow the rigours of statistical calculations of sampling, it should not be dismissed as a weakness in the research. When it was found that the dominantly quantitative methods failed to yield sufficient information, the researcher continued in the knowledge that qualitative methods envisaged for the study might do so. This confidence arose from the understanding that a purposive sample included individuals with a concern for the issues of this study and as Participants in the action research approach to the study, were eager and volunteered to participate.

Fielding & Fielding, (1986) in their study of linking data point out that there is a body of literature that values a combination of methods or theories in research . This is known as triangulation . Triangulation or a combination may occur at four levels : data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation. The mixed religious couples rendered information at the individual and interactive group level. This was done during the interview by posing particular questions for individual response and other questions to which both to responded.

For this study data triangulation was aimed at person triangulation . The youth participants rendered information at an individual level (self- description questionnaire, media reading survey) and the interactive group level (video- taped focus group interviews). The expert sample rendered information at the individual and at the collective level as representatives of committees within the structure of the parish and church as an organisation .

For this study methodological triangulation was also applied. Fielding & Fielding (1986) explain that there are two variants to methodological triangulation : the "within- method" and the " between -method ". The former refers to the process when the same method is used

on different occasions . The latter refers to the occasion when different methods are applied to the same subject in explicit relation to each other. For example this study attempted to check the articulations of identity during the focus group interview with the individual self-descriptions by youth on the self-administered questionnaire .

Further the articulations of the youth regarding their involvement in the church during the focus group interview was checked against actual performance using participant observation during the celebration of Mass. Church involvement as an indicator of the influence of religion in their sense of self and group identity, was checked against their actual participation in the mass. The methodological triangulation involved the focus group interview, participant observation and self-ascription questionnaire.

Further the method of data collection was characterised by a subjective element in the investigation. The researcher included in the video-taped focus group discussions reference to her own experience of the process of identity formation. She also included in the self-description questionnaire the categories : Black South African, Indian South African and South African as possible choices for identification. These categories are indicators of the researcher's own thoughts regarding the negotiation of identity. The objective was to establish through inter-subjective experiences of researcher, youth, and the organic intellectuals or leaders in the community , the validity of experience and therefore the relevance of the data.

If this study is to contribute towards understanding identity formation and contributing to the debates on transformation in the church, the data needs to lay some claim to relevance or representivity. This study limits its data to those who participated in the study. It is worthy of note in so far as the Participants are considered worthy of note and to the extent that the data gathered from multi-sources is integrated. One will attempt to integrate the sources of data in Chapter Four.

3.2.3. INSTRUMENTS FOR DATA COLLECTION

1.1. Open-Ended Self Administered Questionnaire 1

See Appendix A

This Questionnaire was first designed to be handed out . But in attempting to answer one of these myself, I realised that it was too time consuming as it required a written response. The questionnaire served to clarify the categories of information I was concerned to gather. However, I decided that the taped interviews would serve the research better in that it would demand less effort on the part of the Participants and abandoned the self-administered, open ended questionnaire but retained the questions and focus for the taped interview. I had from past experience anticipated that the returns on this Questionnaire would be low and proceeded to obtain the media profile of the participants, which was also part of the initial open ended questionnaire by reconstructing it as a survey.

The questionnaire not having been administered, can not be useful in information gathering except in terms outlined above.

1.2. Survey

See Appendix B

This was used in the first stage of the project with St. Paul's parish. I requested a meeting with the parish priest (April 1994) at which I explained my research and obtained his approval to work in the parish. It was agreed that I would attend mass and during the reading of the notices, he would explain my presence and encourage the parish at large to fill in the survey aimed at the parish in general but specifically at the youth. It was hoped that I would be able to obtain information on the media preferences of the parish at large, ascertain whether **The Southern Cross** was read with any regularity and ascertain an impressionistic sense of the reading profiles of the youth age group . I knew from membership in this community that the Southern Cross was not read, but was interested to find out what the other sources of information included. It was also hoped that youth who did not form part of the youth group would answer the survey in order that I may ascertain if there was any correlation between reading a Catholic newspaper and active involvement in the church activities such as the youth group.

The same procedure of attending mass at St. John's followed . After a meeting with the parish priest (August 1994), I was introduced as a student conducting research within the parish was made during the reading of the notices at mass by the priest. The 0 scores for returns from those in age groups 30 and above (see table 1 in chapter 4) for St. John's is the result of a decision taken not to give out the survey to the parish at large. It was discovered in the interview with the parish priest Fr. De Pasos that the parish had decided to cancel orders to the church due to poor sales. Those who wished to obtain **The Southern Cross** bought it by personal subscription. Both parish priests recorded that the paper was left standing in piles at the church doors even when it was suggested that members take them free of charge! This was sufficient indication that the paper was far from popular. As the focus of the study was the reading profiles of the youth, the survey was handed out only to the Youth group at a youth group meeting. The survey required a ticking of the relevant box and I thought this would not appear threatening or off putting neither would it be time consuming.

The survey can be considered as averagely successful in rendering information.

1.3. Video-Taped focused Group Interviews

See Appended transcriptions C1 and C2

The term sharing process is preferred as it indicates that all participants were involved voluntarily. My entry into both parishes was facilitated by the support of the parish priests who put me in touch with the youth leaders. The interviews were slotted into the overall agenda of the scheduled regular youth meeting. It gave me a chance to observe the group at what they usually do during youth meetings. It also gave me an idea of some of their planned activities and a chance to observe some of the group dynamics. It also, I hoped would make the interviews less staged. The focused group interviews as such became a sharing time among the participants themselves as well as between participants and researcher. The researcher did share her own experiences towards the end of the group discussions or at points where it was felt some illustration was needed. Although these were at very few points in the interview , it did become a sharing of the researcher's experience with participants. It is felt that this is in keeping with the participant-observer status of the researcher . As a South African Catholic of Indian descent, she forms part of the of the broader subject community. The focused-group interviews set up a dynamic between members

in the group, between sometimes similar, sometimes conflicting , sometimes unclarified responses between members in the group.

The decision to video- tape the interviews was motivated by the general problem in research: that of the time-consuming nature of written responses and the low return from respondents on written questionnaires. It was chosen over audio taped interviews as these work well for one on one interviews but poses an audibility problem and requires more sophisticated equipment for conducting group interviews.

More importantly video-taping the interviews was based on the researchers experience with youth over the past 15 years in a teaching-learning situation both in formal education and in youth organisation. It was discovered the media that allowed youth to "see themselves" anticipated an excited response. This anticipation was supported by the observable excitement at being "filmed" especially prevalent in the group from St. John's.

The researcher also hoped to be able to "give back " something to the participants by extending the engagement with the youth groups into a teaching -learning situation. The youth will be taken through a course in video skills and taught how to edit footage into a documentary. Some of the issues explored in the thesis will be included and expanded to include aspects that the groups might want to add. This will occur post the thesis presentation for examination, and it is hoped that the Archdiocese of Durban will see fit to become part of the process by investing funds for the editing process.

Stanfield & Dennis M. (eds) (1992) , explain that underpinning this approach of "give and take " in social science research, is the view that to share knowledge and rewards , beyond symbolic gestures, with subjects in the study does not undermine the validity of the research nor is it unethical. This should be seen as enhancing rather than tarnishing the relevance of the institution(academic) and the commitment of the subject.

Further it has been the basis of much research within the Centre for Cultural and Media Studies at the University of Natal. Tomaselli, K (1985) , director of the centre has theorized the relationship between the academy and the subject community as one of horizontal,

cooperative and collaborative relationships. It locates itself in a democratic and dialectical relationship with the subject. It sees the academy as part of the whole matrix of power relations which include the researcher, the subject community, the discourse of academic journals, the register of the participants, the process of publishing and the ownership of intellectual or cultural capital. In short it conducts research in context. It involves reflection and analysis of the researcher in a reflexive way.

Videotaping the interviews with decidedly enthusiastic participants posed a problem: how to reduce posturing and enable an easy and genuine sharing in the discussion? A comparison of the footage of the two groups showed St. John's participants very relaxed after an initial camera shyness. Participants soon became very involved in communicating with each other, questioning, disagreeing and assenting with each other. The researcher had merely to introduce the question and to come into the discussion to clarify and summarise or pull together discussion that was very animated. The camera was forgotten and the ideas absorbed by the participants. The researcher angled the camera and sat to the side of it. The participants would address me eye to eye rather than speak to the camera. This seemed to make the camera just an extension of the interviewer. A serious communication with each other, gave the researcher a chance to become involved as chairperson, facilitating the various speakers contribution.

Participants at St. Paul's were more reticent. The participants responded only to the interviewer and only rarely engaged in discussion with each other. The responses of those who engaged with the interviewer were sensed as genuinely held views. The element of personal information in the responses seems to back this. Whether this was because the camera was obtrusive or the group reticent was measured against my observation of the group during the youth meeting. The interview was one of the items on the agenda. There was a correlation between those who were active in the meeting and those who responded in the focused group interview. The stilted nature of the interviews at points, was partly due to the researcher's own anxiety to cover as much as possible in the short time together. It led to a more business like rather than the preferred conversational setting originally envisioned.

Video-taping gave the added advantage of being able to examine the verbal responses against

other paralinguistic communication such as the body language, facial expressions, hand gestures. It helped the researcher assess the element of integrity in the communication.

The integrity of the information gathered rests upon three factors : firstly ,the willingness of participants to participate. They were all happy to participate. Secondly, all oral testimony and the integrity of the responses depends on whether the subject considers the research as worthwhile enough to share personal experience. This presupposes an explanation to participants of those elements of the research project that involve how such information will be used and for what purpose. Thirdly it rests on the ability of the researcher to communicate his or her own integrity.

The video-taped focus group discussions are considered to have rendered relevant information.

1.4. Survey on Voting Behaviour

Appendix D

It was anticipated that many youth might not be of voting age .The survey was constructed with the aim of distribution to the general group of parishioners. it was hoped that one might be able to use voting patterns to identify generally held political views and values. A vote for a particular party was a vote for the values it stood for. Unfortunately , the returns on this was extremely low and adhered to the view by one parish priest that SACIDs are reticent about voicing political choices or views.

This instrument was unsuccessful in rendering sufficient information.

1.5 .Self- Administered Open-Ended Questionnaire 2

See Appendix E

This was a simpler open ended Questionnaire given to each individual approximately one year after the video-taped interviews were conducted. The objective was to get the individuals to describe and evaluate themselves, this time alone rather than in a group as was the case in the focus group interviews. It allowed for the participants to describe themselves through self ascription. It was felt that the focus group served as an opportunity to express one's

location and articulation through discussion . It also might have served as a clarifying process for the individual who may now have an altered definition of him or her self gained through the group interaction. This open ended self administered Questionnaire was therefore constructed.

The returns however were problematic in that some of those in the focus-group discussion did not fill in this Questionnaire, and some of those who filled it in, were not present at the focus group interview. However this was the case in only two instances at St. John's parish, where the participants had taken up work positions outside of Natal.

At St. Paul's, one had not taken part in the focus group. The more worrying factor was that five who had participated in the group interview , were not inclined to fill in the Questionnaire. This may be due to two factors : too much time lapse between the focus group and request for the Questionnaire 2 to be filled (approx. one year) , or the reluctance to fill in questionnaires as too time consuming.

This questionnaire 2 can be considered to be only fairly successful in rendering information.

3.2.4. STEPS IN THE PROCESS OF DATA GATHERING

The first step was to ascertain what known and well placed individuals in the community had to say about the identity of SACIDs . This constituted secondary sources covered by the general literature on Indian South African as well as primary sources such as interviews with Dr. Josephine Naidoo (April 1994), and Fr. Clem Lazarus (April 1994), Brian Gabriels (May 1994) , Fr. De Pasos (November 1994) , Sr. Lilly (August 1995) and Phyllis Naidoo (August 1995) .

The study of the literary text by Agnes Sam : **Jesus Is Indian** , forms part of the process of ascertaining what knowns in the community feel about the issue of identity. It is the life histories obtained from Dr. Josephine Naidoo, Fr. Clem Lazarus, Phyllis Naidoo and the literary text , notably the life history contained in the introduction to the book by Agnes Sam, that constitute the historical details that provide a context for understanding the responses and comments of the youth in this study.

The interviews with the mixed religious couples formed part of the purposive sample chosen to ascertain responses specific to the South Indian Rite of Marriage.

The second step was to focus on the youth. As stated above in the discussion on the instruments used, the process was to a large extent duplicated. However it became necessary at certain points to omit or stream line the process. Where this was done, a rationale is provided.

The process followed the following pattern :

St. Paul's Parish

Step One : Meetings with the parish priest of St. Paul's (April 1994). Explained the research projects and sought permission to continue. Further, to identify a time for an interview with the priest himself on the areas of concern in the study and further to identify the others in the community who could assist in the project.

Step Two : In-depth , video-taped Interview with parish priest as organic intellectual and to provide a life history. (April 1994)

Step Three : Conduct survey on reading habits of parish , having gained the support of parish priest to do so at the end of the 8 o'clock Morning Mass on Sunday. I was informed that this was the most well attended mass. (End April 1994)

Step Four : Focus Group Video-Taped Interview with the youth group having gained the support for the research from parish priest. This was conducted approximately two weeks after the survey.(April 1994)

Step Five : Interviews with other knowns : Brian Gabriels (May 1994) and Mixed Religious Couple: Kogie and Cyril Naidoo . (July 1994)

Step Six : The Voting Behaviour Survey was conducted after the 8 o'clock Sunday Mass approximately (August 1994)

Step Seven : Handed out Self Administered Questionnaire 2 in which youth described themselves in terms of their own perceptions of what they are, what they are not, what they believe and what composite identity category they occupied. (approximately a year later, June 1995)

St. John's Parish

Step One : Meetings with the parish priest of St. John's. (July 1994) Explained the research project and sought permission to continue and to identify the others in the community who could assist in the project.. Further, identified a time for an interview with the priest himself on the areas of concern in the study .

Step Two : Conducted Video-Taped Focus Group Interview with youth group as well as handed out survey on reading habits (August 1994)

Step Three : Conducted in depth Interview with parish priest (November 1994). This was done on the availability of the priest.

Step Four : Conducted Video- taped interviews with Mixed Religious couple Max and Sharlene (November 1994).

Step Five : The Voting Behaviour Survey was conducted after the 5 o' clock Saturday Mass approximately (August 1994).

Step Six : Handed out Self Administered Questionnaire 2 in which youth described themselves in terms of their own perceptions of what they are, what they are not, what they believe and what composite identity category they occupied (approximately a year later, July 1995).

This concludes the presentation of the methodology employed in this study. In Chapter Five an attempt at integrating, analysing and interpreting the data, will be made.

CHAPTER FOUR: BRIEF SOCIO-CULTURAL HISTORY OF SACIDs

SECTION ONE

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Tinker (1974,1993) acknowledges three views held about the presence Indians overseas. One view, held within India, is that Indians travelled in all directions to spread the message of the Buddha's Noble Eightfold Path. This view sees the role of Indians in ancient times as peacemakers.

A second view explains the migration of Indians in the Nineteenth Century. This view is held by contemporary Afro-Asian leaders in emergent states in Africa and Asia. These leaders see Indians in the image of Chettyars or members of the banking caste or moneylenders. They are seen as symbols of exploitation and oppression. Tinker points out Indians as class of usurers however did not differ in practice from other communities of usurers consisting of Chinese or indigenous moneylenders. However, this view of Indians overseas is that of exploiterer who "squeezed into positions of dominance in the trade, industry and technology of their underdeveloped countries".

Tinker(1993:xi-xii) maintains there is truth in both these views.However, there is another truth overlooked. This truth is that:

Most overseas Indians are poor: they are part of the lowest layer of industrial labour. They carry out the more disagreeable jobs in the public services, such as refuse disposal; they are the machine-minders in the factories; and they are the bearers of burdens, the pullers of handcarts and ricshas- they are coolies (Tinker, 1993:xi).

Of the Christians who came to South Africa, there were those who had converted in India and those who converted here. The majority of the Christians who came to South Africa from 1860 to 1866 were Tamil speaking Catholics from Madras and Calcutta. They comprised both indentured labour and a few passenger Indians (Brain, 1983).

4.1.1. Catholicism in India

Catholicism reached the shores of India in 1497 with Vasco Da Gama's colonial expedition.

Those who converted in India numbered a few. Christianity hardly reached a point where it seriously challenged Hinduism as the dominant religion. Today Christians form only 3% of the population in India (Grolier Multi-Media Encyclopaedia).

From the Fifteenth century onwards, some did embrace the new religion. The earlier conversions under the Portuguese were violent. Accounts given on the process of conversion vary. Jesuits who were present in India in the late 1590s had not made any converts to Christianity in the 14 years they had been in India (Currin, 1962). The reason for this was not the opposition to the Gospel or teachings but to the way of life, habits and customs: notably the eating of beef and consumption of alcohol that turned people away.

Conversion became more voluntary under the Dutch rule in the Seventeenth Century. Fr. De Nobili S.J. was successful at converting Indian to Catholicism. He adopted the lifestyle of a Hindu ascetic and took on the status of Brahmin or Pandaram (an ascetic who could mix with all castes publicly, without incurring sanctions). In this way, he attracted the noble caste of Brahmins into discourse with him and finally to conversion. He secretly converted lower caste Indians. "This account characterises Catholicism as a religion of social prestige" (Currin, 1962: vii). The conversions were slow. It is estimated that by the end of the Seventeenth century, under the guidance of Fr. Robert de Nobili, there were 150 000 Catholics in the regions of Madura, Mysore, Marava, Tansore and Gingi (Currin, 1962).

The majority of converts to Catholicism, came from those of South Indian descent. These converts came from an ancient civilisation whose roots were grounded in the Dravidian civilization of India. They came from an ancient tradition of religious and secular education. They converted to Christianity in an attempt to escape the degradation of the brutal caste system. It is said that this caste system was imposed on the indigenous Dravidian civilizations of the Indus Valley by Aryan conquerors in 1500BC. Christianity alleviated the terrible conditions of the lower castes or untouchables who were dominantly Tamil and Telugu speaking Indians. Christianity was perceived as more egalitarian. It was attractive in that it provided a place of perceived if not actual equality of all before God. Converts derived mission education and some dignity in the context of the degrading caste system, which was foreign to ancient Dravidian civilization (Grolier Multi-Media Encyclopaedia). Their

education allowed them to move beyond the birth-given suffering, labour and inferiority status of the caste system.

4.1.2.Catholics in South Africa

Late 19thCentury

The history of the Indian Catholics in South Africa in the late Nineteenth Century was no different to those of other Indians who came to this country. The majority was Indentured Labour.

Christians who came to this country numbered two thousand ,one hundred anf fifty or 4,6 percent of the total immigrant population. Of the one hundred and twenty-eight were passenger Indians. The majority of Catholics came in the first six years and by 1862 they numbered three hundred. Forty two percent of the three hundred returned to India at the end of the first term. They ceased to be part of the scheme. Those who returned, brought to the notice of the church and the authorities in India, the appalling conditions of slavery that indentured labourers faced in Natal. The conditions on the sugar cane fields rendered the same cruel treatment to all regardless of religion or caste.

Among those who arrived there were peasants, bakers, printers, musicians and sidars. Both peasants and skilled labour were subjected to conditions in Natal that were like those under the system of slavery (Meer ,1969; Pachai, 1984; Tinker, 1974)). Any expectation of brotherhood based on the commonness of religion between Indian Catholics and their white counterparts, offered no material benefits or psychological comfort.

Sam(1989) quotes the experience of her great-grandfather: He was shangied, at the age of nine and brought to South Africa. Her great-grandfather being so young, was most likely converted on his arrival in South Africa. He remained indentured for 53 years. He was released only two years before the end of the system of indentureship in 1911. In the introduction to her book of short stories entitled **Jesus is Indian and Other Short Stories**, her own family histry is recoded. She employs the work of Tinker(1974)to interpret this history. In so doing, it is a comment on the experience of Indians in South Africa at the turn

of this century.

In colonial times, the system of indenture amounted to seeing people as inanimate objects. Indenture was an "official requisition for stores or goods from abroad". It was also a "document binding a person to a master". The indentured labourer was therefore the equivalent of inanimate goods requisitioned by a colonial person through the Colonial Office (Oxford English Dictionary). Thus the Indentured System was slavery, officially sanctioned, managed and promoted by a colonial government (Sam, 1989).

Besides children, like Sam's great-grandfather, kanganis or recruitment officers also kidnapped women. Women were needed in the colonies to forestall problems of sexuality for male labourers. Sam (1989) quotes documentation that refers to wages for children and women as half the male ration. This proves that child labour was practised. Further, it was, in many cases, forced labour.

Women, recruited into the system, were often those wanting to escape oppressive domestic conditions. They were tricked by promises of work. If they wanted to change their minds they were automatically prevented from release by the conditions of the contract. The contract required them to be released by a male relative. Further, they were forced into going to Natal, by the debt owed to the kanganis for the new clothes and meals the kanganis offered them. This debt was substantial. It accumulated from the time they signed up with the kangani to the time they reached the port. They were placed in depots where conditions were shocking. These depots were breeding grounds for cholera and dysentery from which many died.

On arrival in South Africa, they were indentured to the sugar plantation owner for the first five years. The slave conditions left them with no option but to further indenture themselves. They were never able to afford a return fare to India. Those who did succeed in freeing themselves remained but refused to work for white colonists. Those who returned to India complained and the scheme was stopped between 1865-1870.

The early history of Indians in South Africa is about the import of peasants and skilled labour

to this country. Indentured labour replaced slavery which was legally abolished in British colonies in 1834. Indentured labour to South Africa, started in 1860. After 1875, this was replaced by migrant labour (Meer, 1969).

Conditions in Natal left many migrants with no option but to remain in the employ of sugar plantation owners. Sam (1989) explains the continued presence of Indians in Natal in the late Nineteenth Century :

In this situation of poverty, and in their fear of crossing the ocean, lie the reasons why the majority of Indians stayed in South Africa, and not, as is so confidently proposed, in conditions in India. The disproportionately high number of suicides amongst the Indian labourers is an indication of their misery (Sam, 1989:4).

Sam(1989:6) also states Indians had no need to travel to South Africa or to any other country. There was no need to search for skills, spices, or sea routes to anywhere...unlike their European contemporaries. The suggestion is that the presence of Indians overseas has its basis in the import of Indian labour. This labour, was in many cases, based on false promises and collusion between the colonial government in India and other British colonies. These colonies included Natal; the West Indies; Ceylon; Burma and Malaya. The aim of their collusion was to obtain cheap labour at a time when slavery had been outlawed. This view holds that in the Nineteenth Century the presence of Indians overseas was more a matter of forced labour that included kidnapping, false promises and lies.

A second factor in any account on the history of Catholics in Natal, is the role of the missionaries. Missionary activity was aimed mainly at the Zulu people in Natal. The Catholic fold began to grow slowly. The missions in Natal were difficult. Many religious orders such as the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, The Benedictines and the Trappists tried to establish a Catholic community among the Zulus. In 1850 the first vicariate was established (Peters, 1990, Brain 1983).

The lack of pastoral care for Indians, contributed to a great sense of isolation among the early Catholic arrivals. They were few and scattered over the many sugar estates. Currin (1962:ii) characterised this lack of pastoral care as neglect: "The study commences with a short history of the Catholic Indians, in which the evidence points largely to their neglect on the part of

the Church". Cruel conditions on the sugar plantations and the early lack of pastoral care are reasons for the decline and end to participation by Catholic Indians in the scheme to bring them to Natal (Brain, 1983).

In the period 1886-1925, it was the Oblates of Mary Immaculate who administered to those Catholic Indians who remained and to the Coloureds and Whites in Natal. Fr. Sabon established the first school for Indians in 1867. In 1930 the first two Indian priests were ordained. By 1935, St. Anthony's Church was the home for Catholics of Indian descent (Peters, 1990).

This account suggests that those who did not return could not afford to. They may also have had sufficient reasons for staying. Currin(1962) indicates that a few Catholics enjoyed a higher financial and social status than other Indians in the early part of the Twentieth Century. However the "early promise of prestige and leadership for Catholic Indians in the Indian community was not fulfilled by subsequent development" (Currin, 1962:II). The early promise was due to the benefit of literacy. Christians had benefited from mission education. Literacy meant better paying jobs. Further, in approaching Christian pastors for Indian labour, an unwritten job reservation was advantaged Christians over other Indians (Appendix F.8). However, in the 1940s and 1950's, especially with the introduction of the Group Areas Act and forced removals, that minority lost or sold their properties and did not reinvest. By the time of the study in the 1960s Indians of other denominations and faiths outstripped them financially and socially. Their initial leadership in education and their relatively higher social status had diminished almost totally by the time of Currin's study in 1962.

A factor that further contributed to the early low affiliation to Catholicism can be found in the relationship between politics and religion. The occupation and colonisation by the British of both India and Natal in the Eighteenth Century and early Nineteenth Century respectively, did not encourage the growth of Catholicism. The state sanctioned religion of Britain was Protestantism.

SECTION TWO :

4.2.1. THE SOCIO - CULTURAL EXPERIENCE OF SACIDs 1900-1960

This overview is presented to contextualize the present findings. It also provides a framework for comparison, contrast and explanation the variables operative in the identity construction and self understanding of SACIDs. The oral testimonies of members of the purposive sample follow. These are primary sources. Extensive quotations are presented. This decision is governed by the concern to avoid destroying " that passion that is an important element for understanding the complex depths of racism, ethnicity and ethnocentrism"(Stanfield and Dennis, 1992)

Primary sources intertwine with extracts from **Jesus is Indian and Other Short Stories** by Agnes Sam, as the secondary source. Although the secondary source is fictional and non-academic, it is an example of culture. It takes the form of prose. Prose as a signifying practice is a way of make meaning of "a slice of life". Sam's work is an example of Cultural Studies praxis. The Cultural Studies perspective holds that culture, including popular and other media are signifying practices reflecting culture as a contested terrain. This makes them worthy of study.

What was life like for SACIDs in the early Twentieth century? The descriptions that follow are characterised by the comments that refer to the variables of race, ethnicity and culture in the experience of respondents.

The extracts from Sam's work and the testimonies of Dr. Josephine Naidoo about her grandfather, recall life at the turn of the century to 1940s. Other respondents capture life experiences that cover the period from the 1940's -1970s. The youth of the parishes of St. John and St. Paul's convey contemporary experience ie 1980s to the present.

Race as Experience

Dr. Josephine Naidoo, is a member of an active and prominent Catholic family. Her family has contributed greatly to education. Catholics of Indian descent acknowledge their role. Her grandparents, Mr. and Mrs Vincent Lawrence came to this country as passenger Indians in

1896. Her grandfather, a university graduate came from Madras to teach in South Africa. She describes the experience of her grandfather, and her own as a second generation born South African. The broad Catholic Church community did not provide a sense of belonging based on religious affiliation. The sense of belonging to a group subscribing to the same set of religious beliefs was not a communal experience. Racism and racialism as the determinant factor in group relations between white clergy and Indian parishioners, creviced relations. White Catholics constructed Indian Catholics in terms of race first and religion second. She describes the situation as follows:

There were no persons of colour in anything... not the choir or anything. Vincent Lawrence my grandfather had problems... he could join nothing... not the Knights of Da Gama. He did not succeed and died without succeeding. It was a time when to be white was to be superior- racially and culturally and all of this was confused with Christianity and the Christian message. The whole concept of "one in Christ" was never a reality. We were always out there, different and were reminded that we were different, and we were expected to conform to the church- we were expected to say " Yes Sister, Yes father ". The expectation was one of conformity .

My family was deeply religious...so I was very involved in St. Anthony's Church... we used to go to any number of activities on Sunday eg. sing in the choir, take part in plays initiated by members of our family. We tried to practise what we felt was the Christian message. We were never at one with the church which was primarily run by white religious persons. Beside Archbishop Hurley, I can't say that of anyone (white person) I grew up with, that I will judge as truly Christian (APP.F.1).

The feelings of otherness and inferiority was extended to those who chose to become clergy. They experienced the dominance of race as a factor in the construction of the identity of Indians from outside the group. Dr. Noel Peters who is of Indian descent, is a Catholic priest and a psychologist. He makes the following comments on the experience of black clergy in the Catholic Church in the 1970s:

In the early 1970s, 80% of South Africa's Catholics were black but were ruled by a hierarchy composed of 80% white bishops. Many of these bishops could not even speak to their people in a local black language.....separate formation houses for blacks and whites were founded throughout the country. Rationalisations of difference in language, education and culture underscored the motivations for separate facilities...(and yet) ...little attention was given

to inculcating native art, song, or dance into the liturgy and celebrations. This neglect lauded western culture as superior and implied that indigenous customs and traditions were of little or no consequence....In some large mission enterprises black sisters were viewed as "maids" of the white sisters and were kept in a state of unhealthy dependency... I have a sad memory of walking through a convent cemetery and seeing the neatly manicured graves of foreign-born white missionaries distinctly separated from black religious women, who were relegated to an obscure and unkempt part of the garden... (Peters, 1990:67)

Phyllis Naidoo recalls her early experience of the naturalisation of racism in the church:

But the part that I remember about the church, which I told Bishop Hurley, is that See..they'd have some chairs and the choir sat here and the piano was there...but here whites sat and Hurley used to come in with his mother. A very young handsome Hurley. He's now had it heh! But in those days us young girls used to watch him and we were not conscious of the fact that they went to communion first before all the Blacks . And those days you didn't have the wine, it was just the thingy-me-bob- you put on your tongue. So they would finish and then the other people would go. But for sure Fr. Gabriel was an Indian, he first gave them the communion. They went back and then we started going (App.F.8)

Brian Gabriels a one time active member of the Regional Justice and Peace Committee and a parishioner at St. Paul's recalls his experience of racism and isolation within the church:

And then of course being Indian and basically non- white, there was one question I was asked : How does your church relate to this terrible sin of apartheid. We believe you go to an Indian Church, how come you have Indian churches and white churches and Black churches... why don't you go to the Emmanuel Cathedral? I remember as a young boy the Emmanuel cathedral was a white church. If you did go , you were very unceremoniously shoved to one side or to the back of the church. I found it hurtful. I found it very confusing. I didn't fully understand it...it perplexed me. But as I grew older, I was asked...I was invited actually to join the Justice and Peace Movement. And after much thought I said yes. Maybe this was my chance to challenge this apartheid church I now believed it to be. Not only to challenge but to make some important contribution.

Dr. Josephine explained that being Catholic did not in any way lead to a feeling that one was "better off than other Black people":

I don't think being Christian pays off in any material sense....I don't think being Christian places one at any advantage in a white man's world. People find it very hard to extend their brotherly love or concern to people they view as different (APP.F.1)

Pyllis Naidoo recalled that in the 1920 and 1930s , many became Christian merely to obtain education.

I became quite good friends with that client and he said to me that when OK Bazaars and some other people want workers they would phone Pastor Rowlands for him to recommend Christian workers. And I found that so obscene. By which time I knew that the jails were full of Christians and they had no preserve on honesty and all those things.

Why do you think this was so. Did they think they were more malleable?

No. You see Christians, the whites who came here to this country and who imported this labour, all Christians whether Catholic or whatever, but they were Christians, and they persuaded people, they thought we were barbarians, not only the Africans but us. Church came in with a venom, together with all these hunters and these no-do-gooders, they came in apparently to civilize the barbarians, to make malleable. They said any school was available to Christians, so you became a Christian to go to school.

Fr. Clem Lazarus while critical of the apartheid in the church, highlights the role played by Catholic education in the broad Indian community.

I'm proud to be a Catholic. When I think of what the Catholic church has contributed to education in our own Indian community, when I think of the many professional people in Durban - the professional body - a lot of them went to Catholic schools and it gave us an introduction and appreciation of culture and of so-called white culture too. It was quite universal - the nuns were Irish - they taught us Irish songs - they taught us Irish dances and I remember even one speech day they taught us the national anthems of different countries - India, Die Stem, so there's so much to be thankful for to the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church really has made a contribution - when I talk to Hindus and Muslims who went to St. Anthony's School, they value that education, they really do. And also in terms of politically - I remember when they introduced the Bishop's Lenten Appeal - that was in the mid 50s - when Dr. Verwoerd was going into his whole thing - the appeal really made us aware that we had to keep up the African schools. The Bishops were always making us aware - and we were proud of Archbishop Hurley - his stance on the social side - what people would call political - we appreciated his stance(APP.F.2.).

Brian Gabriel comments on his experience in the Justice and Peace commission and reiterates the point that embracing Catholicism did not necessarily bring any added material advantages:

All these people seemed so comfortable with their existence. They seemed happy with what they were doing and I seemed to be the only one who was asking questions and some of the questions were very uncomfortable for the other people. I challenged them on education, the Catholic schools, the convent-run schools. How many non-white students did they make it possible for them to attend? I knew of all my rich doctor friends and relatives who had Hindu sons and daughters who were eligible for those schools because they had the money. But what was going to happen to the poor Catholic children of all races. How many were being admitted? How many bursaries were given. I didn't get any answers. And it was then that I decided : No, I don't fit in. Perhaps I was too radical.

The interest may have been to attract a certain class of Indian to its schools regardless of religious affiliation in the hope of attracting more funds into the school. It is apparent from the comments of Brian Gabriels and Fr. Lazarus the measurement of the contribution of Catholic education is influenced by the angle from which you view it. While it may be perceived that Catholicism offered some economic advantage, it was at great cost to SACIDs: their sense of self-esteem, identity and cultural history.

Cultural Alienation as Experience

The missionary method of separating converts as far as possible from their religion of origin, is a painful process. Sam captures the demonisation of cultural history and culture in prose :

(Sister wants to write a note to Hama. She ask what's my mother's name.)

I say, "Kamatchee."

Sister ask, "What's your mother's Christian name?"

"Hama got no other name Sister. Only Kamatchee."

"Sister make like she don't hear me. She ask again, "What's your mother's Christian name?"

" Kamatchee, Sister"

Sister's laughing. She say, "Little Cabbage? Little Cabbage? Your mother's

name is Little Cabbage?"

"No Sister. Hama's name is Kamatchee."

(Sister say she will write a note to little Cabbage if I don't tell her Hama's Christian name.)

"Sister Bonaventura, why you can't learn to say Hama's name? Why you say, "Little Cabbage" ? Hama's name is Kamatchee. Say Kamachee. Go on Sister. Say 'Ka-ma-chee'."

(Ooh! The way Sister' going on like the Sermon on the Mount.)

"Sorry Sister. Hama never told me is a sin for a Christian to have a Hindu name."

(Jesus, Mary and Joseph, rather send me a book for Christmas with all the Christian names so I don't give my children a Hindu name by mistake. I don't want my poor children must die and go to hell for damn nation)
(Sam,1989:31)

Pyhllis Naidoo describes in her testimony the process of cultural stripping. This, ironically takes place through the opposite action of dressing up:

I remember a very beautiful woman from India Dr. Peter's wife who I used to wait for to go down the aisle. And she had these saris that would swing in front of her...you know the pleats. I used to enjoy this woman. I was a little girl then and was fascinated with her having come from India. You see we didn't wear any tribal dress in this church. It was hats, gloves...Elizabeth used to wear gloves. But my mum always wore saris and covered her head. With us she got us to wear dresses. And I know one of the biggest expenses at Christmas time was getting a hat and expensive things. And we couldn't afford food those days let alone Christmas wear!!!

Cyril Naidoo describes the process of cultural distancing in his family.:

That(speaking an Indian language) wasn't encouraged by the missionaries. Catholics that were converted - then they spoke English - post - colonial... My grandfather was Catholic when he came to this country - my mother's side - my maternal grandfather was also Catholic so a lot of that whole tradition was very colonial - India was still under the British Raj at that time - we haven't gone really back into that time - maybe my sisters have studied it to look at

where our roots ... at that time it was an asset - because you knew English - higher education came easier. My father was a headmaster but there were no cultural Indian activities at home - we had pianos - we had violins - there was classical Western music all the time- my aunts played the organs at church for years - those were our aspirations to become like English lords but education also played a very big part in it

Brian Gabriel reiterates the awe, subtle coercion and fear associated with being Catholic. He indicates that his sense of difference was accentuated by the contrasting attitude to religion that Hindu revealed.

Well, as a little boy, growing up in a predominantly Hindu community er.. what some people would term a sub-economic group in Cato Manor, it was both strange at first, being very conspicuous. We were one of say three or four Catholic families. We had to travel by bus to church in town...St. Anthony's . The church being so far away also made it feel that you were sort of divided between two areas...the area where you lived and the area where you worshipped and that added to the feeling that you were very conspicuous, very different. As a little by, it was church in a sense, which in retrospect I feel, was very heavily on the side of indoctrination. You were taught, you were told, and you were scared out of you life if you didn't obey. That was the approach I witnessed as a little boy. Of course there was always that element of mystery, of some hidden greatness that made one want to obey, that made one want to believe, made one want to belong. But then, coming home and playing with your Hindu friends, where religion wasn't an important thing and I think religion in itself wasn't really propagated, wasn't really taught to my Hindu friends..So for them life was one big happy occasion where they all met and played our various games and had our little fights. So religion wasn't very significant as a little boy except for the fact that one felt this compulsion...that you had to do what you were told to do. You had to go to mass, you had to go to confession, you had to do that and go to communion ...and you had to behave because all along you felt that if you didn't...or, well you were taught that if didn't, there was some great punishment in store. That's my memory of my religion basically as a little boy. Although I must add, one was always in awe of the pomp and the ceremony. We had very little exposure to other denominations, although I had a lot of exposure to Hindu ceremonies. But the catholic ceremony was always one of dignity, lots of colour... But always that sense of mystery that something big was going on... because as I said we were indoctrinated then, one didn't question, one didn't ask what was really behind all this...That's what I remember as a little boy.

On the issue of language, it can be said that no significant attempt was made to maintain the vernacular among Catholics of Indian descent. Methodists and Anglicans had long had

pastors who preached in the vernacular, while Catholic churches were slow to obtain priests who could speak in the vernacular language. (Brain, 1983; Peters, 1990; Henning, 1993). Older Catholics, those who came at the turn of the century and their children spoke a vernacular language. English was encouraged, promoted and established as the medium of instruction at school and in the church. As a result, parents soon gave up the insistence that their children learn the vernacular.

Dr. Josephine explains:

Older people spoke Tamil in particular. I went to school on May Street to learn Tamil but it didn't last very long because we spoke English at home and we went to St. Anthony's School. Since we were getting much more westernized teaching at English school, we found Tamil school foreign and we didn't last...and it is to my regret..but since we don't speak at all its very hard to keep up the language(APP.F.1)

Sam(1989:33) captures the agony and rebellion experienced while learning to write in English. The individual reasserts her dignity and cultural identity through self-affirmation and reclamation :

Now Sister come to mark my story to see if I take out the boyfriend. But I left it in. Because the boyfriend is going to marry Honey. Then Sister ask me in front of the whole class what's this Indian word doing in my English story? Every page got this Indian word two or three times even. Sister say I'm stubborn like a mule.

So I stand up in front of the whole class and I tell Sister I never going to call Hama "mother". Even when I'm writing English in my book. Sister can say mother for Sister's mother. I say Hama for my hama. Because hama say Jesus is Indian because Jesus wear a dhoti and Jesus can understand our language. (Sam, 1989:33) .

Identity Ambivalence : The Relationship between SACIDs and other members of the Indian Community

Dr. Josephine points to an initial sense of isolation that Catholics felt in relation to Hindus and Moslems. This later became less distant. This sense of apartness from the broader Indian community is still experienced by Catholics today though in a less intense form:

By the time I came along, the bonding between the Christian Indian

community and other Hindu and Muslim peers was much better than at the turn of the century when my grandparents came. Christian communities were seen as separate from the Indian community and in fact it was Gandhi's vision that when he was organising Indian political activity to see that he needed the skills of all to fight the common enemy. He needed Christian Indians who during that colonial era partly because of the imposition of western culture and language on them and partly because they identified more with western culture tended to abandon their Indian Culture of their own accord, and partly because of church insistence eg. at that time, even in my time you couldn't have Indian names, you had to abandon your caste name, like Naidoo is a caste name, and you took on Christian saints' names.

So I think that the isolation that possibly exists in Christian Indian communities in many places in the world in relation to Hindu and Muslim communities has improved considerably. By the time I was growing up, I had good Hindu and Muslim friends. I used to go to meetings with my mother and grandmother to The Indian Women's Association. Those were open to all but I think but I think that I might have been in a more favourable position in that regard. There were other Indian Christians who might have felt more divorced from Hindu people. Most certainly the church had no understanding of Hinduism and Islam at that point and rather viewed Hindus in particular as as...and therefore felt they had to get people to abandon every aspect of Indian Culture. Since then they have changed.(APP.F.1)

Fr. Clem Lazarus reiterates the combination of cultural oneness and the feelings of difference and otherness felt by Catholics in the late 1940s:

One sensed a sense of difference. But when you grow up as a kid you are playing with them all the time, but mind you as a kid also, coming from an Indian background, I can remember mum saying you have to go to Tamil school, you have to learn your mother tongue - your Tamil language. As a kid of five or six years I had to go to Tamil school and so you socialize, you mix with the Hindus, you begin to appreciate their music and their religious ceremonies and living cheek to jowl with them - like the Hindu feast of Deepavali - you mix it up, you celebrate. I remember once or twice going to the temple and having terrible qualms of conscience about it, going to confession to confess it you know. But all I knew I was accompanying my neighbour who went to pray. And for me ever since a kid I was open to experiences. And also my mum coming from a Muslim background - the Muslim feast of Eid - we were always bundled into the car and taken off to visit our relatives and as kids we played together and began to understand what the feast was all about. So in our family I would say, in my family background there was tremendous openness, there was no such thing as we were better. There was, I would say from my mother, a deep appreciation of other religions - there was no such thing as condemning or any sense of superiority. No there was a deep acceptance.

Another respondent characterises the relationship as one of disdain for Catholics who were considered renegades by Indians of other faiths. Phyllis Naidoo in rejection of what she saw as the cultural imposition of Catholicism says:

I look back at Hindus and Moslems and others who were able to sustain themselves, their religion and say % ^ \$ # \$ % @ @ them You keep your Catholicism, your Christianity..we're not going to buy it. I have great pride for them, you know. Christianity came with a lot of supports. To be able to say, I want my little statue here that I want to worship and to hell with you....Just look at it...Education was denied unless he became a Christian.

In Std. 6 I was with a lot of Hindu girls, and I think I must have had some problems with them. "You!" they said "You bloody Christians!" you know, Christians were the low castes in Hindu society because you renegaded on your religion and sought this new religion... .when the girls at school std.6 could be standard 5,... they must have been asking me what I am and all that and I came back home and said to my grandmother: Why did you become a Christian? And she said very simply: to educate my children. And if you think of the Lawrences who were the educated in this society, who were secretary of the Natal Indian Congress for no other reason but that they could read and write, it does make some sense that they thought through education...and certainly the history of my family, with education there's a ... tells that story eloquently...that education was the prime mover. You could get out of this misery through education (APP.F.8)

Ideological tension

Brian Gabriels recalls the culture shock he experienced when he came into contact with world views and knowledge that countered Catholic ideology:

My first exposure to Darwin's Theory of evolution, was fraught with embarrassment and sometimes humiliation because my friends asked me outright : Do you honestly believe in that Adam and Eve hooey? It was very difficult to actually explain it because as a little boy I had the impression that that was the beginning of time and that's how my faith sort of started and continued. It started with Adam and Eve and this whole belief in Christianity started with that. It was now very difficult to understand that there were races and civilisations long before the birth of Christ. So to explain and understand Darwin's Theory was very difficult (APP.F.4)

Phyllis Naidoo is more scathing in her attack on Catholic ideology and the sense of alienation felt as a result of such ideological values:

They couldn't believe that my mum would be that. I said : No, you see she concealed from me her pregnancy. She was pregnant a long time before she was married. That was a terrible thing to happen to you heh, and when I got to know about it I was doing my matric then and it messed me up because I was brought up until then in one of those holier than thou Catholic families, you know....you couldn't go and enjoy friendships, you couldn't stay too late after choir practice and chat with others. You had to rush home, they would send people to fetch you, and all this sort of thing. And I thought damn it! Here was mum pregnant at seventeen you know! So it destroyed me. You know I said to my parents that I wanted to have nothing to do with them at that stage. And it was very painful for them. And they couldn't explain. Strangely enough it was this Pat Poovalingam, who helped me through that period. I worked at FOSA then, you know. And really, I am so grateful to him for getting me to understand that it was just shit and nonsense. But it took a hell of a lot of time. I suffered immeasurably from it. I really felt unclean and all that nonsense.

Because you had been socialised into certain values?

Yes. All this white veil and wreath you wear to confirmation and all this confession. It gives you some sort of artificial idea of holiness. What does it mean.

So am I correct when I work out that for you religion was a matter of does and dongs and policing. Is that how you see it?

I don't know what religion meant to me , because I gave it up so long ago, I can't now put an interpretation to it. But I mean er...My brother was twelve when the church refused to bury him. This is one of the reasons I have not gone to church. Now, I was seventeen then.

Comments by Fr. Clem Lazarus, demonstrate the relationship between church ideology and other ideologies such as racism. Catholic ideology operated as both a source of limited protection from and collaboration with racist ideology:

You were brought up in that milieu of segregation, of discrimination. But also in the Catholic Church we had a feeling that we belonged to a wider thing. Although there wasn't enough mixing but we know that there was something in the Catholic Church and there was a growing awareness.

You mentioned that you belonged to a wider thing. Did you feel that you belonged to a whiter thing?

Maybe subconsciously yes. All our priests at that stage and nuns at our school

were white. So there was the idea of whites in the Catholic Church. But having come from a background that was predominantly Indian where we also, although we were an Indian community of St. Anthony's with a few coloureds in between, we knew that wasn't the ideal picture somehow or the other.

Today as a priest being a Catholic it really brings out the word - such openness. The word Catholic meaning universal - the Catholic Church is far more broad-minded today. I do realize that this is not the feeling of many Catholics but because of my education, how I understand the church and in terms of my own disposition: being I would say a bit on the left, I find being Catholic today so fulfilling, so enriching. There are still many things that need to change, nevertheless I find fulfilment in being a Catholic. I'm proud to be a Catholic.

Brian Gabriel reiterates the view that the Catholic Church needs to still go a long way in making its stated ideology an actual practice. He discusses the limitations of initiatives such as the Justice and Peace Commission :

And in joining the Justice and Peace Mvt , I found that it was worthwhile meeting people across the colour line, people from different backgrounds, opinions beliefs. one guiding light was my sense of belief that if we believe the words of the Lord's prayer , we said Our Father, we had to believe, we had to accept that he was the father of all...he is the father of all. And I then got involved at the sort of regional level, at our own parish at St. Paul's, there was a tremendous enthusiasm..it had a very wonderful and exciting inauguration. But it was that inaugural mass that frightened the daylight out of me...because of the response we got from all other parishes. They were wildly enthusiastic...In time it proved that it was something worthwhile worrying about because eventually it died. And it died not only because we didn't have enough to let us carry on but there were other things that I found very disappointing. I found that J&P was wonderful to have all these little exercises, these little bits of development, personal; development but that's where they ended. They had no real meaning, they didn't reach across to the living, to the people we were supposed to be working with and for (APP.F.4).

Withstanding the destructive processes of both colonisation and Apartheid, SACIDS nurtured their faith and today number approximately 30 000. With the founding of St. Anthony's Church in 1935, came a cohesion and sense of community that offered a close knit relationship between members.

4.2.2 THE SOCIO-CULTURAL EXPERIENCE OF SACIDS

St Anthony's Parish : 1970-1980s

An examination of the minutes of the Parish Council meetings of 1970-1985 show that there were various sodalities or committees established. These included: The Children of Mary, The Sacred Heart Association, The Men's Guild, The Catholic Women's League. Social activity involved the establishment of a Billiards Room, regular cricket and soccer matches, Family Fun Days and Mothers Day celebrations, a Badminton Club, and a Scout Group. The Young Christian Students, Catechism teachers and choir were also active. A newsletter was started in 1970.

A perusal of the minutes of St. Anthony's Parish Council, from 1971-1980 indicate a preoccupation with the purchase and repair of the church organ considered central to worship. Minutes of meetings held in the 1971 show that a regular folk mass was introduced. Certain feasts and religious occasions were linked to issues of social concern. For example on the Feast of St. Joseph the Worker, a thanksgiving mass was held for successful negotiations over wage increases by the Garment Workers Union . Minutes of meetings held in 1972 show that the issue of Race Relations, Ecumenism and Justice and Peace Commission was discussed. They also reflect concerns over racism in the church. The issue of segregated audiences at the Passion Play held in the City hall was discussed. Members wished to write to the Justice and Peace Commission about this. However, the parish priest discouraged this. By the early 1970s, sales of The Southern Cross had dwindled. The concern in the 1980s was the lack of participation of the youth in church activities and dwindling attendance. More parishioners were choosing to worship at the Cathedral rather than at St. Anthony's. There was a suggestion that members approach the Cathedral to encourage Indian parishioners to return to St. Anthony's. Further that every effort be made to increase the numbers of parishioners "regardless of race".

At the present, St. Anthony's is a shadow of its past vibrancy. The number of Indian parishioners are few. The effects of the forced removals and the Group Areas Act of the late 1960s, has taken its toll. The church offers a home to both Indian and Polish Catholics. The current parish priest is a Polish priest. He encourages each community to maintain, develop and share with each other their cultural practices in an overarching Catholic milieu. The

Group Areas Act affected the sense of community developed at St. Anthony's parish in the central Durban area. Families were moved out of the central Durban area to the sprawling Indian only townships of Chatsworth and Phoenix. Some built homes in the area of Reservoir Hills. **Chapter Five** discusses the identity formation process of two youth groups based at a parish in Chatsworth and Reservoir Hills.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

SELF-UNDERSTANDING AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN THE YOUTH

Chapter Five discusses the responses of the youth in the purposive and known sample. It includes the results of the focus group discussions with the subjects of this study. Namely the youth groups of two Catholic parishes : St. John's in Chatsworth and St. Paul's in Reservoir Hills. the open-ended schedule focuses on issues related to identity. In particular, responses are canvassed on the introduction of **The South Indian Rite of Marriage**. The rite is employed as a marker for ethnic identity. A summary of the research findings is presented. The discussion follows.

5.1. SUMMARY

The findings were based on:

- * In-depth open-ended interviews conducted with three members of the SACID community. They were chosen for their specific profile and participation in the subject community. Their oral testimonies cover the time period 1940- the present.
- * Focus Group interviews carried out with two parish- based youth groups. The interview schedule was open ended.
- * Interviews with conducted with two mixed-religious couples ie a combination of Catholic-Hindu marriages. One couple from each parish was interviewed.
- * Interviews held with individual members of the Indian Pastoral Committee
- * An interview held with an ex-member of the regional Justice and Peace Commission and a parishioner of St. Paul's.

The interviews were constructed to elicit information on the following questions;

Question 1: How does the youth among SACIDs identify themselves?

Question 2: How do the categories of race, culture, ethnicity, ideology and religion contribute to the self-understanding and identity construction among SACIDs?

Question 3: What are the views of organic intellectuals on the process of identity formation among SACIDs?

Question 4: What is the response of SACIDs to the development of The South Indian Rite of Marriage by organic intellectuals? The rite is included as a marker for ethnicity in identity formation. It is also included as an example of the cultural activism on the part of the organic intellectuals of the Indian Pastoral Committee.

Question 5: What is the influence of The Southern Cross in the self-understanding and identity construction of SACIDs? The paper is included as an example of the influence of ideology in identity formation.

The findings regarding the identity construction and self understanding of SACIDs are as follows:

5.1.1 The issue of race is a dominant factor in identity construction.

Among many youth, there is a definite engagement with the concept of race. The term race, viewed in its broadest sense, to refer to the human race is preferred. There exists a growing tendency to abandon the construct of race for the term South African. This term reflects their consciousness, acceptance and insistence on reclaiming their nationality. They are aware however of being a minority in the structure of power relations. They indicate a concern about "being in between Whites and Blacks".

More senior members in the purposive sample having experienced the worst years of Apartheid, are more conscious of their identity as Indian in relation to the category of white.

The sign Indian is indexical of both oppressive pain and cultural pride. The youth on the other hand are contesting the category Indian in relation to the new structure of power relations envisioned to be Black/African. The current consciousness of 75 % of the sample of youth interviewed perceive Indians as a particular race group (refer Table 1 APP.R.1). Those who maybe inclined to view themselves as Black South Africans, also show some evidence of political education. However, there is a disappointment amongst such members at experiencing exclusion from the identity construct: Black South African. The experience of those who wished to identify themselves as Black South Africans expressed that this term now excludes Indians. They believe however with time this will change. They express that racism cannot be eradicated overnight. They see future generations of SACIDs benefitting from the change in the country. They also suggest youth of the future are those who can make the change from racism to non-racism. This indicates that race is a factor both of self-understanding and identity construction. They express a cautious hopefulness. In their self understanding of identity, they hold a positive significance for the category Indian. This positive coding of Indian relates to the expectation of equality in the new South Africa. It stems from a consciousness that difference is normal and should no way exclude groups from embracing the term South African. There is a positive attitude to the new constitution. They insist on the right to full citizenship and protection of their right as a minority group. (REFER TABLE 1, Appendix R.1)

5.1.2. Ethnic and Cultural difference are factors in identity construction.

Cultural difference is a fact of experience. The acknowledgement of difference is linked to the experience and conceptualisation of Indians as a minority group with a particular culture. The term South African Indian/ Indian South African is used to positively identify the cultural difference of the group in relation to other race groups.

For both the senior and young members of the sample, there is a particular conception and connection with the concept Indian Culture. Among SACIDs, Indian Culture is a signifier for particular values held by the Indian community generally. Family relationships ; gender relationships and attitudes towards parents are sources of common cultural identity with Indians of other faiths.

Aspects of cultural identity such as taste for Eastern music, Indian films, and ethnic dress code have minimal influence in their experience. Ethnic dress is seldom worn except on a special occasion such as an Indian wedding. Further, life cycle rituals associated with birth, puberty, marriage and death, act as a point of divergence between Indian Catholics and the broader Indian community. The life cycle rituals are linked to religious beliefs and rituals and therefore act as points of perceived cultural divergence. There is however confusion over what constitutes Indian culture among SACIDs. Culture is often collapsed with religion. There is a tendency among the youth to collapse Indian culture with Hindu religion.

Language as a marker for cultural or ethnic identity is absent. There is minimal lack of contact with Indian languages among the youth in the SACID community. Senior members though, having been afforded the opportunity to learn to speak Tamil, opted out without fully acquiring the skill. The preference is for English. Cultural difference is a fact of experience. The acknowledgement of difference is linked to the experience and conceptualisation of Indians as a minority group with a particular culture. The term South African Indian/ Indian South African is used to positively identify the cultural difference of the group in relation to other cultural and race groups.

5.1.3. Religion is a factor of identity construction.

Religion acts to both cohere and divide SACIDs. Catholicism is a strong feature in the self understanding of identity among SACIDs. It promotes cohesion among Indian Catholics. It constructs them as different to other Indian Christians. The youth make a strong distinction between themselves as Catholics and those of other Christian denominations.

Within the broad Catholic community itself, the combination of culture and race results in a feeling of difference and otherness in SACIDs. Difference characterises their relationship with Catholics of other races and with Indians of other faiths.

The closure from African Catholics stems from the language difference and the process of inculturation of the Mass with African culture. The difference is determined mainly by race. The difference experienced between SACIDs and Indians of other religious affiliation is similar to the difference experienced between Indian Catholics and Indian Christians of other

denominations. In this instance, religion is the factor of difference.

Otherness characterises their relationship with white Catholics. The medium of the mass in English and the Roman Rite are points of cultural identity convergence with white Catholics. Catholicism is conflated with westernisation and western culture. Westernised forms of worship are the only rites practised by Indian Catholics, especially the youth. The feeling of otherness is has two sources. One source is the racial prejudice by white Catholics towards SACIDs. The other is the partial membership of western cultural practice by SACIDs. The combination of partial membership of both western and Indian culture results in feelings of otherness and difference.

However, race is still a factor that dominates both identity construction and self understanding of Indian Catholics in their situational relation to other race groups and other religious groups. Religion though a lesser factor, is a very active factor in self-understanding and identity construction among SACIDs.

5.1.4. Ethnicity as a factor in identity construction is not valent.

SACIDs collapse Indian and Ethnic Practices with Hindu Religion. The response to the South Indian Rite of Marriage was used as an index of ethnic affiliation or ethnic awareness. None of the youth or other members of the sample utilized the term ethnic group or ethnic minority to describe themselves. The signifiers for ethnicity, such as the giving of the thali as a symbol of marriage, the exchange of garlands, the presentation of a clay lamp to the married couple, the use of the traditional sari, and the singing of hymns in Indian languages were read as aspects of Hindu religion. This indicates that there is much confusion over what constitutes Hindu religion on the one hand and Indian ethnicity and culture on the other.

5.1.5. Organic intellectuals in the SACID community favour cultural education.

Ethnicity as a positive group image based on cultural history or roots is acknowledged by some, notably members of the Indian Pastoral Committee. Further, cultural difference with Catholics of other ethnicities, is accepted by some, notably members of the Indian Pastoral Committee. Youth contest ethnicity as a factor in identity construction and self-understanding. It is welcomed by some and rejected by others. Collapsing cultural or ethnic practices with

Hindu religion is evidence that education regarding the rite and Indian Culture is needed.

5.1.6. The Southern Cross as an example of the role of media and ideology in identity construction is negligible

Catholic ideology is distributed and maintained through means other than The Southern Cross. The Catholic standpoint is conveyed through the pulpit, ritual of the Mass, and membership of sodalities or parish committees. The youth do not read The Southern Cross. The newspaper is considered a non-event by the youth. Organic intellectuals expressed the need for a more vibrant and relevant Catholic newspaper. The indication is that Catholic Media does not in any way contribute to Catholic identity formation among SACIDs. It does not set agendas nor does it play any role in information distribution. The paper is considered irrelevant by the parish community at large. (REFER TABLE 2, Appendix R.2)

5.2. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The Self-Understanding and Identity Construction among Youth in SACID Community

The discussion of the findings regarding identity formation among youth highlights the identity ambivalence of the youth. Their responses are backboarded by the researcher's attempts to find the valency of ethnicity in their conceptualisations of themselves. The focus is on the self-understanding and the construction of the youth. It is based on the ascriptive elements or self-admission in identity and the cultural construction. How do the youth who are SACIDs describe themselves by self-admission? Their responses follow:

5.2.1. Establishing Identity

Question : Who are you? How do you define yourself?

This question elicited a range of responses: surprise, identification in terms of one's work, personality or character traits and identification based on role eg. student or teenager. Some responses defied definition, challenging the ability of anyone to really define oneself.

Zenobie : I don't really think we know who we are. I think like each individual lives in a society where we are lead by society...we don't, very seldom do you find people going out and doing things because that's who they are, that's what they are. they are always doing things because that's what is expected of them...

Lyle : People are watching them...

Their responses at first did not include identifying themselves in terms of race or religion. They viewed talking about identity as a personal or private matter. The objective observable categories such as occupation or age are the immediate response to the question. Were they avoiding the issue of race and religion ? This prompted the direct question from the researcher :

5.2.2. Race as a factor in the self understanding and construction of identity

Question : So what role does race play? If someone asked you what is your identity, would you think of answering them in terms of your race.

The responses reflected a great concern with race. Some wanted to remove its dominance as an identity label associated with Apartheid. Others accepted its dominance for the present. They were hopeful of its eradication as an identifying feature in the future. For some, the eradication of race in identity consciousness and experience will take place only in the very distant future.

The extracts that follow serve to illustrate the role of race in the identity formation of the

participants. The youth view themselves as a subordinate ethnic minority group that is also a racial minority. In the most observable sense they are Indian. They are racially and geographically characterised as having ancestors who came from the Indian sub-continent.

The responses show the strategies of self categorisation in the context of cultural adaptation. Hutnik (1991) summarises these strategies. They are the **acculturative** strategy where the individual identifies him/herself using a hyphenated identity eg Indian- South African or South African -Indian, the **assimilative** strategy, where the individual concentrates on the majority group label of his/her identity eg just South African, the **dissociative** strategy where the individual defines himself as entirely within the bounds of the ethnic minority group and the **marginalisation** strategy where the individual is indifferent to ethnic group identification and chooses to identify with neither group.

In terms of our country its very difficult to identify with anything else besides our race group. We've been conditioned to be one race separated from everyone else...Indian...that's what we are. Maybe after many years from now because we've become non-racial, we'll start thinking of something else..in terms of being catholic first or a person/human being first. But we're just getting over the Apartheid system so we still think in those terms (App.C.1).

South African -Catholic- Indian (App.C.1)

I just want to say, as an Indian, it is going to take us a very long time before we can say we are South Africans...I was on a bus. I pressed the button twice long before the stop and the person was a black driver...he took us half a kilometre away from the stop and then stopped. I looked at him and said..well this is what I've got to accept because with the transition you've got to take whatever comes with it. You can't say I'm part of the New South Africa because I'm black. I may be black but I'm not Black!(APP.C.2)

You're not going to say to the bus driver..I'm Indian..but he saw it in you (APP.C.2)

There's no place for Indians and Coloureds, we are on the fence (App.C.2)

We are a minority (APP.C.2)

The preceding responses obtained in the focus group discussions show that the majority of the responses tend towards a verbalisation of a lived dissociative identity, the feeling of being "other". However there is the hope for an acculturative identity. While the group is made to feel "other" by the actions of those outside the group , they prefer to be part of the broader category of South African. This is not to say that they negate their descent.

The following table summarises responses to the close-ended question in Item 4, Appendix

(twelve out of twenty). This may be a choice based on the process of self-understanding and the process of construction. If the choice is a self-admission, then it may be an indication of a recognition of descent and ethnic identity. Ethnicity is here understood as consisting of: "a people who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of their common ancestry, real or fictitious and who are so regarded by others" (Shubhuti and Kwan in Hutnik, 1991:23). It may however be a choice resulting from the construct of Apartheid. In this instance it may be indicative of identity as a racial group.

Five chose to see themselves as Black South Africans. This choice could be indicative of a political choice. The term Black may be understood by participants as it is used in the discourse of the Black Consciousness Movement. If this is so then Black in this instance refers to all those not white and all those who previously did not have access to political power. Could this be a statement insisting on the rightful access to the redistribution of social and economic power in the new context of democracy and black empowerment? Hutnik (1991: 51) quoting the studies of Tajfel and Turner explains the role self-categorisation plays in mediating social reality:

They act as switches that turn on and off aspects of social identity. According to Tajfelian tradition, all behaviour can be arranged in a continuum from interpersonal to intergroup. The relevance of social identity to the individual is important in determining reactions to threat. Studies demonstrate that public threat to a personally relevant social identity results in greater in-group cohesiveness as a means to increase inter group differentiation and to salvage self-esteem.

Participants in the sample coming from mixed racial background where only one parent is of Indian descent may have felt inclined to use the term Black South African in the absence of a racial category to describe them. If this is the case, then Black South African is indicative of a racial category as used in the discourse of Apartheid. There being only two instances of mixed racial parentage in the sample, the other three choices can be seen as a political sensitised or motivated choice of identity.

Three individuals refused to be categorised as either Black or Indian South African. This may be read as a preference for identity only in terms of nationality, or place of birth. This seems

to be a rejection of labels that are seen to have resulted in one or other form of negative discrimination. This choice seems to suggest marginal individuals (refer preceding discussion in Hutnik, 1991) seeking to distance themselves from any ethnic or racial identification.

It may be argued that both those who identify with the label Black South African and those who identify with the label Indian South African perceive a threat to a personally relevant social identity. Those who choose the label Indian South African may do so in an attempt to increase in-group cohesiveness and inter-group differentiation. Those who choose the label Black South African may do so in an attempt to increase inter-group cohesiveness. Both are reactions to perceived threat that comes with political transition.

The present Government of National Unity is characterised by the redistribution of social and economic resources and the institution of affirmative action policies. In this context the terms Black and Indian are being further contested. In some quarters and in the utterances of some of those in this particular study, there is a view that being of Indian descent is not "black enough". This is used to indicate the feeling of exclusion from the redistribution of economic, social and political power.

Therborn's elaboration of ideology in the form of ego and alter ideologies is particularly helpful in analysis. Those embracing the discourse of the Black Consciousness Movement use the label Black South African to refer to all those (African, Indian and Coloured) who by virtue of their race or skin colour were denied access to basic human rights, political participation, social interaction and economic progress. It referred to the consciousness of pride in one's Blackness. It asserted Blackness as a positive entity capable of social action, of challenge. The ideology rejects the term non- white as a discourse of indignity: the term non- white stripped people of their "somebodiness" and made them "non- things and nobodies". Therborn describes the process by which Blacks qualify themselves as social actors capable of class struggle and ideological change, qualification. This can be termed an ego ideology when viewed from the perspective Black Consciousness. However, there exists a counter or alter ideology to this in the Apartheid discourse. In Apartheid discourse Black

signifies African tribes with their exclusive and peculiar culture and customs on one level. On other levels it carries with it the value judgements of a backward, violent, uncivilized, ungovernable and dirty people. This reading of the category Black, makes subjects of Blacks and at the same time subjects or oppresses such subjects.

Similarly the discourse around the term Indian acts to both subject and qualify . In Apartheid discourse, Indian refers to subjected subjects who are not White or Black. In Apartheid discourse they were "less than white" but "more than Black". They constituted a lesser and therefore oppressed group who were disallowed full political and economic development. In the consciousness of many Indian subjects this discourse has taken on a new consciousness of oppression. Indians now feel "less than white and Black". Those participants operating within the aforementioned discourse may choose Indian South African as a label.

It may be argued that given the recognition and promotion of cultural diversity in the new constitution, the identity labels chosen by participants in Appendix E 4.3, could be read as indicative of an acceptance of the multi-layered approach to identity formation and self-understanding. It may be indexical of a new openness to ethnic and cultural difference. The combination of responses indicate that race is still a dominant feature of identity construction and the choices on 4.3. are choices based on racial categorisation.

5.2.3. Religion as a factor in the self understanding and construction of identity

Question : Why do you belong to this youth group, a church youth group and not some other secular youth group?

Participants expressed the need to belong to a group or an organisation. There was a need to get more involved, to know what belonging to the church was all about, to share with like-minded people, to be part of something religious, "to show the adults that the up and coming youth are interested to know what the religion carries for them", to become involved in the spiritual side of things, to be able to do "special things" in church. Youth expressed the view that the church based youth provided a comfort zone for easy communication and socialization, that they felt like "family". It provided a special though not exclusively inward

looking location for members who saw themselves as constituting a particular minority identity:

Maria : Now you see, the majority of people in school are of a different religion and there are not many Catholics. It's not like it's a bad thing. I believe in every religion...that there's one god..but I specifically want to link with my religion and my friends..

Researcher : Because it offers you something unique?

Maria : Yes.

Researcher : What is it that's unique that you can't get elsewhere?

Maria : It's that we all share the same interest in our faith. Like we all have the same things to talk about...like the gospel...

Researcher : Do you think that it gives you an identity...tells you who you are?

Maria : Yes!
(APP.C.2)

For these youth their religious affiliation is what makes them a group different to other youth groups in the broader community of South African Indians. The objective is a spiritual development. Some see this as a uniqueness not an otherness. The sense of otherness they say is foisted on them by the broader South African Indian community :

Sherwin : It's like this here now. In our Indian culture right, we see females in a sari and dot..it's Indian Culture, it's not Hinduism as such. But the Hindus, they perceive the sari and dot as Hindu tradition so that if they see a Catholic person in a sari and dot it's like..they assume that person is Hindu..so like, we as Catholics, if we wear a sari and dot..like at school..when I say that my mother wears a sari and dot...they say : Oh but your mum's Catholic...like we are not supposed to wear a sari (APP.C.2)

However, they do recognise that they have a decidedly more westernised upbringing and socialisation . They contend that this should not be used to make them feel "other":

Keith : Ja , I suppose...like when we are at school and the teacher asks you...why don't you listen to Indian music at home, but why don't you listen to Radio Lotus..I don't know..it's just something we grew up with.

Lorette(recent convert) : Whereas I on the other hand love to watch an Indian movie..I enjoy it.

Jerome: No..No..No..We watch it once in a while, but I don't enjoy it because I didn't grow up speaking the language and hearing the language so I wasn't used to it...so if I watch the movie I didn't understand it so I didn't enjoy it.

(APP.C.2)

The group was very aware that the cultural content of SACIDs was similar to other groups namely white Catholics or Coloured Catholics, yet the attachment to the ethnic group was prevalent. This is referred to as the "desocialisation" of the ethnic group. Desocialisation of the ethnic group refers to a process whereby the cultural content of the group seems to have become similar to that of others but the emotional significance of the attachment to the ethnic group persists (Glaser and Moynihan, 1975:114)

They seem to suggest that religious affiliation and the cultural markers such as language, dress and tastes in music and other art forms should not gatekeep the process of defining a South African of Indian descent. They maintain that Indians of other faiths collapse Indian culture with Hindu religion and in so doing marginalise SACIDs.

The irony is that SACIDs also collapse Indian Culture with Hindu religion to separate themselves from Indians of other faiths. Their responses to the process of inculturation in the South Indian Rite of Marriage shows this. The factor of culture and ethnicity in identity formation is discussed later in this chapter.

The open-ended questionnaire (See Appendix E,) reveal the following regarding religion as a factor:

*On Item E1, seven out of twenty describe themselves by religious affiliation saying that they are Christian, Catholic or religious.

*On Item E2 six out of twenty describe themselves specifically as "not sexist or racist".

* On Item E3, eight out of twenty explicitly state a belief that all people are equal, should

be free to express themselves.

* Eleven out of twenty register some faith or belief in God. These are scattered over items E1, E2, and E3.

While religious identity may not have been explicitly stated except in the seven cases quoted on item E1, more than 50% registered religious influence. What does this say about religious identity? Should identity be measured by direct, self-ascribed labels or values held. May be argued that religious affiliation is not the uppermost factor in self definition? The focus group interviews tended to elicit more information on these issues.

Focus group discussions revealed that religion does influence identity. Some believed it homogenised identity within the church. Catholics are perceived as a singular grouping. It is considered armour against the forced racial segregation of Apartheid. Being Catholic means being equal. It provided a privileged comfort zone away from apartheid.

I think it (the church) did give us a slight leeway because we were able to go into another organisation or community where it was non-racial. Coming to a Catholic Church you get a chance to sit next to a black, white, a coloured and so forth. So like in terms of that we got an opportunity to see a little bit of another race(APP.C.1)

Others suggest that religious identity gave rise to feelings of superiority in relation to other South Africans of Indian descent :

Ja I would say with me I did..it did make me feel slightly superior to the others, because you were so similar to whites. Like my friend who is Tamil used to think we only had English dinner ..you know. So she associated me with whites..other people do and I used to feel a little more secure knowing that I was Christian..To be completely honest I actually tend to feel that being Catholic...I feel superior to the other denominations as well...since we were the first....(APP.C.1)

In actuality oneness did not materialise in a church segregated and demarcated by the group Areas Act. Difference is sensed but rather than criticism, this acted as a catalyst for further adherence to the view that religious identity offers equality among Catholics.

Sherwin : I think there's going to be a sense of oneness because if we have to follow our religion, following the example of Jesus Christ, whether you are black or white ..and there's a huge diversity...I'm sure we are all going to say we're Catholic.

Zenobie : I don't think so Sherwin. We might all be Catholics but the way we worship might be different. You can't readily say that there's unity. It is a fact that we are all Catholics but when it comes down to the manner in which all the different Catholics, like Indian Catholics etc..the way they act... The fact that we believe in the same thing, but we worship in different ways, makes us one.

(APP.C.2)

It also is an identifying feature, that Catholics separate themselves from other Christians. The responses are generated by the need to defend the group in a Indian Christian community where Catholics now form the minority Christian denomination. The majority of Indian Christians follow the newer reformed churches such as the Full Gospel Churches.

This is how it goes. ..Catholics will separate themselves from others...it happens, I know I do it. People ask what religion do I belong to and I say I'm a Catholic... I'm not a Christian, I'm a Catholic. I don't want to associate myself with Christians of other denominations because they always want to tell me what I'm doing wrong. I rather tell you now I'm a catholic before you come and tell me I'm doing this wrong and that wrong!

I also found this out-now I'm a catholic- but I feel up to this day Catholics find it very hard to take criticism

I agree but I think that the Catholic religion out of Christianity, is the most stressed upon, most criticised and you find with Catholics its more like a shield ..where you we find this is our duty to react in that way because we are the one's that are put down the most and we feel it's our duty to stand up for our beliefs.

(APP.C.2)

The differences with Black Catholics and other Christian denominations were identified as difference in language and styles of singing and other undefined aspects articulated as being different to the "way we normally do it". In this instance "the normal way" refers to the Roman Rite of worship in English.

5.2.3 Culture and ethnicity as a factor in the self understanding and construction of identity Question 5: If you are saying that it is all right for us to have different ways of

praising, worship , what do you think of the South Indian Rite of Catholic Marriage? Do you know about it?

Both groups were aware of it. The responses were mixed with the group from St. Paul's decidedly more in favour while the group from St. John's reluctant to accept an inculturation in the rite. Two possible factors could have influenced this response: It may be that at St. Paul's, Fr. Lazarus, the priest was of Indian descent thus positively expressing the need for the rite. While both parish priests sat on the Indian Pastoral Council, from interviews it was clear that their views differed. Fr. De Pasos was of the opinion that mixed religious couples should marry in each of the two religious affiliations : Catholics in the Roman Rite and non-Catholics in their rite. He was not in favour of the inculturation believing that it is a compromise. This compromise is patronising. He sees no problem with marrying both ways. He explains that the development of the rite is motivated by the fact that the Pope has stipulated that marriage vows may no be exchanged more than once (APP.F.3)

Some also expressed the need for caution and respect regarding the inclusions as they belonged to the Hindu community and that Hindus should not feel offended or abused. They thus equated the cultural inclusions with Hinduism the religion (APP.C.1).

I think it would be wonderful. I think it is important to keep in touch because we are Indians and we should have even in our marriage ceremonies some sort of Indian symbol to indicate that we are Indians. my mother was a Tamil before she converted and I think she would have appreciated some sort of Indian symbol in the marriage ceremony (APP.C.1)

I think there's a definite need for it..cost wise having two ceremonies and also reducing the conflict amongst families..that is a problem when you have so called mixed marriages. Also I think you have to explore further the exact significance of things like the lamp because it 's not just a cultural issue..it has much more significance and some Hindus might be opposed to that..just using the symbol. But there is a definite need for it. I would consider getting married that way. But if my spouse would like to get married the Catholic way..I would prefer the Roman Rite (APP.C.1)

As to the inclusion of the Thali, I believe that the thali is something sacred in Hinduism, it is a religious symbol. I don't think it is matter of culture. I don't think it should be included(APP.C.2)

I'm not one to judge other people's religion, but the way I see it..I don't

believe in bringing in another religion's customs and putting it into the church..it is making a mockery altogether of the Catholics(APP.C.2)

Ja I totally agree with that because we are talking about two different religions....It has always been that the thali is tied in the temple that's the Indian way and in the church it has always been the ring. You are corrupting the whole system and I know the true believers, those who were brought up catholic will not approve(APP.C.2)

There is a defense of their location as "Indian" with a right to "Indian Culture" even though it is not fully practised and there is confusion over the cultural content. There is a clear affective response to culture. The responses to the South Indian Rite of Catholic marriage reveals this. The youth do not feel that they have a natural claim to Indian cultural customs. However they accepted the western culture and custom embedded in the religious worship within the Roman Rite.

The response of the youth groups, potential participants in the **South Indian Rite of Catholic Marriage**, suggests that they accept the discourse of multiculturalism. Diversity is acceptable and they as a group form part of that diversity within the broader society and the church. However, they hesitate to express their difference in both society and church.

Within the church, the response of the youth to **The South Indian Rite of Marriage** shows a preference for assimilation into the western cultural expression of the Roman Rite. They readily assert that their socialization has been into the white western way of life though this has not been a complete assimilation. Yet they feel "Indian" and maintain they are "Indian".

Their religious expression within the cultural practice of the Roman and Western Rite of the Catholic Church was not seen as a limitation. Partly, because they themselves collapse custom and culture with religion : eg they reject the inclusion of the thali , a South Indian cultural symbol of marriage but on the other hand accept the western cultural symbol of the exchange of wedding bands. In the first instance what is cultural is given religious reading and rejected as lying outside the practice of Catholic religion. In the second instance the cultural symbol is raised to religious significance.

This the researcher believes is a result of the lack of education around this new rite and the

confusion over what is culture .The confusion over culture stems from the acts by missionaries who propagated that the cultures of other people's are pagan. It stems also from the discourse of Apartheid which collapsed race and culture. In propagating the superiority of the white race, it propagated the superiority of white culture. Races were constituted by the unbridgeable difference between groups in the way people think, act, value and express themselves ie by culture. On the one hand Apartheid seemed to legitimise cultural differences. On the other hand it set up a hierarchy of difference based on race and politicised the difference in an unequal distribution of political and economic power. Thus it was perceived that any economic, political or social inequality was the result of cultural differences. Inequality was justified on the basis of the cultural inability of the group and not of the system of government that actively divested groups of their political and economic power. Within this Apartheid structure all those of the "Indian Race" were thus constructed as one cultural practice, one homogeneous "Indian Culture ". This constructed cultural homogenisation neglected to see the cultural difference of the various linguistic and religious groupings that were existent within this "race".

Its effect on SACIDs, as evidenced by the youth in the study, was the marginalisation of the community in terms of the more dominant majority Hindu community. In order to ascribe and assert their religious affiliation within the Indian community it meant that many distanced themselves from the cultural traditions, art forms, language of their originary culture. While they see themselves as South Africans, one of the many diverse groups, they experience themselves as more westernised in their cultural practice, lifestyles, values and religion to other South African Indians. They perceive themselves as similar to them in their economic, social and political placement. They attribute these feelings of difference to the impact of religious choice and its accompanying socialisation into western cultural practise

What is interesting though is that root values eg the gendered role of male and female, the position of importance ascribed to the eldest son, the central role of the parents in marriage decisions, the maintenance of the extended family system although it is undergoing change in the broader Indian community as a whole, the centrality of education as a much pursued and sort after acquisition, remain the common element with that of the broader Indian community.

The root values are what the South Indian Rite of Catholic Marriage would like to engage with and retain. Their continued existence and relevance in the lived experience of SACIDs are grounds to see these root values as what gives rise to the "peculiarities of the Indian community" within the broader Catholic community.

Are the priests too much ahead of or behind their congregations? What is the significance of their reincorporation and recovery of aspects of Indian custom, values and cultural art forms for the process of identity formation among SACIDs? This act of cultural activism by the Indian Pastoral Committee is evaluated in the Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

THE ROLE OF ORGANIC INTELLECTUALS IN IDENTITY FORMATION

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Chapter Six discusses the role of organic intellectuals in the identity formation among SACIDs. It discusses The South Indian Rite of Marriage as an example of the work done clergy and lay intellectuals involved in the Catholic Church. This study interprets their work on the rite as cultural activism. The concern is with how this rite contributes to the debates on the identity of SACIDs. The organic intellectuals include an ex- member of the Justice and Peace Committee and parishioner at St. Paul's, the priests at each of the two parishes and a nun. The clergy in the sample are members of the Indian Pastoral Committee that devised the South Indian Rite of Marriage. This section evaluates the work of the intellectuals against the impact and response it generated in the community responses of mixed religious couples and the youth to the rite. The work of the intellectuals is evaluated against the impact and response it has generated in the purposive sample.

Historically the Catholic Church has not shown itself to be tolerant of ideas and cultural practices conflicting with its appetite for power. Martin- Barbero (1993) traces and explains the process by which the church in the Middle Ages suppressed, borrowed and reworked the popular culture of the peasants to build its hegemony. This process of appropriation occurs through confrontation and exchange between the popular culture of peasants and the official culture of the clergy or church. The replication of the lived culture of ordinary people is replaced by the clerical tradition and culture of the church. This takes place through the destruction of temples, ritual objects, and iconographic forms of gods, the obliteration of practices, rites, customs and devotions; and the de-naturalisation or deformation of myths and themes of legends in away that allowed them to be given new meaning and recovered for the clerical culture.

The Vatican Document on Sacred Liturgy commits the church to a process of change:

Rather she (the church) respects and fosters the spiritual adornments and gifts of the various races and peoples. Anything in their way of life that is not indissolubly bound up with superstition and error, she studies with sympathy and, if possible, preserves intact. Sometimes in fact she admits such things

into the liturgy itself, as long as they harmonize with its true and authentic spirit (Abbott, 1966:151)

The development of the South Indian Rite of Marriage as a recovery of cultural identity and cultural history. It is contextualized in this more enlightened direction of the Catholic Church in the world today.

Are Catholics of Indian descent accommodated? Do they feel a sense of cultural belonging today? Does the Catholic Church in South Africa show the sympathy called for in the Vatican Council document? Are SACIDs aware of the right to cultural expression within the church? Do they exercise this right? Have they found a home in the Catholic Church? Are their clay lamps still unlit and their bhajans still unsung?

The current emphasis in the Catholic Church is to creatively engage with the culture of people wherever in the world the church finds itself today. The South Indian Rite of Marriage is one such engagement. It is an act of cultural recovery based on a recovery of cultural identity among SACIDS. It is an imaginative act of cultural identity production because it is a construction and invention. To a large extent SACIDs are very westernised and the rite reconstructs some of the elements of the originary culture. This makes the rite an imaginative act. Cultural recovery as an act of recovery of cultural identity and cultural history goes beyond the process of unearthing the past. Hall (1990:224) defines cultural identity as the "production of identity, not grounded in archaeology but in the retelling of the past ". He suggests that perhaps "instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, we should think of identity as a **production**, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation". This analysis therefore does not see the development of this rite as merely harking after a past. The South Indian Rite of Marriage is viewed as an act of identity production. It is a reclamation of cultural values and an articulation of those values in the present through the performance of the ritual of the rite.

The rite can be conceived as an act of culture at two levels. At the one level it is a cultural act of representation encoding and transmitting values. It contains the element of the didactic. It is also a representation: a **dramatic performance** containing all the elements of

performance including role players, participants and spectators, performance space, costume, music, song, sign and symbols. At another level it is a **cultural act of political dimension**.

6.2. THE RITE AS DRAMATIC PERFORMANCE OR REPRESENTATION

The Rite is a religious ritual. To understand it fully, it is necessary to understand religion. Religion has three aspects or identifying features. It consists of the:

social, connecting human beings with deities and one another; **public** involving public practices as well as beliefs and **systematic**, representing an ensemble of beliefs, sentiments and practices which have for their object invisible and intangible beings or powers which a human group recognises as superior, on which it depends, and with which it can enter or has entered into relation, either by interior worship (prayer or meditation) or by exterior, "liturgical acts (Turner, 1982:97)

Viewed against this meaning of religion, The South Indian Rite of Marriage is an exterior liturgical act. It is religious and a ritual. This rite is a public communication between the bride and groom and between the bridal couple and God in the exchange of marriage vows. The priest and the parents of the bridal couple are the adepts, initiating the couple into married life. During the sermon the priest offers instruction. Through the giving of the lamp to the bride, the parent is the adept who communicates the centrality of the symbol of light. It is a representation of the sacredness of marriage and the centrality of the gendered role of the mother in the spiritual development and protection of the family. It invites the couple to see God as represented by the light, as a protecting force in the marriage. The set is the sanctuary comprising the altar bedecked with flowers and clay lamps. The role players are differentiated by their costume and their use of the performance space. The priest leads the action, the couple and parents follow. This action takes place in the sanctuary or area close to the altar. Guests participate as a chorus, incanting, and responding to the priest by speaking set lines, singing, standing, sitting and kneeling. Their action takes place outside the sanctuary. The dramatic act has a beginning and a conclusion. It takes place within a set space and time requiring both the actors and lesser participants to dress and conduct themselves according to a known pattern.

The elements of the originary Indian culture that are different to the western cultural elements contained in the Roman Rite of marriage described by a member of the Indian Pastoral Committee:

The rite starts off by preparing the altar and sanctuary with Indian lamps, incense and symbols and as the bridal party and groom's party come in. We include the parents because the parental blessing plays a very important part in a Hindu ceremony and in our Western rite of marriage we have never really incorporated the parents in to it. So we have created a ceremony whereby the bride and groom make a profound bow at the feet of their parents and ask for their blessing and I find it to be very beautiful. We incorporated it at the very beginning of the ceremony. After that we go through the traditional Catholic exchange of vows but besides the exchange of rings we also incorporate the thali which is a certain amount of jewellery attached to a yellow string to symbolize marriage...the tying of that is included. We have also incorporated an exchange of garlands which is also very symbolic. It adds a lot of colour too. Sometimes our ceremonies(western rite) can be very bland and white, very white at times. Other things we have incorporated?...the mother giving the lamp with the Christian symbol on it because it is traditional that she has to keep the lamp burning in the home which is another beautiful tradition that we try to inculcate in our children : a sense of the sacred..and there are certain times that we light the lamp and this is a way of calling to prayer and the family is where we learn to pray.(APP.F.2)

Further aspects included though not mentioned by the interviewee are: the singing of bhajans in Tamil, the placing of the dot on the forehead of the bride as a sign of marriage, the wearing of the traditional dress the sari and the throwing of flowers with an incantation invoking and recognising God's presence during the marriage.

The inclusion in this rite, of the parents as an integral part of the ceremony, is a reflection of the value system that is operative. Within the South African Community of Indian descent, and this includes SACIDs, the extended family is still an important social and family arrangement. With it comes the hierarchy of roles and responsibilities, eg the rearing of grandchildren by grandparents while the young parents go out to work is a common practice. Often you will find that if the groom is the eldest son then the couple either resides with the grooms parents or the parents reside with the young married couple. It is seen as the duty of the son to care for aged parents. Accompanying the network of sharing is the conflict

regarding decision making. While most couples these days set up home independently of parents, there is still a substantial number who reside in the parental home. What is clear though is that the parents are an important facet of the daily routine of a couple's life. The rite reflects and inculcates this position. As Fr. Clem Lazarus explains :

Within the Indian community the parents still play a very important part....(sometimes too much of a part)...but the positive aspect is that as the parents play an important part in preparing for the marriage I would say that it is only fair that they themselves take an active part in the ceremony... and to credit them... and as a sign of gratitude for all that they have done. It's just that we Indians have a different relationship with our parents (APP.F.2)

6.3. THE RITE AS A CULTURAL ACT OF POLITICAL DIMENSION

It is argued that **The South Indian Rite of Marriage** is an attempt to represent the cultural identity of SACIDs. Stuart Halls identifies two ways of thinking about "cultural identity". Both the understandings have emerged in post colonial conditions of struggle:

The first position defines **cultural identity** in terms of one , shared culture, a sort of collective "one true self", hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed "selves", which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common. Within the terms of this definition, our cultural identities reflect the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as "one people", with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history (in Rutherford, 1990:225)

The first definition of cultural identity offered by Hall(in Rutherford, 1990:225) is seen as a corrective to the destructive and distorting effects of colonialism. It has manifested itself in the writings of the writers of Negritude. In the South African context it has also underlined the writings of the Black Writers Association and Congress of South African Writers. The prose of Agnes Sam in **Jesus is Indian and other Stories** and the short stories of Ronnie Govender such as **At the Edge** and **1949** are example of the contributions of South African writers of Indian descent to the recovery of cultural identity. This definition of cultural identity is the source of the optimism in the historical project by disempowered peoples to write their own history and reclaim their historical agency. This definition of cultural identity

undergirds such projects as the recovery of a history from below, popular history, black history, history of the popular and a history of popular culture. This extension of history as driven by the notion of cultural identity " is not just a subject of study, but the **methodological perspective** which provides a new reading of the meaning of history. History is not just the history of culture but **cultural history** (Barbero, 1993:69)

In the context of the Catholic Church's past history of devoiding colonised people of their culture, this understanding of cultural history driven by the notion of cultural identity is particularly relevant. It involves the recovery of cultural content and emphasises the approach to be taken in that recovery. People themselves, the populace, the community are the ones that should recreate, retell, reconstruct culture.

Employing the above definition, it can be argued that the agenda of the political and cultural activist is to bring to light cultural identity and cultural history. This agenda is motivated by:

the secret hope of discovering beyond the misery of today, beyond self-contempt, resignation and abjuration, some very beautiful and splendid era whose existence rehabilitates us both in regard to ourselves and in regard to others(Franz Fanon, quoted in Rutherford,1990:223)

The development of the rite is an act of self and group affirmation. It is recovery of cultural identity. Like the act of writing prose or poetry or painting, it constitutes a cultural act. The development of this rite and ritual constitutes an act of cultural activism on the part of the priests who initiated and devised the rite. It may be likened to the cultural activism of artists and cultural workers. Like the work of critics of art is an act of cultural activism for or against a said work of art, the support of the researcher for the rite is an act of cultural activism. Cultural activism driven by the aforementioned definition of cultural identity, can be interpreted as a cultural act of political dimension.

The Inculturation Debate

The Indian Pastoral Committee of the Catholic Church devised the rite. It is the first of at least two rites that the committee expects to develop. The committee sees itself developing also a North Indian Rite as well. The South Indian Rite was devised first because most

Catholics are of South Indian origin .Further, all the members of the Committee are of South Indian origin.

This rite of marriage absorbs back into the clerical western culture of the church the customs, traditions and accompanying value system of the originary culture of SACIDs. The reason is grounded in the lived experiences of SACIDs and their sense of cultural identity. SACIDs form part of the broader "Indian"community. There is intermarriage across religions and faiths. In the past the insistence on conversion of the non-catholic partner was a source of great conflict for the couple. Later this practice was adjusted to include two marriage ceremonies: one in the western Roman Catholic tradition and one in the non Catholic tradition. The expense related to this became a source of financial stress to the couple. Further, the dismissive approach of priests, especially those who were not from the subject community, lead to an unevenness of practice. Presently the insistence by the Pope that marriage vows may only be exchanged once has given impetus to the process of inculturation. It was to address these practical considerations and psychological discomfort felt on the occasion of a happy event, that the Indian Pastoral Committee sat. It was concerned to address the special ministry of the church to this community. Father Clem Lazarus who sits on this committee explains that inculturation and the freeing up of cultural expression is being considered by the church. It is part of the anticipated change in a new South Africa. It echoes the tendency world wide for the right to cultural difference without having to be marginalised by that difference :

This committee started in 1985/6. Father Reg Shunmugam and I being the senior Indian priests in the diocese felt that we needed much more to bring Indian Catholics in line with what was happening in the church. We set up this Committee to look at our position in terms of a changing South Africa. A lot of emphasis and change was being made in terms of the white and black community- did the catholic Church understand the Indian community and its certain peculiarities? Archbishop Hurley being a man of Vatican Council II saw a tremendous need for inculturation(APP.F.2)

Inculturation is defined in debates by clergy as an appreciation of the different cultures that are present in South Africa(Lazarus,APP.F.2; Agenda Newsline,17/9/95.). For the church dominated by a clerical culture to achieve this it requires that the church engage with the cultural difference of the people it wishes to serve. Further, it means that it has to understand

the folklore and the popular culture at work. Moreover, it should aim for a synergism. Synergism is an attempt to "reconcile and unite various religious and philosophical opinion, (and cultural praxis) on the basis of tenets common to all. This implies that those tenets that cannot be reconciled will exist in a state of difference(Webster Comprehensive Dictionary, 1992:1272).

Synergism is not a process of assimilation. Assimilation aims to eradicate difference by creating conditions and imposing conditions that require that one philosophy or culture become like the other in a context of uneven or unequal power relations. Assimilation is a process of absorption of the one culture by the other. Synergism is a process of finding common ground while at the same time recognising the important differences and respecting the maintenance of that difference. This occurs eventhough there is a real potential by one culture, religion or philosophy to force its own opinion and practice on the other group.

Inculturation means finding common ground eg the response to ancestor worship in African Culture finds it counterpart in the intercession of saints in Catholicism. Like the saints, the ancestors are seen to intercede on behalf of the individual because of their greater proximity to God. This intercession is governed by the immanence and transcendence principle employed both in Christianity and traditional African Culture. Acceptance and respect by the Catholic Church for the practice of ancestor intercession by African Catholics may be interpreted as synergism.

It is the view of Catholic clergy in Africa that inculturation is a "fundamental choice to make Christ our own" (Agenda Newline, 17/9/95). While people come from different historical and social backgrounds, the Catholic Church's ritual is European and western. Those who support inculturation believe this discrepancy must be addressed. Inculturation is an attempt to teach and share the church's message within the context of the rich value systems and cultural practices of these different and distinct backgrounds. Inculturation is a cultural act of political dimension.

Inculturation can be can be understood in terms of the second notion of cultural identity elucidated by Hall:

This second position recognises that while there are many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant **difference** which constitute what we really are; or rather (since history has intervened) what we have become. Cultural identity is a matter of **becoming** as well as of **being**. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation (in Rutherford 1990:225)

How far is the church prepared to go in accepting cultural difference? Is the process of inculturation understood in its liberal interpretation as exemplified by multiculturalism or does it subscribe to a more radical interpretation of difference? McLaren (1993:126) explains the political agenda of multiculturalism:

Multiculturalism comprises a politics of pluralism which largely ignores the workings of power and privilege. In addition it presupposes harmony and agreement—an undisturbed space in which differences co-exist...Liberal and conservative positions on diversity constitute an attempt to view culture as a soothing balm- the aftermath of historical disagreement-some mythical present where the irrationalities of historical conflict have been smoothed out.

For the church to engage with the cultural difference of the various communities that subscribe to and claim Catholicism as their own, it requires that it recognise its own negative role in colonialism and its bloodied past history. It needs to confess and atone. It needs to recognise the "irrationalities" of its past, its wrongful treatment of indigenous people as pagans(APP.F.2). This it is attempting to do by committing itself to the poor of the world. The new role of the church is being forged in the cultural matrix of incommensurate social, economic and political power all over the world notably in Latin America and Asia. Here the church at the community level known as Basic Christian Communities, has been pivotal in demanding a praxis from the church (cf.Puebla and Medellin Conferences). This praxis takes cognisance of the fact that the church "in the world" means challenging the world to dismantle the unequal distribution of economic, political and social power. It is in an effort to redistribute social power within the church as an organisation, that inculturation obtains meaning. The church committed itself at Vatican Council II to rid itself of cultural chauvinism (Abbot,1966)

In South Africa, among SACIDs, change at the level of communities themselves requires a cultural activism. The demand for a redistribution of social power in the Catholic Church has not emerged vocally or spontaneously from the SACID community itself. Fr. Lazarus points out that inculturation is a difficult process among the communities. This is supported by the responses of youth to the rite. They are hesitant about the process of inculturation.

Two factors could account for why change at the level of SACIDs requires a cultural activism. The first reason may be found in the minority status of the SACIDs. They are a minority within the South African Indian Community where race is the common factor. This places them culturally and religiously on the periphery. They are also a minority within the Catholic community. Here they are a racial minority. This places them on the margins in this community also. An interpretation of their situation can be found in the concept of "socio-epistemic self-placement" (Chun, 1983). This community because of its minority status in the many identity options it may choose from, has difficulty in placing itself.

Individuals continually strive to place and define themselves in the world of relationships and meanings. The world of relationships and meanings consists on the one hand, of social relation and on the other of persistent existential questions which may encompass social, political, philosophical and cosmological perplexities. The sense of identity emerges as the individual clarifies for him / herself some of these issues and learns to place him/herself within the total configuration of social relationships and ontological questions. Identity is arrived at by a process called socio-epistemic self-placement (Chun quoted in Hutnik, 1991:19)

A further reason that inculturation has been difficult is the result of the strong missionary influence that acted to devoid communities of their cultural forms of expression and root values and have left communities like SACIDs living within the boundary of westernisation but feeling on the outside.

The priests and other clergy on The Indian Pastoral Committee may be seen to be functioning as organic intellectuals seeking to win consensus for the church as a structure of power. The church's new position of accepting the cultures of non-western societies is in the process of being naturalised. The priests in this situation could be interpreted as hegemonic agents. They come from the community of SACIDs, and are located in leadership roles as priests. This

makes them organic intellectuals: The priests besides forming part of the bureaucratic hierarchy of the church, also form part of the "people" the church wishes to "govern" or lead. They are individuals well placed to lead by gaining consensus for the new Rite.

However the need to inculturate being expressed by South African Indian clergy is more than a following of the decisions of church policy and winning consensus for the church's position. It is a cultural act of a political dimension. Their position as members of a leadership class is confluent with their membership of an ethnic group. They have affective ties to the ethnic community they come from. These affective ties are powerful. It is these affective ties that account for how those who comprise an educated elite (like the priests and researcher) and who are often furthest removed from their traditional culture can call vocally for a cultural recovery. As Fitzgerald (1992:115) explains "Modern ethnic identification works more by external symbols than actual cultural ability, knowledge or performance. The significance is emotional".

As the church becomes more open and accepting of difference and as political power is redistributed in South Africa, the identity of this group like all groups within South Africa will be organised in the defense of social, cultural and economic interests (Roosens, 1989) This study suggests that inculturation be understood in its radical reading. It does so on the basis that a cultural politics of difference operates within the material condition of an uneven distribution of power within a democratic framework. The concluding reference makes the point:

Cultures and identities can never be wholly separate, homogeneous entities, instead the interrelationships of differences are marked by translation and negotiation. The cultural politics of difference means living with incommensurability through new ethical and democratic frameworks within a culture that both recognises difference and is committed to resolving its antagonisms (Rutherford,1990:26)

CHAPTER SEVEN: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

THE ROLE OF CATHOLIC MEDIA IN IDENTITY FORMATION

7.1. INTRODUCTION

Chapter Seven discusses the factor of ideology in the self understanding and construction of identity in SACIDs. It examines **The Southern Cross** for the influence of Catholic media in the identity construction of SACIDs. It is included in this study because the study examines ideology as a factor in identity formation. A Cultural Studies perspective on identity formation presupposes an examination of the role of media and ideology in the process. This study therefore includes an analysis of the role of church media and therefore church ideology in identity construction. The analysis is conducted within the framework of the Vatican Council II stated objectives regarding the media:

The common concern of Catholic Organisation working in the Third World pastoral and development oriented organisations alike, is the pursuit of a balanced or integral development concept comprising not only the economical or spiritual upliftment of the people, but the promotion of basic human values in the many different areas of life. Communication has a key position in this concept, not only in its supportive function, but as a necessary pre-requisite of cultural self-determination (Catholic Media Council, Vol.4, 1986)

The first section presents the findings of this study regarding **The Southern Cross**. It was found that Catholic ideology is distributed, maintained and lived through the ritual of the Mass, the sermons from the pulpit and membership of sodalities and church committee (refer Chapter 5). The influence of Catholic media in the form of **The Southern Cross** is non-existent. This chapter attempts to explain the lack of the role of the paper in the identity formation of SACIDs. It is especially important as the paper is the only national, English-medium Catholic newspaper. The further fact that no other Durban-based, English medium Catholic newspaper exists, requires **The Southern Cross** be evaluated.

Section Two describes **The Southern Cross**.

Section Three evaluates **The Southern Cross** in the broader focus on the role of Catholic media. This evaluation, which includes recommendations takes place in the light of the Vatican Council II aims and objectives regarding Catholic media and transformation in the

church.

7.2. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: THE YOUTH RESPONSE

The findings as stated earlier (Chapter 5) found that the newspaper was a non-event in the lives of SACIDs. Both the parishes involved cancelled their deliveries because of lack of support. Why were Catholics of Indian descent not interested in a Catholic newspaper?

The survey amongst the youth revealed the following :

TABLE 2 : Media preferences among the youth

	St.Paul's	St.John's
Male	2	6
Female	9	7
Buy a newspaper daily	5	10
Buy the Southern Cross(SC)	0	4
Read the SC regularly	0	0
Talk about articles in SC	0	0
Share SC	0	0
Read other Christian Papers	1	0
Read Christian Magazines	1	5
Read The Daily News	9	11
Read The Mercury	8	3
Read The Weekly Mail	2	4
Read The Sunday Tribune	8	8
Read The Sunday Times	10	9
Read the New Nation	0	0
Own/access to a radio and TV	11	13
Listen to Christian radio or TV	0	0

The above shows the lack of influence of religious media in the reading practices of the youth. The main source of information is the commercial press. Thus opinions and information which form part of the individuals sense of self or identity is shaped neither by religious media in general nor **The Southern Cross** in particular. There is very limited readership of the "alternative press" (discussed later in this chapter). Few read **The Weekly Mail** and none knew of or read the Catholic sponsored secular **New Nation** which targets an urban, English-literate black readership. If the media is playing any role in shaping attitudes values and opinions among youth then, it is those newspapers owned by big business that are doing so. However, the impact of these newspapers lies outside this study. Of the total of twenty-four respondents, twenty-one read **The Daily News** regularly, eleven read **The Mercury** regularly, only two read **The Weekly Mail** (now **Mail and Guardian**) and nil read the **New Nation**.

Fr. Clem Lazarus observes from his pastoral work that within the community of SACIDs there is not a sufficiently active reading or questioning culture among the community (APP.F.2). Findings taken in the closed-ended survey seem to support this. Not many sought alternative publications.

Only four of the twenty-four participants has access to **The Southern Cross**. SACIDs, especially the youth, do not consider the paper to be relevant or interesting :

Occasionally my grandfather buys **The Southern Cross**! (APP. C.1)

Fr. De Pasos at St. John's describes **The Southern Cross**, pointing to reasons for its poor acceptance among SACIDs:

I don't think anybody really reads **The Southern Cross**. There's nothing in really. For it to be an expression of church feeling, I think it is very weak. The SC tells you about nuns that died, 75th anniversaries of clergy, photographs of First holy Communion of people you will never meet, and which means nothing to anybody anyway, statements which the pope made which you get in **The Daily News** and other newspapers anyway....so you don't really learn anything. **The Southern Cross** isn't the church. It is mainly through the pulpit, the bible study groups, the small Christian communities, the mass that people get their identity.(APP F.3)

The youth were highly dismissive of religious media opting to watch sport or other programmes instead of religious broadcasts. They expressed a discomfort with religious broadcasts of other Christian denominations. They clearly separated themselves from the styles of worship televised and in the process, identified themselves as particularly Catholic with a specific religious identity and form of worship. It is thus the form of worship in the mass and other rituals that are a source of identity formation ...not the print media within the church.

Calvin from St. Paul's expressed it in the following way:

In terms of watching TV...it depends on the events...you just switch from sport to something else. There's lots of gospel music...Catholics don't really identify with that loud screeching, preaching type of thing. There's a lot of that on TV at the moment. You listen to a few, some make sense, but as Catholics we don't really identify with it. We'd rather watch the cricket or sport or whatever (APP.C.1)

Fr. Clem Lazarus while agreeing with the criticism of the paper believes that there must be a Catholic newspaper :

I believe that every Catholic home should have a Catholic newspaper. It must be informative, it must show what is happening in the Catholic world, lots of things are happening you know. I know there are changes..there's a new editor, they are very much aware of things but you know...basically to talk about Catholic life..There are so many issues : like the feminist role in the Catholic Church, we need to show more of that. We should have healthy discussion in The Southern Cross on issues that are debatable. I'm one for information think it is important to share information and not just dodge away from controversial issues..we air things out. That's what I appreciate about the American newspapers..there are lots of issues, social issues, political issues—they are not afraid to tackle them and say what is the Catholic Church's response to the ill-treatment of mine workers..especially the tin miners in South America, especially when they celebrated the 500 years of indigenous people....the so-called Columbus discovery of the Americas, there was lots of information. We can focus on what is the History of the catholic church regarding the native peoples and the damage it has done and to openly confess our guilt that we treated them as pagans, we never appreciated their culture and there's so much we need to conscientise people on...but here they don't even know about it...(APP.F.2)

The comments by Fr. Clem Lazarus, who is considered an organic intellectual in this study

suggests further areas for cultural activism within the church. In order to engage with his suggestion , an evaluation of **The Southern Cross** is necessary. In the next section a brief description and analysis of the paper is undertaken.

7.2. A DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN CROSS

The Southern Cross, was established in 1920, seventy-five years ago and forty-three years before Vatican Council II. At the time, there was in existence a church ruling that ensured its regular readership. This was the *Codex Juris Canonici*. It instructed Catholics to read catholic newspapers only. Businessmen and job-interested were allowed to read non-catholic newspapers. Others were discouraged from seeking other view points. This had the effect of closing the Catholic community out from other viewpoints other than the official church view on issues. It was the Papal Voice.

Readership

At its inception, the newspaper targeted white middle-class Catholics whose sponsorship made possible the existence of the paper. Today, in its 75th year of existence, its readership is broadly English- speaking Catholics, dominantly white with some support from Coloured and Indian Catholics. According to its first non-religious, and present editor Mr Michael Shackleton its readership is still mainly white middle class Catholics. Current readership figures are 11000 per week.

Organisational Structure

The paper operates out of an office based in cape Town. It is a non-profit venture , kept financially afloat mainly by sponsorship from white catholic business. The paper has its first lay editor in the history of the paper, three full time journalists based in Cape Town and two correspondents in Johannesburg. The Editor and all except one of the writers are catholic. Those working on the paper receive a very modest salary in comparison with journalists in the mainstream papers.

Format

The paper consists of a regular 12 pages. The masthead has changed over the years, the most recent being 1995. It now reflects both the title of the paper and a dove in red ink. The

bottom of the paper advertises inside stories in red and blue ink. This too is a recent change from the all black presentation. It is A3 in size and column widths vary from 5cm to 10cm on a single page, and from page to page. This is because the whole paper is not produced on Desktop Publishing. The unevenness of columns width tends towards an untidy presentation that is hard on the eye. The format includes photographs, adverts and news articles. All articles are written in English.

Content and Categories of News

Most of the news is provided by the satellite link with the Catholic News Service. This results in more international than local news content(Shachelton,10/10/95). While on the one hand it keeps readers in touch with the official positions of the churches in these regions, it does not give the reader a sense of the thinking at the grassroots level of the parish.

In the past, it was silent on the lives of Black Catholics, except as the grateful beneficiaries of white charity. It reflected the values of whites living through late colonialism and Apartheid. This may be characterised as a lack of direct support for the unchristian status quo. The silence and invisibility of Black Catholics in its coverage is an indication of the interests of its white target audience.

Within a changing political context, more Black clergy have been appearing in the photographs. However, except for the views of the Black Archbishops, an examination of the contents of the paper, reflects the viewpoints of white catholic leadership, office bearers or clergy. One does not get a sense of the ordinary Catholic parish priest's views, challenges, achievements and problems at the grassroots level. Nor does one hear the voice of ordinary lay persons (APP.F.3).

The paper has since 1994 been encouraging parishes to write in with news from the parish. A nominal fee is paid for their contribution. These contributions have been in the form of photographs of parish events. This accounts for the page set aside only for photographs.

The paper includes a Letters to the Editor page, which gives more space to local views and opinions and to lay people to raise issues. This is good in that it provides space for

individuals to respond and engage. However, the paper has not been successful in giving the reader a sense of life of the parish communities. Catholics in South Africa comprise communities flavoured and coloured by cultural, economic, philosophical and political differences.

The editor Shackleton(10/10/95) acknowledges this lack and intends to change. It hopes to target a broader readership that includes all English speaking Catholics. The process of change is undoubtedly hampered by the lack of financial resources to engage in a more investigative journalism that would lead to more in depth and interesting coverage of local content. The process of change is further slowed by the threat of loss of current sponsorship from white catholic business.

It has an Art focus that includes the reviews of books and films. This however rarely covers the art and cultural, activity of Catholic artists and parish-based cultural groups.

The Catholic Life category is not clearly defined and the title is misleading. In the anniversary edition this page comprised articles on the lives of saints and the Catholic Trivia Quiz. The title leads one to expect an engagement with what it means to live a Catholic life in contemporary society.

Also included is a children's page with inspirational stories that have a Catholic moral. There is usually an activity such as a colour in or join the dot picture for young children. However, no particular or regular focus is given to the youth. This is a short coming regarding a very significant constituency within the church. If the paper aims to target Black Catholics, then youth form the growing users of English.

A page is dedicated to the anniversaries, and deaths of the religious. They have tended to take less coverage than in the recent past.

There is also a classified section. Most often this includes adverts in thanksgiving for an intercession, announcements of memorials and accommodation offers. Rarely does it cover

actual job vacancies and cannot be seen as providing a solidarity market for catholic workers. The potential to do so is there, if the paper can retarget its readership to be more inclusive of all English-literate Catholics .

Distribution

The paper is distributed nationally, through a closed network of churches and subscriptions. These are white parishes and some Coloured and Indian parishes. Its distribution through the various parishes and not via bookshops or street sales, indicated that the presupposition that its target audience is English speaking Catholics who are regular church goers.

The paper is envisaged as falling within the description of **interest-based media**, produced and distributed for a specific group, namely church-going, English literate Catholics. It can be compared with **in-house publications**. While it does not display the sophisticated level of technical expertise which is a distinguishing feature of mass media, it is organised in the way mass produced newspapers are. It organised along the lines of mass media. It has an editor three full time journalists and two correspondents. It has an editorial policy that gatekeeps the selection of news reports. The policy is to follow the official line of the Vatican via Catholic News Service and to cover areas of interest to white, middle class Catholics.

7.4. DISCUSSION OF THE ROLE OF CATHOLIC MEDIA

With specific reference to *The Southern Cross*

This evaluation takes place in the context of the church's commitment to Vatican Council II. This commitment contained in *Gaudium et Spes* (Abbot,1966) calls for the church to be involved in the world, to engage with the realities of this world. This implies finding solutions to world problems as nuclear warfare, exploitation within the capitalist system, unfair labour practices, the oppression of women, contraception, divorce, etc. Does the content of the newspaper reflect this concern or the concerns of South African Catholics living in contemporary society?

The evaluation of *The Southern Cross* is underlined by the Catholic Church's teachings on communication. The policy is documented in the document, *Inter Mirifica*. This document commits the church inter alia to:

- * assert and protect the right to information "about the affairs which affect men individually and collectively, and according to the circumstances of each"(Abbot,1966:322)
- * recognise the use of the "instruments of social communication" viz press, radio, television, cinema, and other similar media to contribute "generously to the refreshment and refinement of the spirit and to spread and strengthen God's own kingdom"(Abbot,1966:329)
- * "develop an upright conscience on the use of these instruments, particularly with respect to certain issues which are rather sharply debated in our times" This duty falls on the media workers whose task it is to aim for good journalism that will not "conflict with the common good". A catholic press should be established, support be given to "honourable" producers and distributors of art and culture, backing be given to "decent" radio and television productions, to see that the noble and ancient art of the theatre serve the cultural and moral

development of audiences(Abbot,1966:327).

- * recognise that instruments of social communication are "available to audiences of various ages and cultural backgrounds and that the right use of them requires theoretical and practical instruction adapted to particular types of audiences"(Abbot,196:328)

Thus the document defines social communication as mass media. It recognises that human groups have constituted themselves beyond biological and historical groups such as family or nation. They now form communication groups constructed by the media. The communication group is defined as "people affected by and joined together by particular communicators or particular organs and programmes of communications media" (Abbot,1966:320)

The developments and expression of the Council document on media given by third world initiatives in Latin America, the Phillipines and India, serve as an example of the active and developing voice of media in the Catholic Church today. Such initiatives recognise a larger range of media including, social communication, group communications media, micro-media, peoples's media etc. These media are identified by their essence and use. A brief elaboration on the various types of media follows:

Social Communication from the perspective of Liberation Theology refers to the communication that is concerned with an analysis of the social system in which it is produced. It therefore is critical of the government of the day, exposes deception, fraud, exploitation and violence against people. It offers those who participate in this form of communication, a critical source of alternative news. The expectation is a more questioning attitude of the powers that prevail and a mobilisation for a more equitable distribution of resources and power in the society. In the South African context, **New Nation** in the 1980s offered this form of communication .

Group Communications Media (GCM) is articulated in the Latin American context as committment to the poor, in service of the poor. It parallels Liberation Theology. The official

document *Carta aos Comunicadores* explains the essence of this kind of communication:

Human communication is a phenomenon essentially determined by dialogue. This implies that an exchange of experience occurs between those participating in the communication process. As it is a dialogue, there is a process of meaning-production and reception which goes further than mere information exchange between communication partners. It is further indicated that the participation occurs at the same social location where code, message and reference point are the same for all participants in the communication process (Gomes; Group Media Journal, Vol 4, 1986)

This type of media is able to contribute much to the level of dialogue at level of the congregation. The essence of group media are photographs, cassettes, records, puppet theatre, films, posters, books, letters, audio-visuals and slides. It is distinguished from mass media in that it is technically simple and horizontal in its production relations. It is aimed at participation and promoting relationships between people and groups through dialogue. It is easily accessible to all and intended for educational purposes rather profit making (Group Media Journal 1984).

Theorists in the field point out while definition of the essence of group communications media may seem simple its use makes the definition debatable. For example a medium such as television is a mass medium. It may be considered a group communications medium when discussion groups debate and dialogue over the content or engage in the making of their own video clip. The more important feature of group media is that : firstly its aims to allow the grassroots to speak out within the church itself and within the broader society and secondly it aims to bring the church together with allies in the broader society for the transformation of the society politically, economically, culturally and morally (Group Media Journal)

The development of GCM is associated with the development of Basic Christian Communities (BCC) in Latin America, notably in Brazil. Media in Brazil is repressive and functions as the propaganda arm of the government. In the absence of any access to the media, small Christian communities began creating their own means of communication at the level of the grassroots church congregations. BCCs are religiously motivated to take pastoral action. This pastoral action links with a broader people's movement and a democratic trade union movement.

People's Media is the term used in the Philippines to denote the non-written forms of communication at grassroots level. These forms are liturgical and cultural. They are more symbolic forms such as songs, poems, plays, murals, paintings, body movements. They are devised in the oral tradition so relevant to Philippine society. Like the Latin American context, people's media is linked to a theology that seeks pastoral action for the transformation of society. This pastoral action is known in the Philippines as Theology of Struggle.

The parallels with some forms of group media and people's can be found in the South African community in the 1980s. They are exemplified in songs and freedom hymns created, sculptures of a muzzled and black Christ, and images of the Crucifix in barbed wire. Another example of this type of group media is a Christmas tree decorated with the names of those in detention and those who had died in detention. This was evident during the years of the State of Emergency (1986- and 1987) . During this period the church declared a "Black Christmas" with other organisations in the broader society.

In South Africa there was no structure like the BCC found in Britain. At parish and regional levels there is the Justice and Peace Commissions. Today at least two Catholic religious are members of the new Government of National Unity. They are Sr. Bernadette Ncube and Fr. Smangaliso Makashwa.

The point to make is that initiatives in the Third World go beyond *Inter Mirifica* which critics within the church have indicated is limited:

The Decree does not strike me as being very remarkable. It is not going to produce great changes. It does not contain novel positions, but gathers and officially states a number of points previously stated and taught on a less official level (Abbot, 1966:318)

It has been shown that The Southern Cross is a non-event in the lives of SACIDs. It does not provide a source of dialogue between Catholics of various ethnic groups. It is limited in its focus, coverage, and commitment to communication. SACIDs do not in any way identify themselves in this paper. Neither do they identify with the paper. Comments by both parish

priest dismiss the paper as irrelevant to the important issues in the catholic church and the lives of Catholics .

7.5. RECOMMENDATIONS

The comments by organic intellectuals point the way forward (APP.F.2 ; F.3;F.4). The church needs to be more creative in its communications and more inclusive in its organisation. If it is to employ the newspaper fully and justify its continued existence, then its content has to be more critical as Fr. Lazarus suggests.

Further, it needs to change its process of news gathering. It should employ a progressive approach by engaging and encouraging the parishes themselves to become part of the network of news gathering and news writing. The parishes should be seen as both the newsmakers and the news communicators. The parish readers should not be seen as mere conduits for the distribution of the paper. They should feel co-owners of the vehicle of communication and the process of communication. In other words the paper should reorganise itself along the lines of the progressive press. Tomaselli (1988) makes a distinction between the Alternative and Progressive Media:

Alternative journalism is different from, and alternative to the approach, form and particularly the content of the conventional mass media. Emphasis is on ordinary people, rather than newsmakers, is explanatory rather than event-oriented, works to a different time-scale of writing stories, attempts to connect causes and effects. And some papers offer a vehicle for advocacy journalism.

Progressive Media are the expression of community struggles, themselves located in the wider struggle for democracy. It is organisationally connected to popular political movements. It is the collaboration between collectives with production skills and the participant community. Production involves the wider community in the conception-production-distribution cycle. People working in the progressive press consider themselves organisers before media workers second.

The suggestion is that The Southern Cross should organise itself along the lines of the progressive press, where the community refers to the Catholic community at large. While remaining an English- medium newspaper, the paper should reflect the various concerns of the various communities that go to make up the South African Catholic community ie Polish,

"Indian", Italian, Afrikaner, "Coloured", "Black", Portuguese etc . These groups are easily identifiable through their location in historically defined group areas. They are also contactable through the special ministries eg the Polish and Portuguese communities come together at regular masses in their vernacular. This will facilitate exposure and exchange between the different cultural and ethnic groups. Further the sense of difference amongst the groups will be legitimised and group expression freed. In this context, the points of similarity in the tenets of the faith become a respected ownership by all.

In order to facilitate active participation by community and parish-based media workers, the church needs to take seriously the Vatican Council commitment to train more grassroots communications workers: "Let priests, religious, and laymen, be opportunely trained to bring necessary skills to the apostolic use of these instruments viz mass media" (Abbot, 1966:328)

This may be stimulated through the commitment of the parishes to start media and cultural groups at grassroots level and to become self-reliant and inventive in its work . The church provincially and nationally will need to commit itself to encouraging this growth. It needs to encourage the parish to develop a media workers group that not only contributes to the national catholic newspaper but also plays the more crucial role of developing group communications media at the parish base.

The existence of group communications at parish level will lead to an enrichment of liturgy through culture and the use of artistic genres such as theatre, playmaking, song composition, liturgical dance, visual art etc. These genres created and encouraged at grassroots will begin to represent and reflect the composition of South African Catholics. It is group communications or small group media that will ignite and give expression to liturgical acts and pastoral action for social justice. It is group communication media that best engages the small Christian communities in communication and dialogue within themselves and with others.

It has been noted that both traditional and popular cultural forms need to be employed in the church's communication:

It is through such cultural forms that people relive their experiences, construct coherent meanings and gradually and radically remould them in consonance with their needs and aspirations. It is this sense, and through such a process, that culture serves to reflect but at the same time progressively develop popular ideology and a people's consciousness (Beltram; Group Media Journal Vol.4, 1986)

This evaluation of **The Southern Cross** suggests that there are precedents in Catholic media, where media has played an active role in developing cultural identity, engaged in cultural activism and contributed to transformation in the church and as society at large. There exists a need for the Catholic church to reach out and communicate with SACIDs, and with Catholics at large. With a more critical and informative news content and transformed production process and purpose **The Southern Cross** can become a paper that SACIDs read. The changes suggested however, require a cultural activism within the church.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

UNLIT CLAY LAMPS, UNSUNG BHAJANS

The title: *Unlit Clay Lamps, Unsung Bhajans* is an attempt to describe in figurative terms the identity of SACIDs. A *bhajan* is a Hindi term, accepted by Indians in general. It refers to a form of worship that comprises the communal singing of hymns of praise. This is done to the accompaniment of music instruments such as the tabla, the cymbals, harmonium, and bells. There is no set structure, the singing is continuous, initiated by any of the participants. The *bhajan* is repeated raising the tempo and volume to a crescendo and then decreasing the singing in tempo and volume, ending in a moment of silence, before the next hymn begins.

The title is a metaphor for what the researcher has concluded is the unexpressed ethnogenesis of the subject community (Roosens, 1989). It also refers to the as yet unclaimed and unexpressed cultural difference in the identity and the worship of South African Catholics of Indian descent (SACID). The unlit lamp refers to the yet to be achieved critical consciousness and recovery of a sense of cultural history and roots among the youth. It also refers to a lack of engagement with this difference in a positive and assertive way. The unsung *bhajan* refers to the hesitancy of the subjects to engage in a positive and celebratory way with their ethnicity.

This study was conducted within the tradition of qualitative research. It employed a known or purposive sample ie chosen because they were especially well placed to assist in the investigation. The sample served to highlight the thinking, attitudes and consciousness of South African Catholic youth of Indian descent in two of the four dominantly "Indian " Catholic parishes of the greater Durban area. For the study to be conclusive it will need to be replicated using a larger sample and include youth both within and outside of church youth groups.

However it is suggested that this study is a fair indication of the self understanding and identity construction of the subjects involved. The role of organic intellectuals such as members of the Indian Pastoral committee and workers in the field provide the expert analysis and observations that counterbalance the smallness of the sample.

It is hoped that this study contributes towards the debate on the role of race, ethnicity , culture and religion in the construction of identity and in the political programme towards transformation in the Catholic church in particular and South Africa in general.

The interviews conducted in this study elicited information on the following questions;

Question 1 :How do the youth among SACIDs identify themselves?

Question 2 :How do the categories of race, culture, ethnicity, ideology and religion contribute to the self-understanding and identity construction among SACID

Question 3 :What are the views of organic intellectuals on the process of identity formation among SACIDS.

Question 4 :What is the response of SACIDs to the development of The South Indian Rite of Marriage by organic intellectuals. The rite is included as a marker for ethnicity in identity formation. It is also included as an example of the cultural activism on the part of the organic intellectuals of the Indian Pastoral Committee.

Question 5 :What is the influence of The Southern Cross in the self-understanding and identity construction of SACIDs. The paper is included as an example of the influence of ideology in identity formation.

8.1. FINDINGS

Findings of this study into the **self-understanding and identity construction** of South African Catholics of Indian descent follows:

8.1.1. The issue of race is a dominant factor in identity construction.

Among many youth, there is a definite engagement with the concept of race. The term race viewed in its broadest sense to refer to the human race, is preferred . There exists a growing tendency to abandon the construct of race for the term South African. This terms reflects their consciousness, acceptance and insistence on reclaiming their nationality. They are aware however of being a minority in the structure of power relations. They indicate a concern about being "in between Whites and Blacks".

More senior members in the purposive sample having experienced the worst years of Apartheid, are more conscious of their identity as Indian in relation the category of white.

The sign Indian is indexical of both oppressive pain and cultural pride. The current consciousness of 75% of the sample of youth interviewed is to perceive Indians as a particular race group (refer Table 1 APP.R.1). Those who maybe inclined to view themselves as Black South Africans, also show some evidence of political education. However there is a disappointment among such members at experiencing exclusion from the identity construct: Black South African. The experience of those who wished to identify themselves as Black South Africans expressed that this term now excludes Indians. They indicate that race as a factor in experience and identity will diminish only in future generations. They therefore hold that for themselves race is a dominant factor in their discourse and experience. They express a cautious hopefulness. There are the beginnings of contestation over identity terms. In their self understanding, they hold a positive significance for the category Indian. This positive coding of Indian stems from a new found consciousness that difference is normal and should no way exclude groups from embracing the term South African in its fullest. They express a positive attitude to the new constitution, insisting on the right to full citizenship and protection of their right as a minority group. (REFER TABLE 1, APP.R.1)

8.1.2. Ethnic and Cultural difference are factors in identity construction.

Cultural difference is a fact of experience. The acknowledgement of difference is linked to the experience and conceptualisation of Indians as a minority group with a particular culture. The term South African Indian/ Indian South African is used to positively identify the cultural difference of the group in relation to other race groups.

For both the senior and young members of the sample there is a particular conception and connection with the concept Indian Culture. Among SACIDs, Indian Culture is a signifier for particular values held by the Indian community generally. Family relationships; gender relationships, attitudes towards parents are sources of common cultural identity with Indians of other faiths.

Aspects of cultural identity such as taste for Eastern music, Indian films, and ethnic dress code are embraced to a minimal degree. Ethnic dress is seldom worn except on a special occasion such as an Indian wedding. Further life cycle rituals associated with birth, puberty, marriage and death, act as a point of divergence between Indian Catholics and the broader

Indian community. The life cycle rituals are linked to religious beliefs and rituals and therefore act as points of perceived cultural divergence. There is however confusion over what constitutes Indian culture among SACIDs. Culture is often collapsed with religion. There is a tendency among the youth to collapse Indian culture with Hindu religion.

Language as a marker for cultural or ethnic identity is absent. There is minimal lack of contact with Indian languages amongst the youth in the SACID community. Senior members though having been afforded the opportunity to learn to speak Tamil, opted out without fully acquiring the skill. The preference is for English. The lack of competency in or contact with the Indian languages among youth in SACID community is no different to the trend among youth of other faiths (Maharaj, 1995).

8.1.3. Religion is a factor of identity construction.

Religion has acted to both cohere and divide SACIDs. Catholicism is a strong feature in the self understanding of identity among SACIDs. It promotes cohesion among Indian Catholics themselves and constructs them as different to other Indian Christians. The youth make a strong distinction between themselves as Catholics and those of other Christian denominations.

Within the broad Catholic community itself, the combination of culture and race results in a feeling of difference and otherness on the part of SACIDs. Difference characterises their relationship with Catholics of other races and with Indians of other faiths.

The closure from African Catholics stems from the language difference and the process of inculturation of the Mass with African culture. The difference is determined mainly by race. The difference experienced between SACIDs and Indians of other religious affiliation is similar to the difference experienced between Indian Catholics and Indian Christians of other denominations. In this instance, religion is the factor of difference.

Otherness characterises their relationship with white Catholics. The medium of the mass in English and the Roman Rite are points of identity convergence with white Catholics. Catholicism is conflated with westernisation and western culture. Westernised forms of

worship are the only rites practised by Indian Catholics, especially the youth. The feeling of otherness is the result of a combination of racial prejudice by white Catholics and partial membership of western cultural practise by Indian Catholics.

However, race is still a factor that dominates both identity construction and self understanding of Indian Catholics in their situational relation to other race groups and other religious groups. Religion though a lesser factor, is a very active factor in self-understanding and identity construction among SACIDs.

8.1.4. Ethnicity as a factor in identity construction is not valent.

SACIDs collapse Indian cultural and ethnic practices with Hinduism. None of the youth or other members of the sample utilized the term ethnic group or ethnic minority to describe themselves. The response to the South Indian Rite of Marriage was used as a signifier of ethnic affiliation or ethnic awareness. The symbols for ethnicity, such as the giving of the thali as a symbol of marriage, the exchange of garlands, the presentation of a clay lamp to the married couple, the use of the traditional sari and the singing of hymns in Indian languages were read as aspects of Hindu religion. This indicates that there is much confusion over what constitutes Hindu religion and what constitutes Indian ethnicity and culture.

8.1.5. Organic intellectuals in the SACID community favour cultural education.

Ethnicity as a positive factor in group identity is acknowledged by members of the Indian Pastoral Committee. Ethnic identity based on cultural history or roots and on, cultural difference with Catholics of other ethnicities, is accepted by members of the Indian Pastoral committee. They hold with the view that "there is now a growing sense that there may be forms of social life that are capable of renewing and transforming themselves. As such perhaps the hope of doing without ethnicity in a society as its subgroups assimilate to the majority group can be as utopian and as questionable an enterprise as the hope of doing without social classes in society" (Glaser and Moynihan, 1975:7).

Among the youth, ethnicity as a factor in identity construction and self-understanding is contested. It is welcomed by some and rejected by others. Their response to the rite indicated a conflation of cultural or ethnic practices with Hindu religion. This suggests that education

regarding the rite in particular, and Indian Culture in general, is needed. The organic intellectuals subscribe to this view. This proposal suggests that the Indian Pastoral Committee has a particular understanding of ethnicity. Their cultural activism finds consonance with the view of Glaser and Moynihan (1975:7) : "No more are ethnic groups to be seen as survivors from an earlier age to be treated variously with annoyance, toleration, or mild celebration".

8.1.6. The Southern Cross as an example of the role of media and ideology in identity construction is negligible

Catholic ideology is distributed and maintained through means other than The Southern Cross. The Catholic standpoint is conveyed through the pulpit, ritual of the Mass, and membership of sodalities or parish committees. The Southern Cross is not read by the youth and many of the senior participants. The newspaper is considered a non-event by the youth. Senior participants expressed the need for a more vibrant and relevant Catholic newspaper. The indication is that Catholic Media does not in any way contribute to Catholic identity formation among SACIDs. It does not set agendas nor does it play any role in the process of information distribution. The paper is considered irrelevant by the parish community at large. (REFER TABLE 2, Appendix R.2)

8.2. CONCLUSIONS

It may be concluded that the youth perceive themselves as having a multi-layered identity. The components of this identity vary in their dominance according the situation of the group or individual. That is identity is situational. It may be expected that race is a dominant factor in the self understanding and identity construction of SACIDs, given the recency of democracy in the country.

The hypothesis that cultural and ethnic identity will become more salient in the future, is inconclusive. The organic intellectuals expect cultural identity to grow and are actively involved in its development. However, the youth showed confusion of what constitutes culture and cultural identity. In trying to ascertain the valence of ethnicity in their lives as Catholics, it was found that they collapse religion and culture, displaying a hesitancy to recover and engage in their cultural history and cultural identity. This hesitancy stems from of a lack of education on these issues and supports the view of organic intellectuals that a

cultural activism in the church and in the community of South African Catholics of Indian descent is both necessary and timeous.

The youth embrace the term South African and experience it as a contradictory relationship: they emphasise their South Africanness both in perceived situations of political optimism about the future and under perceived economic threat. Their optimism stems from their identification with the discourse of cultural diversity as an integral component in the current ideology of South Africanness and the "Rainbow Nation". It is then that they express appreciation for aspects of their originary, ethnic identity. These aspects include family values, cultural dress, media in the vernacular, ethnic music and dance. However these youth acknowledge on a cultural level, their highly westernised socialisation. It is this growing westernisation that links them with other urbanised youth across race. But it is the immediacy of residual element of cultural values and their religious affiliation that identify them as a particular group. These include their gendered roles, defined by culture, education, and their Catholic Western Roman Rite of worship.

8.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

8.3.1. It is recommended that the Indian Pastoral Committee continue with its cultural activism. This needs to be accompanied by more extensive discussions within the community of SACIDs. The Southern Cross should be utilized to inform, debate and discuss the work of the committee. It could lead to a renewed interest in the paper. More importantly, practical examples of the inculturation, should be experienced. Members of the SACID community need to see, hear, feel and participate in Masses that include examples of inculturation. They need to be educated through participation. Further, education of children into new ways of thinking about Catholicism, the relationship between culture and religion, and "ways of making Christ our own" should become part of Catechism lessons.

8.3.2. It is recommended that the Catholic church in South Africa needs in its communication with its constituency, a combination of approaches that include mass and group media approaches. This recommendation is undergirded by:

- * the understanding of cultural identity and cultural activism as a commitment to a radical reading of cultural difference. That is, it is based on the view that cultural difference is

normal and should be accepted, rather than forcible or subtly assimilated.

* the new developments regarding culture and media initiated within the Catholic church by Vatican Council II. The grassroots members of the church need to be informed, educated and encouraged to extend the directions of the church as outlined in the documents.

These recommendations are grounded in the theoretical underpinnings of this study outlined in Chapter Two.

8.4. AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

A follow up study after the next two general elections in 1999 and 2004 is suggested. It will enable a study with a focus on identity formation, to test the hypothesis that this hesitancy among SACIDs, will give way to a fuller expression of their cultural history as the youth assert their rights in a changing country committed to a human rights culture and to cultural diversity as expressed in the constitution. This assertion of cultural identity will emerge in the context where economic resources and social power are expected to be redistributed. In such instances ethnicity takes on the function of an organising principle more effective than class as an organising principle. It is undergirded by the view that the reason why ethnicity becomes more salient than class is because it can combine an interest with an affective tie (Glaser and Moynihan,1975).

A further area of research may be to extend the focus from a minority of minorities such as SACIDS, to a larger group such as South Africans of Indian descent generally or to other ethnic groups among the white population.

The interest in the aforementioned areas for further study, lies in its value for policy making and the development of democracy in South Africa. The interest is further enhanced by the social need to develop ways of living together peacefully in a context of difference and incommensurate distribution of power. The concluding quotation sums up the academic and social objectives of such further studies :

Cultures and identities can never be wholly separate, homogeneous entities, instead the interrelationships of differences are marked by translation and negotiation. The cultural politics of difference means living with incommensurability through new ethical and democratic frameworks within a culture that both recognises difference and is committed to resolving its antagonisms (Rutherford,1990:26)

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Stella Balthazar ; Liberation Theology and Group Media : A Symbiosis.

Herminio S. Beltran : People Popular Culture and The February Revolt.

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APPENDIX A

Name of Parish -----
Name of respondent -----
Age -----
Address -----
Occupation -----

1. RELIGIOUS PROFILES

1.1. Do you feel an integral part of the church? Please give reasons for this?

1.2. Do you go to church more often than the required days of obligation? If so, when and why?

1.3. Do you belong to any of the parish laity group/s. Please name them and state the reasons why you joined such group/s.
If not, describe the ways in which you do participate.

1.4. Are there any parish group/s that you would like to initiate or be part of, but that do not exist in the parish at the moment?

1.5. Have you participated in the Renew Programme of the church? Please give reasons for this.

1.6. If you participated in the programme, please identify what you thought were the strengths and weaknesses of this programme.

2.1. Where would you locate yourself in the political spectrum?

2.2. Do you participate in politics?

2.3. Are you active? What is the level of your participation?

2.4. Have your political views ever conflicted with your religious views? If so, on what grounds and what was your response?

2.5. If your political views were to conflict with those of your religion, what do you anticipate would be your response? Why?

2.6. What do you think the response of the church should be towards the poor?

2.7. Please explain what you understand by the following terms:

capitalism-----

socialism-----

communism-----

democracy-----

apartheid-----

3.MEDIA READING PROFILES

3.1. Do you have a regular newspaper/s that you read? If so, please name the paper/s and state the reasons for your choice/s.

3.2.Are you familiar with the following newspapers:

Newspaper	Familiar	Read	Buy	No longer Read
Daily News				
Illanga				
Mercury				
Ntl.Witness				
New Nation				
Rapport				
Sun.Times				
Sun.Tribune				
UmAfrica				
WeeklyMail				

3.3 Of the papers identified in 2.2., which do you currently read? Why?

3.4. Of the papers identified in 2.2., which have you ceased reading. Why?

3.5.Do you think there is a need for a specific Catholic newspaper? Why?

3.6. Do you purchase or receive free The Southern Cross?

3.7. Do you read The Southern Cross? If not, why not?

3.8. How long is it now that you have been reading The Southern Cross?
Prior to 1980
Since between 1980 -1984
Since between 1985 -1989
Since between 1990 -1992
Since 1992

3.9. Do you enjoy reading The Southern Cross?

3.10. Which is your favourite section of the paper? Why?

3.11. Identify sections of The Southern Cross which give you spiritual satisfaction.

3.12. Identify sections of The Southern Cross that give you intellectual satisfaction.

3.13. Of the categories or items of news listed below, which do you think applies to The Southern Cross :

ITEM	ADQ.COVERAGE	TOO>COVERAGE	TOO<COVERAGE	Do not need
parish news				
education				
bible stud.				
clergy				
poverty				
missions				
SA politics				
women				
World pol.				

3.14. Does The Southern Cross fulfil your expectations of a Catholic newspaper?

3.15. What do you think are the aims of the publishers of The Southern Cross?

3.16. What further changes would you recommend be made to The Southern Cross and why?

APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
CENTRE FOR CULTURAL
AND MEDIA STUDIES
KING GEORGE V AVENUE
DURBAN 4001
REP. OF SOUTH AFRICA

GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE TO CATHOLIC PARISHIONERS

NAME OF PARISH _____

PLEASE TICK THE RELEVANT BOX.

MALE	<input type="checkbox"/>	Buy The Southern Cross(SC)	<input type="checkbox"/>
FEMALE	<input type="checkbox"/>	Read SC regularly	<input type="checkbox"/>
BET.15-19 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	Talk about articles in SC	<input type="checkbox"/>
BET.20-29 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	Share the SC	<input type="checkbox"/>
BET.30-39 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	Read other Christian Papers	<input type="checkbox"/>
BET. 40-50 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	Read Christian Magazines	<input type="checkbox"/>
BET.50-70 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	Read Daily News	<input type="checkbox"/>
PARENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	Read The Mercury	<input type="checkbox"/>
EMPLOYED	<input type="checkbox"/>	Read The Weekly Mail	<input type="checkbox"/>
UNEMPLOYED	<input type="checkbox"/>	Read the Sunday Tribune	<input type="checkbox"/>
PRIMARY EDUC.	<input type="checkbox"/>	Read The Sunday Times	<input type="checkbox"/>
EDUC. TO STD 8	<input type="checkbox"/>	Read Um AFrika	<input type="checkbox"/>
EDUC. TO STD 10	<input type="checkbox"/>	Read New Nation	<input type="checkbox"/>
EDUC. BEYOND MATRIC	<input type="checkbox"/>	Read Illanga	<input type="checkbox"/>
OWN HOME	<input type="checkbox"/>	Read Natal Witness	<input type="checkbox"/>
RENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	Read Rapport	<input type="checkbox"/>
SHARE ACCOMMODATION	<input type="checkbox"/>	Listen to +Radio on RSA-ENG	<input type="checkbox"/>
BUY NEWSPAPER DAILY	<input type="checkbox"/>	Listen to +Radio on RSA-AFK	<input type="checkbox"/>
OWN A RADIO	<input type="checkbox"/>	Listen to +Radio on 2000	<input type="checkbox"/>
OWN A TV	<input type="checkbox"/>	Watch +TV on MNET	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Watch +TV on CCV	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Watch +TV on TV1	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Share audio tapes on +prog.	<input type="checkbox"/>

ANY COMMENTS ON THE SOUTHERN CROSS

APPENDIX C1

INTERVIEW 1

St. Paul's Youth Group

April 1994

- Q. Do you feel an integral part of the church?
- M. As a youth group we don't feel an integral part of the church because we haven't been in operation and most of us have been split up - some being in the confirmation class some being post confirmation class, just going home after church. As an individual I do feel an integral part of the church - I'm a reader, I'm involved in the choir. But my dad's got a big mouth so I'm involved in some of the things that he talks about and speaks to the rest of the family about, so my input is given in terms of his input to the church on church issues.
- Q. So you saying family influence here is a factor in your involvement?
- M. Yes, definitely. Most of us come from the same family... all cousins.
- Q. What are the family clans that you come from?
- M. Gabriels, Naidoos, Joseph, Lazarus
- K. This is a family business... connection call
- Group HA HA HA!
- K. I think that the only time we identify with the church is when you belong to a body run by the church - if you are part of the youth you tend to identify with the church, you part of the choir you feel more of a belonging. Like in terms of a...from a psychological point of view there a need to feel wanted to belong to something. and you'll find that there are people in church who come to church ...at the end of mass, get up , leave the pamphlets there and walk out.... breakfast seems to be more important. And breakfast is important, we all have to eat but you also have to belong. There's that need in individuals to belong to some sort of organisation, to identify with people, to socialise and so forth. In terms of the Indian community , it is a very conservative community. You won't get people readily coming up to you and shaking your hands or introducing themselves. Because of that you have to belong to a group to get to know people and from there become part of the church.
- Q. Do you go to church on more often than the required days of obligation?

- Group We have to go on Sundays
 Q. Things like Novenas ?
 M. When we have the tridium, we do attend
- Q. Are there any parish groups that you would like to initiate or be part of?
- M. Yes, I think if we had another group of the age group consisting of the young people from the age group of twenties or mid twenties - just part the youth group age. Because they have got a lot more experience in this area, they could give us a lot more help. In terms of the structure of this youth group a lot of us are still at school and there's just four of us at tertiary institutions so sometimes you feel a bit out of place, you feel that you dominate sometimes. Because this is all new to us. .. It's the first time we're involved in a youth group... and if you feel you've got to give input to the group, some direction, some guidance. And also they are the people with the cars, they can take you out so I think it would be nice to get together with them as a successful youth group in the church.
- Q. So you looking for young Christian men or women association?
 M. Yes
- Q. Has the parish participated in the Renew programme
 Group Yes
 M. A few years ago then it fizzled out. But it didn't work so well because we didn't know each other to be able to express ourselves so personally. So it was mainly the group leader giving direction and asking questions. There wasn't enough of free flow of personal experience and emotions.
- Q. I noticed you started your meeting off with a bible study. Was this a practice that stemmed from the Renew program?
 M. Yes
 Q. Out of interest how many of you engage in personal or family bible study?
 Group None
- Q. What is the nature of your participation in mass?
 A. I'm very low key. I stand at the back . I'm not to involved every Sunday in the mass itself.
- Q. So during the course of the mass , what are you doing?
 A. I generally do listen most of the time.
- Q. In terms of the rising and kneeling
 A. If you sit at the back you don't sit in pews so you don't have to kneel.
- Q. and the next person?

- P1. I joined the choir, when prayers are read ,I respond. I sit, I kneel, I stand.. so I basically do take part in mass.
- Q. While the reading is going on, what do you do?
- P1. I listen, I try to make sense of it on my own.
- P2. Well I take part in the choir and I'm also an altar server.
- Q. How long have you been serving for?
- P2. About two years.
- Q. What was the response of the community to female altar servers.
- P2. They accepted us. At first it was something different, other churches didn't have it..but I don't think sex should actually make a difference... it's for the same purpose.
- Q. Do you find a difference in the level of your spiritual participation while you serving and when you're not?
- P2. Yes, there is because you have to pay attention when you serving
- Q. Is there any difference in the level of participation?
- P2. Yes, you have to be more serious.
- Q. Lets move on
- M. I'm a reader, I'm in the choir, there is a lot of participation... but as the youth group there are times when we are involved in the whole liturgy, when we have our special youth days, where we do the whole liturgy in term of the prayers of the faithful, the readings, taking offertory and I think we would like to get more organised in getting more solo singing
- Q. I'm going to move ahead?
- P3. I'm also in the choir. We are trying to get more people involved in the youth group and on the parish council.
- Q. I noticed that your choir does not have musical instrument accompaniment. Is it because there is no one with these skills, what are you planning to do about it?
- P3. I think to have accompaniment will be our ideal situation. I did try, I did play the piano before as a confirmation group but it's also difficult for me to have the time to practice.
- Q. Thanks, Let's move on
- P4. Father asked for new readers and I volunteered. I'm not a member of the choir but I do sing. I find it much more comfortable in the back where I usually sit . I find it much more comfortable and relaxed. I sit and stand and respond to the prayers and stuff like that. But when it comes to other activities I'm not that active.
- Q. Okay, I'm moving on

- P5. I'm a member of the choir and I enjoy it a lot, we've been singing from a long time so in terms of the style of singing we're used to it.
- Q. Have you ever had the experience of standing and leaving at the wrong time
- P5. No
- Q. So is there a set pattern, do you have to wait in any lines for the priest?
- P5. No
- Q. Okay, let's just talk about the standing and sitting. You say it comes automatically, Can any one examine this physical action and the psychological experience it has?
- K. From a religious point of view, I think it has just been planned for those who fall off to sleep and if you're tired of kneeling so you stand up so t's to keep you awake. After you've taken you've mass so many times since your childhood, you become conditioned. It becomes a classical conditioning activity, you know you have to stand up now, before the priest is going to stand up, you know he's going to do it, and that's what happens invariably. and it gets interesting when the priest breaks the normal routine and does something different.
- Q. Often with the bowing and kneeling is associated with the feelings of adoration or admiration and respect. Do you experience any of that kind of thing ?Ashok: I don't think you feel anything as he said it becomes automatic but it's only after when you think about it, when you think about what you did, when you think about what it means, you begin to ask yourself, when you bow your head or you kneel, you ask why... so it's only once you think about it
- M. I think it also depends on where you have to do it, like if it's for when you're going out for communion then it was you expect.. to bow your head.. then I think you feel a sense of respect but when you are generally in pews then I think it's automatic.
- P3. Also it's like a special mass. it's got fire or something like that then it takes on a new meaning.. it's different from normal Sunday mass.
- Q. So in terms of Sunday mass, then are you saying that because it's every Sunday that in your consciousness it has lesser significance than the important days on the calender like Good Friday or Christmas
- P3. Yes
- Q. Does the nature of the event get you more focused?
- P3. Yes, As far as the year goes these days are all out of the

norm. I suppose that makes the difference.

Q. Okay, let's move on

P6. I'm an altar server. I only serve at big mass and when I'm not serving I'm sitting in the back and singing

Q. Is there a specific age group at which you can become altar servers.

P6. Yes, Up until matric.

Q. Have you had sufficient numbers of altar servers volunteering from the parish?

P6. Yes

Q. Okay, let's carry on

P7. I'm generally a normal parishioner and participate in the liturgy of mass. I don't participate in any activities, I'm too shy

Q. What about your feelings during mass. How would you categorise them?

P7. It's very important

Q. Let's move onto Carol

C. I'm an altar server. I don't sing in the choir, but I do sing during mass

Q. Okay next we have Kevin and you are a visitor to the parish

K. Yes, I am. I belong to the parish of St. Anne's. In terms of the parish I belong to, I used to sit at the back of the parish and do the census, I used to see who was in church and who wasn't but then I realised that I was too young for that and so got involved in the youth and now I sit in the front of the church or towards the centre so I get involved in the mass. We get people who sit at the back of the church and count hens. We get people who sit in church and count who's there and who's not and who's wearing the new gown.. you get that.

Q. You're making an interesting point there, that depending on where you are located, where your physical location is, that will affect your spiritual involvement. Is your physical state important.

K. Yes, you see why I say this is usual in a church the priest is right in the front and the people sitting right in the back are those people who are less attentive, who want to go out or they have children, so it becomes the noisy area of the church. If you sit there you are more interested in who came into the church and you're not spiritually in tune with what's happening because you are so far away. If there is no mike system in the church then you just can't hear what is being said.

Q. What would you say to the arrangement of the church so that a priest is in the middle, with the altars around, or a priest in

a semi circle?

K. I feel it would work better and the church that I used to go to in Benoni, there was a young priest, Father Chris who had a ... very dynamic style.. When he used to say his sermon, he never used to stand at the top and lecture, he used to come down to aisle and speak to the people, he never used to just lecture from the top, he used to speak to the people, he would come down and look at the parish and smile at the people. The people used to be able to come to him and talk to him because of that. The priest should not be alienated from the people , it shouldn't be the he's on the altar and all the people sitting below him with a gap between.

Q. Are you then saying that there is a need for everyone to participate and not just watch while the priest performs.

K. Yes

Q. How do the rest of you feel about that. At the moment mass is really led by the priest and the physical structure of the church tends to separate the celebrant and the congregation and Kevin has quoted an instance where a celebrant has tried to break down this gap. What is your response to that.

P3. I think that the normal type of sermon that we have is where the priest is on the top, it's more like a speech thing than a delivery, so like when we're sitting there, our minds may drift and we may not pay attention all the time and like he said ,when Father Clem goes into the congregation, I think that's better, because we will be more focused on what he has to say and maybe while he's giving the sermon, if he says something and then asks what are people's response, because it gets boring sometimes, it really does.

Q. It's coming across that there's got to be better participation, as you are saying it's boring. What are some of the things that you would do get people to mass in the most exciting way. I'm asking you to use let your imagination run wild , tell me what are some of the things that you would do?

M. I think for the priest also to include some personal experiences, sometimes it can be a funny story, like there was this priest who came here and he was absolutely wonderful, and everybody enjoyed him... and he also used to walk around, he was just so flamboyant. he was very dynamic, it was very good... maybe change your sermon once in a while.... Dialogue sermon, I'm not to sure about how it would work.... because mass would be longer. You may have no direction in some of the discussions. Also to get people to asking questions directly relating to ti and get your questions answered.

Q. How about things like liturgical dance

- M. We did have
- Q. Should that become a regular feature ? How many of you participated in the liturgical dance?
- M. Four of us
- Q. Tell me how you went about putting it together , choosing your music etc.?
- M. Members of the family were involved . We had outfits made specifically for it.
- Q. What was the occasion?
- M. We had Renew groups that were specifically in charge of the liturgy and we had two ladies to show us, we had taped music, we had children singing and simple steps.
- Q. How did you feel when you were doing liturgical dancing? Compare that to any other kind of dancing?
- M. Do you want to know what the response was?
- Q. Yes, okay!
- M. Wasn't all positive .A lot of people felt it was only one family doing it... It shouldn't have been .. and there were comments about the outfits, what you were wearing . so it was a new thing in the parish, and with it came...a mixed response. The older generation felt you shouldn't do it, disturbing the mass. what's all this nonsense... dancing girls and all this ...Generally the response was okay. But I would have expected a better response. There was a lot more criticism attached to it rather than saying this was a new thing.
- Q. So you're saying, definitely among the older people there was a negative response.
- M. It was the same with the altar servers. The older people like they want the Latin mass. Like my granny, she said it would be nice if they had a Latin mass once in a while
- Q. And I suppose that was what they grew up with
- M. Yes
- Q. I'd like to get your response as youth on the South Indian Rite of Catholic marriage I don't know if you have read through it Okay it's the use of traditional Indian symbols from Indian culture incorporated in the marriage ceremony over and above the exchange of rings, you have the blessing of the thali , the exchange of garlands and instead of confetti outside of the church, the throwing of flowers, the throwing of petals within the ceremony by the parents, also the emphasis on the lamp which maybe used instead of a candle which is blessed for the couple to take into their home ... etc Do you think that this is something you might consider and if you do and why, and if you don't, why?
- P3. If your spouse feels it then you do it and also some people might feel you're abusing it... their religion as such. So if you chose it you must understand the full reason of why you are

doing it.

P4. I think it's wonderful... I think it's important to keep in touch because we are Indian and we should have Indian symbol to indicate that we are Indian even in our marriage ceremony. My mother was a Tamil before she converted and I think that she would have appreciated it if they had some kind of Indian symbols in the marriage ceremony.

M. I think there's definitely a need for it - cost wise having two ceremonies and also reducing the conflict among the families - that is the a problem when you have so called mixed marriages . Also I think we have to explore further the exact significance of the lamp because it's not just a cultural issue, it has a lot more significance, it means more than that It's a symbol and some Hindus might be opposed to that - just using it , just using the symbol. A lot more has to done before integrating the ceremony. But there is a need for it. I would consider getting married that way. But if my spouse would like to get married the Catholic way I would prefer that - the Roman Rite

Q. When you think of yourself... what is it that defines you? If someone had to ask you what are you.... How would you answer ? If you were overseas some where and you had to explain to someone who you are... How would you define yourself?

P4. South African Catholic Indian

K. In terms of our country it is very difficult to identify with anything else besides your race group. We've been conditioned to be one race and separated from everybody else - Indian - that's what we are. Maybe after many years from now because we've become non-racial we'll start thinking of something else - in terms of being a Catholic first or a person/ human being. But we're just getting over the apartheid system so we still think in those terms. It will take us a bit long to get over it.

Q. Do you have a problem putting down you religion when filling forms? Does it come easy to write it down?

M. Actually you write Christian instead of Catholic.

A. I'm a Christian first before I'm a Catholic. The differences are so minor. The reasons for breaking away though justified then are a bit out dated... it happened then and it has continued now, that's why we have all these all the grouping.

Q. Did you find in the apartheid era that being Christian privileged you? Did you feel that it made you look better off? Ashok: No, because in everyone's eyes we were Indian first before we were Christian

K. I think it did give us a slight lee way because we were able to get into another organisation or community where it was non-

racial. Going to mass there were all races there so that we all met. But if you were Hindu, you went to the temple there were only Indian there. If you Muslim there were only Muslim there. Coming to Catholic church you get a chance to sit next to a black, you get a chance to sit next to a coloured and so on. So like in terms of that we got an opportunity to see a bit of another race.

Q. Did you at any point in time feel that being Christian was being white... you have to be honest with me here. If you really look at yourself would you say that you felt other than Indian?

M. Yes, I would say with me it did - it did make me feel slightly superior to others. Because we were so similar to the Jews in your beliefs and like my friend whose Tamil used to think that we only had English dinner, you know. So she associated me with whites other people do. And I used to feel a little more secure knowing I was Christian to be completely honest. Because I'm more similar to the whites, I used to think that. I actually tend to feel that being Catholic, I feel superior to the other denominations as well - since we were the first.

Q. Yes, this is what I'm interested in, what actually happens in our own heads in our own consciousness. I know from my own experience growing up, it did represent relative privilege, it did set me apart until political education taught me otherwise. Can you just explore a little more around that issue. What did you really feel and how did overcome it, did you want to overcome it.

K. In terms of the whiteness, if you like look at the normal Indian Catholic wedding it's very similar to a white person getting married - the white gown, white veil. It would be very interesting to see an Indian Catholic lady getting married in a sari. There's nothing wrong with that - it's just a garment. You'll find that because a white dress everybody follows it The question about the Indian wedding - I found that very interesting. You will find that an Indian wedding is very demonstrative. If you go to a Hindu wedding where the man and women walk around a few times, the touching of the feet is very demonstrative of respect. In terms of a Catholic wedding it's very verbal where you say "I will respect you" - the vows are very verbal and there's very little space where you demonstrate the love for that person. If you take a little of the demonstrative and a little of the verbal and put them both together we'll get a more concrete marriage - you know.

Q. How many of you went to Catholic schools?

K. I did

Q. How did you feel in the government where you obviously were

- M. not in the majority? Where there any negative experiences I know with me studying history and hearing about the sale of indulgences, I really felt ashamed of my religion at that stage. I mean the catholic Church was really bad. And a lot of people looked at me and asked " Is that true?" and I would say " But we are not like that anomer!" You were very defensive at that stage so but we were a real minority. So many people were fascinated. " Oh, you're catholic! What is that?". You were just an interesting person. But other than that you were just characterised as Christian.
- P4. I happen to go to an Anglican school, You were very much a minority there, and they had very strange ideas about what we do in church. What are all these strange things we have in church, What are all these statues we have in church. Not often but I do have to defend my faith to them because as Anglicans they believe we in the wrong. Especially that period of History where you know that there was the sale of indulgences and everyone else around me was either Anglican or Methodist. I did feel strange and this then afterwards I felt I had to say something to defend my faith.
- Q. Are any of you involved politically? And to what extent has that political involvement affected your sense of who you are?
-(no response)
- Q. To what extent does your religious upbringing affect your political position? Do you see a correlation between the two? Do you see your religious affiliation affecting the way you view the world politically? if so what is it?
- M. It is only recently we have made that association, where father included the country situation in his sermon and what direction your vote should be taking, and where the church stands on political issues. But in the past, they weren't really associated so as Catholics we were like cloistered here. I don't think any of us here are involved in political organisations. Not many of us know about politics. And the church hasn't really been verbal about where it stands in the past. Just recently we've become more aware.I think it mainly because we have been given the vote now , but not in the past.
- Q. The media plays a role they say . Do you watch Christian TV, literature etc..
- P3. Well my grandparents watch on Sundays - there's nothing else to watch. Occasionally my grandfather buys the Southern Cross.

Q. Of the 11 of you, how many of you get the Southern Cross?

-none

K. In terms of the watching of TV - depends on the events, you just switch from sport to something else. On terms of gospel music ... and with Catholics we don't identify with it...with the loud screaming preaching kind of thing. There's lots of that at the moment. Listen to a few - made sense but because we're Catholic we don't really identify with it. We'd rather watch the cricket or sport or whatever.

APPENDIX C.2

INTERVIEW 2

St. John's Youth Group

August 1994

- Q. Thanks for having me over. I'd like to start off by each of you introducing yourselves. Please give me your names, tell me what you do, whether you are at school or university, or college, whatever it is and why you part of this group, so I'd like some personal details and I want to know why you are part of this group?
- K. My name is Keith as you've heard before and I'm an ex - college student. I'm just completed my diploma and am waiting for a teaching post.. The reason why I'm part of this group is - well it started about four years back actually. I just felt that I needed to belong to a group. It all started there. I came to St. John's one evening. We got together, there was about 5 or 6 of us and we decided we were going to start a youth group.
- Q. Why a church youth group? Why not a youth group in Bayview - you know
- K. To be honest I'm not from Bayview, I'm from Unit7. I used to come to St. John and I used to go to Velankanni. That specific night it happened that weekend before that - Father announced that the youth were getting together, so I went to Velankanni that evening for a meeting but there was nobody there, so I went to St. John's and when I got here, there was a meeting happening.
- Q. Thanks, and next we have...
- L. My name is Lorette. I'm a 2nd year going onto 3rd year student at Springfield College..as to why I joined the youth - Well, I actually was just confirmed last week and I felt I needed to get more involved, get to know what belonging to the church was all about and that's why I joined it.
- Q. Okay.. next we have...
- Z. I'm Zenobie. I'm just finished my matric exam at Durban girls Secondary and I'm waiting for my results. The reason for me joining the youth group - Well at first I got forced into it but after the first few meetings I really felt at home in the group - it made me more closer to my religion because I became more aware of what was happening in the church and it really helped me to feel a part f something religiously and not just as usually... but it really felt good.
- Q. Are you saying that it was a warm feeling and a good sense of belonging and are you saying that it's just the kind of relationship you wouldn't get elsewhere.

- Z. No, you can get it elsewhere but it's rare in some cases I don't think you can get friends the way you do here. It didn't take long for us to just fit in and that doesn't happen in all groups.
- Q. So you are saying that there is some commonness that makes it click?
- Z. Yes
- Q. So what do you think it is
- Z. I don't know, maybe because we wanted to know more about church... so we joined in to figure it out for ourselves as a youth group.
- L. Hello, I'm Lyle I'm unemployed. I finished school two years back and I'm praying for a job. And the reason why I joined St. John youth group is because as far as I saw it I used to come to church and I used to see all the up and coming adults just standing in there little cliques on their own... and it was just a couple of people who got together and decided no we should form something to get people more involved in church and that's what we have today.
- Q. When you talk about getting the youth involved, what do you think your involvement will be - religious involvement or socialising?
- L. Not so much the social angle although there's time for that - for socialising - but more to get involved in Mass itself - as a group - show the adults that the up and coming youth are interested to know what the religion carries for them, what it upholds for them. And they become more involved in the spiritual side of religion.
- Q. So you actually see this youth group as developing your religious responsibility?
- L. Yes !
- Q. Do you think it has anything to do with the fact that some as young adults you are going to have all these adult responsibilities. Do you see it as a safe haven - Do you see church as a safe have?
- L. I don' know.. When I reach that stage I will come to know.
- J. I am Jerome, I'm at the moment working. Well I joined the youth because people go to other masses and say look how nice that church is - they've got a youth group. But I joined the youth because I've encountered some - like you know- like when special occasion we are there to do something - we are there to help out and the people will say Yes, these young people are there to help out and even in the future these are the people of the church - they will always be there in times of need, whenever there's something to be done in the church they will always be there to help and to sort out whatever problem there is in church
- Q. Jerome am I reading you correctly when I say part of belonging to the youth is hoping that adults will take you seriously or will

be proud of you?

J. Yes, I will say that you are right. Because, see, you are with adults and all, and you speak to them and they think you are still a young child. They don't think anything of your opinions. When they see you in a youth group and you are all together - you all are able to do something - then they take you seriously : Yes they can stand up for what they stand for - Then maybe they'll treat youth more seriously.

Q. Do you think in the minds of the older people in the church, when they see an active youth group that they think and actually believe that you have good morals?

J. Yes!

Q. How do people read an involved youth group. Is that they way you want them to read an involved youth group?

J. Well, I think they will see some of us as having good morals and some of us as having bad morals. Now you can't expect our youth group to be perfect, some of us do make mistakes and some of us do the wrong things - we are not perfect.

Je. I'm in standard 8 .. reason why I joined the youth group was that each time I came to church on a special mass, they looked very nice with each of them doing something special. I always used to think to myself: when will be the day that I have the chance to do something special. So I joined the youth and when we have a special mass we get to doing special things.

Q. So the youth meant greater involvement in the mass? Did you hope when you joined the youth group that you will have a spiritual development?

Je. Yes!

Q. Or a sense of belonging to that happy group - that happy looking group?

Je. Yes!

Q. I noticed that age group of the youth vary. Does that cause a problem? How do you decide things? Do you find that your interests differ a lot?

Je. Not really all of us socialise well .

M. My name is Maria. I joined the youth because in school we are joined with different religions and all our different friends. And so I thought joining the youth Will make me more involved with my Catholic friends, so I'll get more spiritually involved with my friends

Q. You mentioned that in school, there's this bigger grouping of all religions and that you felt a need to link with your specific religion. Can you tell me more about that need?

M. Now you see the majority of people in school are of different religion sand they are many Catholics. It' not like it's a bad thing. Like I believe in every religion - that there's one god - but I specifically want to link at a certain time with my religion and my friends

- Q. Because it offers you something unique?
- M. Yes
- Q. What is it that's unique? That you can't get any where else?
- M. It' like we all share the same interest in our faith. like we all have the same things to talk about - like the gospel
- Q. Do you think that it gives you an identity - tells you who you are?
- M. Yes!
- Q. Would I be correct in reading you if I said you are who you are because of your religion? Is that how you define yourself - or are you more than that - are you many things?
- M. Yes, it's like you are with your religion but sometimes it's like a mixture of things
- Q. We will come back to that - for the whole group to answer.
- S. My name is Sherwin and I'm going into standard 9 next year. When I first joined the group because I wanted to - I don't think I have a specific reason for it. But then as we went on, I found that we were all in the group because there was one special thing - and that was our Catholic faith and that we all wanted to become involved in the church - the liturgy We wanted people to see that as the youth of our parish we were existent and that we were going to bring vibrancy to the church and I really enjoy coming to youth. We socialise and I think we all get on pretty well - a sort of family here.
- Q. So you definitely have a sense of family when you come here?
- S. Yes, a sense of warmth .
- Q. When we think of ourselves - we define ourselves and describe ourselves in a number of ways - in terms of race, culture, age group, sex, religion. I want to know what is the most dominant, most important factor that defines who you are. Sometimes you choose to make it that factor sometimes it is put on you - and you are defined by something else out there. How do you define yourself. If I had to ask you, What would you say?
- K. I don't know. It's funny that you ask that question because very rarely do we get to sit down and think about who you really are and for me - it's probably the first time someone asked me straight out - who are you - It's a very hard question to answer.
- Q. Okay - I'm a foreigner and I ask you - what are you - who are you. How would you reply?
- K. To be honest with you I would define myself as teacher. I would very often you don't get involved in religion straight forward - it doesn't happen straight away that you mention - well I'm a Catholic. What are you? The first thing you talk about is you occupation, what you do for a living cause I think as far as I'm concerned , most people base their lives and what they really are on their occupation when it comes to that. If you

are a business man - then you say well I'm a business man or I'm involved in this.... but it is not often that people will say - I'm a Catholic , I'm A Hare Krishna or whatever

Q. So religion you feel is never...

K. Has never stood out as the first thing you mention when you are talking.

L. I suppose it's very hard to define who you are. As Keith says you don't sit down and think about it. Well your personality goes through so many changes as the years go by you can't really define yourself. Sometimes you even are surprised, something you do out of the blue and something you never thought you'd do, or were able to do - so you really can't define yourself. The best definition you can find is - I am me.

Q. Discover me !!!

Z. I don't really think we know who we are. I think like each individual lives in a society where we are led by society - we don't ... very seldom do you find people going out and doing things because that's who they are, that's what they are. They're always doing things because that's what expected of them.

L. People are watching them .

Z. Yes, I don't think you can really say who you are because you don't know who you are yourself. So how can you tell anybody else who you are

K. I think maybe it's more your everyday happening: you do this everyday, you follow the same route everyday, you go to work everyday - and that's you. Everyone knows that this man leaves home at half past seven every morning and is going to a certain place and comes home at five thirty and you don't see him after that.

J. When someone asks you who you really are, you say: I'm this person, this is what I do this is where I work and you know, this is my hobby, and this is Very rarely when a person asks you who you are do you say : I'm a jokey person or something like that - you may say that in your family. But the first thing you say is : I'm a business man ... like you were saying.

Q. So are you saying that when you are asked who you are, that basically you are defined by your role in society, your function?

Group Yes, yes

Q. And everything else is a private image which we only reveal in close relationships or family?

M. Yes, I was just saying people just judge you by what you do, maybe you just have to do that but you are not that - you are really not that you just have to do that. Like us - most of us have to go to school to get education, like that's not who we are

- Q. I think I understand. Well some of us are saying while some of us define ourselves as worker - you are a scholar or student . So lets go to the deeper level where you begin to reveal yourself. When you think of yourself and I ask you what is your identity how would you answer that question? Do you, as you suggested earlier, only see identity as your personality, your character ?
- Group Yes, yes
- Q. So what role does religion, race and culture play? If someone asked you what is your identity - would you think of answering them in terms of your race, your religion, your culture. Would that not be a part of forming you identity?
- L. Most probably
- J. If you asked me I would add a little of all three. I would tell them I was brought up all my life as a Catholic, and all my life, I've been to church, I'm a believer in god, not just because I was forced to by my parents but because I want to learn more about my religion and I want to spread the word. And ask me about my culture - well you know what I would say is everyone knows about my culture, everyone else knows about my culture - because you know what I mean... the way I carry myself
- Q. Okay, How do you define culture? What is culture?
- M. That we are Indian and our culture is -
- K. Indian culture
- M. Yes, I mean it's not about religion
- J. Our culture is what we eat, you know what I mean - how you dress
- K. But I don't know if you are aware that as Catholics we are very much removed from the India culture
- L. Yes!
- K. We are taken away from the India culture, we are westernised.
- L. Well I can't say the same. I guess I can't say the same. Well all my family religiously speaking are all Hindus - so basically my culture, if you look at the way I was brought up , is basically different from yours pointing to the rest of the group].
- Q. What are the differences ?
- L. The customs. From the time I was little - all the customs that you take part in , all the prayers you attend do in certain ways tend to influence you - like very rarely would you find somebody - like any of the girls wearing a sari.
- Z. I wore a sari
- L. Ja - once.
- J. Look at it in the other way, a different way- It's like you'll have - we have baptism but you'll also have a prayer - but you'll's is like completely different.
- Q. I'll take Sherwin

- S. It's like this here, now. In our India culture, we see all females in a sari and dot - it's India culture. It's not Hinduism as such. But the Hindus, they perceive the sari and dot as being Hindu tradition so that if they see a Catholic person in a sari and dot it's like - they assume that, that person's a Hindu - so like we as Catholics - if we wear a sari and dot it's like - all around in school - when I say that my mother wears a sari and dot - they say Oh but your mother is Catholic - like we are not supposed to use a sari.
- L. That's what - I'm trying to say - it's culture
- Group It's the way people dress and.....
- L. It's your religion, it's very similar to ours but the things - like Keith said we are much more westernised - you'll be more into the cultural dress - we are not like that, we weren't brought up like that, we are more for the westernisation.
- L. Exactly what I said.
- K. Ya, I suppose like when we are at school and the teacher will ask you - But why don't you listen to India music at home, but why don't you listen to Radio Lotus - I don't know - it's just something that we grew up with.
- L. Whereas I on the other hand - will love to watch an India movie - I enjoy it.
- J. No- No - we watch it once in a while, but I don't enjoy it - because I didn't grow up speaking the language or hearing the language so I wasn't used to it - so if I watched the movie. I didn't understand it, so I didn't enjoy it.
- Z. But don't you think that sometimes watching something that's not part of your life makes it more interesting to find out. The first time I watched a movie, even though I didn't understand it, I watched the movie and I could tell you what was going on. It made it all the more interesting, because the movie was telling more about the India culture and the way the women used to carry themselves.
- M. If we get to know more about our culture - it's not like we see it around in our home - we learn more about it.
- J. Like if we go to the Muslim or Hindu funeral, it's very different to ours - their burial customs are different.
- Q. Okay, Let's try to get some summary of what you understand by culture. You seem to say that culture has something to do with custom, tradition - the way you eat, how you dress - values? and that for the majority of you- you have been removed from the cultural tradition but as Sherwin was saying for you it's not a contradiction for you to have your religion and your customs. So are you clear in your mind that culture does not equal religion - but not everyone sees it that way.
- S. I don't think that we could ever balance culture and religion together. Somehow it's caused a segregation amongst people, if you look at us - we are divided into Muslim, we get Hindus

and christens - so now if we want to maintain our culture - i don't think that ...

Q. Okay, Let's just pursue that... you had a thought there - you were saying that the India community (is diverse - Sherwin) - right is diverse and they are grouped into various religions - are you happy with that kind of division?

S. No- Let's just look at the Miss India pageant - now all the India women were supposed to take part in it. Now from what I've seen - we've only seen the India women - the India Hindu women wore - I've seen other India Christian women in it - so the India Christian women is not the India style - but it's cultural.

L. What Sherwin is trying to say - that religion and culture is put together in a way that because it's put together in an India community you get division - one does not perceive culture, this is the Catholic culture, Muslim culture but not culture is something that is not related to religion - it is supposed to be something in Indian culture - they say it is the Hindu culture but culture is not related to religion.

K. But in the same vein - if you talk about Christianity you find that you get people of different Christian belonging criticising or talking about other Christian group, then it's natural that it will happen amongst other groups.

S. That's true. I mean like in one school we got this student Christian association - so now I'm the only Catholic in the group - we've got the Pentecostal, Adventist, the Full Gospel - whatever. Throughout - they all perceive Muslim and Hindus as being a wrong religion - now I on the other hand relate to them, I go to ...I don't think it's right for them to pass judgement.

K. But in the same vein, they are saying the same thing to you. They are saying the same thing to you. They saying you belong to the Catholic religion and the Catholic religion as far as they are concerned is not part of the Christens. It's true that I know because - other Christian denominations when they hear that you are Catholic they say - Ja - you can do this you can get drunk - with the other Christian denominations they are not allowed to drink, or smoke, they are not allowed to do this, to have sex up to a certain age and all that there... now the Catholics got in different when... you are allowed to have but you must know where you limit is. That's why we feel like we are different - we are not part of them

Z. I think that you will find amongst the Christian group - the Catholics are the most peeked upon even when it comes to movies - you'll find that they are always criticising the Catholics - you will never find them picking on the Pentecostals or whatever.

S. But they all originated from Catholicism. That's why if you

look at the movies - it's the route of all the churches - the other churches.

Q. A very interesting discussion. Let me try to sum up. Okay, there's a feeling in the group that here you do not collapse culture and religion but out there somewhere this is being done and that in a sense, you are made to feel an all India community that you are different because you are more influenced by westernisation.

Group Yes, Yes!

Q. Now do you feel that you have to defend yourself in any way? How do you feel about this?

L. Why? I mean if you are strong in your belief there's no need to get defensive. You know what you believe in and as an individual it is your belief and no one has the right to change it.

Z. In any case if you've been following something for all your life and that's where your heart is, that's where your mind is. I don't think anybody no matter who they are and no matter how much of influence they have on others, should tell you, or criticise that - because I mean, talks about the Catholic religion - I love my religion and I don't think anybody - alright I admit every religion has it's fault and that - in our Catholic society with our priest and nun we do have our faults - But that gives nobody the right to criticise and put your religion down. If you feel strongly about your religion you shouldn't really give a dam about what anyone else has to say about your religion.

L. Ja, - I know, like when I was in school - like the Tamilians whatever, they say what kind of religion do you follow - they state they're like - the virgin Mary - but she gave birth to a child, so how can you call her a virgin - Now I was still young and couldn't explain this thing to them - they made me feel and look stupid in front of everyone - you know what I mean - now that's mockery in front of everyone - you know what I mean - now that's mockers, you know what I mean.

Group Ja, Yes...

K. I got a different view point - as far as I'm concerned this is how it works. Your life is never to full to learn something from someone else. At no stage of your life can you say - I've learnt enough, I've learnt too much that you cant't tell me something or you can't teach me something. So If you can learn something someone or whatever on matter what - if you can listen to them, hear them out - it may be right, it maybe wring, at the end of the day you'll have to decide because they telling you all these things.

L. But....

K. Now yours is different case - that's something you can't worry about the trivial things. Today you can learn something new -

you'll have to include in what you learnt yesterday. No matter what my religion or race is, if I meet someone who can tell me something new, why not? I'll take a chance - No one is saying give up your religion- Learn more.

Z. Ja, but you can also learn without having to deal with criticism.

K. Ja, but no - criticism is a part of life. No one is saying... I believe in that - you can't say to someone, that is wrong - you should be doing it this way - No - This is what I believe that if you want to go your own way then go your own way.

Q. I have a question. We are talking about tensions in interreligious dialogue. In your opinion, do you think that Catholics are tolerant? Do you think that the actively separate themselves out from others or do others do the separating for us? Do you think what that there is a feeling of superiority or inferiority?

K. This is how it goes - Catholics will separate themselves from others - it happens I know I do it .. People ask what I belong to - I say I'm Catholic - I'm not a Christian, I'm a Catholic. I don't want to associate myself with Christens of other denominations.

Group Yes,Ja ,Ja...

K. Because they always want to tell me what I'm doing wrong. i rather tell you now I'm Catholic before you come and tell me I'm doing something wrong.

L. I also found out in my experiences - I'm a Catholic non- but the thing is that I like asking questions so when I first started going to church- I asked a who lot of questions - like- why are you doing this, why are you praying to Mary, you've got a figurine there. it took me a long time to understand everything - but up to that day i felt that the Catholics find it very hard to take criticism- they find it very hard.

Z. Yes, that's true. It's very hard - they can't take criticism, they don't abide by it.

Q. In this response to criticism - you seem to be saying there's a need to defend what you believe in . Did you pick up when you say " I'm catholic" --the element that " I'm different, I'm Catholic"?

Group Definitely!!

K. There is always that. it happens because you know there is always that.- we mentioned before- Catholics don't take criticism easily. Catholics are the worst people to take criticism, they are not tolerant to it.--Why should we criticize them, they just can't take it. They mention : "I'm Catholic' - that's where you hear it - if you don't like it too bad >

Z. I think that the Catholic religion out of Christianity is the more stressed upon, most criticised and you find that with the Catholics its more like a shield when we find this..it is our duty to react in that way because we are the ones that are most put

down and we feel like its our duty to have to stand up for our beliefs.

Q. Now we are talking about saying who we are and that in certain social interactions we say that we are Catholics, that is uppermost in our identity. Let's talk about race. Who defines themselves these days in terms of race?

K. I think for a very long time we will still live in a racial society because that can't just change overnight. It just can't change. You see it happening every day. You see people living a certain way every day. They go about this everyday. They'll stay away from blacks, they'll rather associate themselves with whites. That's the way they've been brought up. That's that way they were brought up.

J. I don't think in this century it will change.

Z. Its not up to the present, its really up to the future to determine the change.

S. People won't ask what's your race..its sort of visible. But if you go to another country, I'm sure when someone asks you , you say that I'm South African. You don't say I'm Indian, I'm white , I'm Black and so on.

L. You see that's what we're talking about...It only happens in this country here because this country has been filled with Apartheid for so long.

S. I don't think we should say in this country : "I'm India".

L. Yes but they look at you and they can see you're Indian.

Z. But Sherwin in every country there are different race groups and no matter what - if I go to America or if I'm staying in America and go to another country and I'm a Negro- I'm definitely going to say when I'm in America- I'm a Negro but when I'm out of the country, I'm definitely going to say - that I'm American. Its like natural. When you are outside the country you represent the country irrespective of whether you are white or yellow. But when you are in the country that's when the different races come in.

S. It depends on the individual... I'm going to say I'm South African.

L. Recently as you know we got multiracial schools. I got students in my class at college who are Black, but they don't like you calling them Black. They prefer you calling them African. So we had a debate - What do you call a coloured now? We are so used to calling them coloured. Now you want to be called an African, but in the past they used to take offence when we used to call them African - now you don't know what to ...and coloured now...you don't know what!!

Z. Fruit salads..whatever !

L. Now if you go up to a person , you can't really call him that! Its very hard at the moment.

Z. With regard to what Sherwin was saying, it would be easier for

us to adapt because we haven't fully lived our lives where we were living at the stage when you black- you stay black, you white- you stay white. So we can change, but for our parents and our grandparents, that Apartheid is still with them so much, so that those who did suffer will find it hard to let go that resentment, to let it just disappear.

K. I just want to say as an Indian, its going to take a very long time before we can we are South Africans. i hate to tell you guys that. But you know why- I'll give you a classical example. Today I was on a bus in town , on a mynah and I was taking a bus from the top of Smith street to the bottom. There were whole lot of whites on the bus and we were the only two Indian. I pressed the button to get of and the guy had just made a stop and had taken off again and the stop I Wanted was about 50 m away and i pressed the button long before the stop , and the person was a black driver- he took us half a kilometre away from the stop and then stopped! And I had pressed the buzzer twice, and when I got off, I looked at him and said well this is what I've got to accept . Because with the transition you got to take whatever comes with it, You can't say I'm part of the new South Africa because I'm black. I may be black, but I'm not black.

S. You are not going to say to the bus driver- I'm an India - but he saw it in you that you are Indian.

K. That's why I say we've got to wait a very long time.

Z. There's no place for Indian and Coloureds...we are on the fence.

L. We are a minority.

K. That's a very good idea and we can start, but you tell me when do we start?

Q. Amongst Catholics we have Tamil- speaking Catholics, Portuguese speaking Catholics . Do you think that amongst Catholics there is a sense of oneness?

S. I think there's going to be because we have to, follow our religion, following the example of Jesus Christ, whether you're white or black and there's a huge diversity - I'm sure we are all going to say we're Catholics.

Z. I don't think so Sherwin. We might all be catholic but the way we worship might be different. Like you remember when we went to that one group- we went to mass there_? Although we know how mass is carried out, we were completely at a loss there- because they were speaking in Zulu- we didn't understand the language, they were doing completely different things as to the way we were normally do it- so you can't really say that..... there's unity in the fact that we are all Catholics but when it comes to the manner in which we all the different Catholics - like Indian Catholics etc...the way they act....

- S . But I've been to the St. Vincent De Paul's celebration we had at Vellankani and may be we were just a small number- but there were blacks, there were whites, there were Indians..but the blacks didn't just go and sit in one corner and the blacks didn't just go and sit in one corner, they were all socializing.
- J. No, No, if you look at it this way - There are some Catholics who will join you and there are some who don't like you at all.
- S. It's up to the individual to make the change.
- M. If we are Catholics then we must follow the example of Christ.
- Z. We can accept them . but for a time there will be some confusion.
- J. to M. Okay tell us how ?
- Q. Okay - we were saying earlier on that there is a commonness amongst Catholics.
- L. Its that we all follow...
- J. We all worship the same God.
- Z. Even if our way of worship is different but we all know that we are praying to this specific person- like we all know what role Jesus plays, What mart is, the fact that we believe in the same thing.
- Q. So there's a basic belief but in the practice of the worship we different ? So can we talk about a particular South Africaness in our worship? Is there a special South African catholic compared to a British catholic?
- Group No, No, No.
- Q. If we are saying that it's okay to have set beliefs and values but our worship must be different- How will you begin to represent yourself in the worship of the church? What will you make different, if you had to ?
- K. I would say before we change this or that, let us consider the Catholic religion overall in this world. What is it about the catholic religion in the world that is so catholic that we need to promote. What don't we have? Like people will say you don't have the holy spirit in your church- you'll are so dead, you all sit there like you'll are sitting in the morgue.
- L. But not all catholic churches are like that!
- K. That's what I'm getting at...people will say that you don't have the holy spirit in your church or
- Q. If you are saying that it is right for us for us to have different ways of praising, worship and all. that- what do you think of the inclusion of the Indian Rite of Marriage. Do you know about that?
- Group Yes.
- Q What do you think about it? There you've got cultural symbols being brought into the church. It doesn't change you values but it changes the form of the performance of the mass.
- L. As to the inclusion of the Thali - from my belief- I believe that the thali is something that is sacred in Hinduism.. it is a symbol

of 2 people being joined together and including the thali in the catholic faith- although- I don't think it is a matter of culture= that's a symbol- a religious symbol of tying two people ...Like i know my aunties and all say it's okay, you can use the thali but I said No! its not right- its not me- because I still believe it is religious. It should not be included- because in the marriage ritual itself, they do a prayer as they tie the thali. As a catholic you don't tie a thali- so what do you do?

Q. Could it not be equated with sharing a ring?

L. But they do have a ring too.

Z. You must notice that in the Indian traditional way, the thali got the ohm sign on it- but if you are tying it in the Catholic church- its got a cross on it.

L. But what is the symbol of the Thali?

Z. I'm not on one judge other people's religion- I mean who am I? but the way I see it- I don't believe bringing in another religion's customs and pitting it in too that church- it is making a total mockery all together of the Catholics- because to us the altar is sacred, its got the crucifix there and that's exactly where the thali gets tied and the Indian ritual gets done. that's making a mockery of the catholic religion- you are bringing other religions beliefs and you are putting it over our Catholic beliefs and I don't think that is right.

L. Ja, I agree totally with that because we are talking about two completely different religions. What you are doing now, you are mixing religions- bringing the Tali what belongs to their religion - that's the way they do it and you are bringing it into the church- you are corrupting the whole system of the church- because the true believers, those that were brought up as Catholics, they wouldn't approve of it. I know a number of them. Because it has always been the Tali in the temple - that's the Indian way of being brought together as one-- and in the church it was always the ring. Now we can't mix, because it is going to cause problems.

S. Bringing in all this..It's like saying eg if it is a female and she is coming into the church- it's like she is on the fence- she doesn't know if she wants to become a Catholic or if she wants to remain in the Hindu faith- its like we are trying to accommodate her and she doesn't know w where she wants to be, where she's standing - she's not actually on solid ground.

Q. So you actually think that it's a good thing, you see it as an accommodation?

S. No! I think people must make a decision.

Z. So you are saying it's okay for any religion. - Muslim, Hindu whatever to come into the church and....

K. No- what he is saying is that if you want to do something like that you don't know where you stand. What the man is doing is actually accommodating her because she wants the Tali.

- S. What I'm trying to say is that she is on the fence- and I don't believe in that because she must make up her mind whether she wants to follow then catholic tradition or what.
- Z. But Sherwin if she's getting married...
- Q. Let's take the situation where we have a mixed religious couple and we were saying earlier on that people have a right to believe in whatever they want to - imagine that we have a situation where you are wanting to marry someone outside the catholic faith, you've fallen in love and you want to get married. Now what are you going to do? Go back to what you were saying earlier on that everyone has a right to believe according to what they were raised to. Are you going to force the other person, are you not going to get married, are you going to make the change?
- K. It's a learning situation. You've got to learn and You've got to allow your spouse to learn. Then if your spouse wants to learn enough to belong to your religion- then good. Indian custom is such that if your a Tamil boy and you want to marry any other religion girl, she must become Tamil.
- L. I've had an occasion- where I won't mention names- where because the girl is a catholic the boy must become catholic. But why is that because he is a certain religion, she can't become his religion?
- Q. At the point of the marriage, what decision are you going to take?
- Z. If I'm at the stage where my partner is not a catholic, right, I can't really say. If I still believe as strongly as i do now about my religion and I want to go on with it and I want to get married- I'm not going to force him to change- at the same time it is also my right to do that.
- Q. At the point of the ceremony you will have a Catholic ceremony because that's what you want? Will you also have a temple wedding?
- Z. I think its only fair.
- Group (much reaction...mainly questioning in tone , considers response problematic.)
- S. My mother was a Hindu right, before she met my father, and she changed. So like when she heard about this other rite she said she believes its nonsense,. She believes if she made up her mind to be catholic, she was on solid ground- obviously others should make up their minds.
- M. t's like if you want to have a marriage in a catholic way - then later- it's like you don't know what you want- its like having a split personality.
- K. Indian custom has taught you that if you are an Indian boy, the girl must become whatever religion you are.
- Q. Are you saying that it's actually not the woman's choice.
- K. Custom compels woman to do that, but over the years customs

have changed. Indians have become more westernised. Indians don't believe so much in those big weddings, they are not maintaining culture , right. Indians don't maintain culture the way that used to-- so what I'm saying is that if you have a girl who is a staunch Catholic, who believes firmly in Jesus Christ, the church and so forth, and who is in love with a Tamil boy, what does she have to do? to be honest this is what happens : the parents get involved- pulling the girl that way and the boy's parents pulling him that way. If you leave the couple alone , you will find that she is happy in her way and he in is and yet they are one.

Q. Okay what I've heard is that in this community, most often it is going to be the woman who changes because in terms of the value system woman are less important than men!!!

Group No. No. No !!!

Q. I've also heard that it is preferable to do both things- so that you get the marriage ceremony you want your spouse and partner gets the marriage in their value system- and that's okay- but what is not okay- is the mixing and the mixture?

S. Now if the mother is catholic and the father Hindu- what happens to the children?

Z. Precisely! What happens to the child who has been following this particular religion for so long- say the mother or the father's religion for so long, and recently wants to choose the other religion?

J. You wait until a certain stage when the child can understand which way to go...

Z. What happens when the child feels obligated or feels that it will hurt the parent if she changes- what then?.....

APPENDIX D

VOTING PATTERNS

Please kindly fill in the following information, as part of a research project conducted by Alison Lazarus of the Centre for Cultural and Media Studies at the University of Natal.

Only fill in this form if you are of voting age.
Please do not fill in your name on this form.

Thank you very much for your time and effort.

Alison Lazarus

NAME OF PARISH: _____

AGE	
OCCUPATION	
Did you vote in April 1994?	
Which party did you vote for?	
Will you vote in the Local 1995 elections?	
Which party will you vote for in the Local 1995 elections?	
Which of the following statements describes the party you voted for in 1994? Tick the relevant one/s.	
true to promises	
talk but no action	
slowly but surely making a difference	
has changed its original promise for the worse	
needs to be given more time to prove itself	
racist	
anti-racist	
capable of clean government	
not capable of clean government	

APPENDIX E

QUESTIONNAIRE TO YOUTH

NAME OF PARISH.....

Name of respondent.....

Age.....

Sex.....

Educational Status.....

Present Educational Institution.....

Occupation.....

E 1 PLEASE WRITE DOWN 10 DESCRIPTIONS OF YOURSELF STARTING

1. I am.....
- 2 I am.....
3. I am.....
4. I am.....
5. I am.....
6. I am.....
7. I am.....
8. I am.....
9. I am.....
10. I am.....

E 2 PLEASE WRITE DOWN 10 DESCRIPTIONS OF YOURSELF STARTING

1. I am not.....
2. I am not.....
3. I am not.....
4. I am not.....
5. I am not.....
6. I am not.....
7. I am not.....
8. I am not.....
9. I am not.....
10. I am not.....

E 3 PLEASE WRITE DOWN 5 DESCRIPTIONS OF YOURSELF STARTING WITH

1. I believe that.....
2. I believe that.....
3. I believe that.....
4. I believe that.....
5. I believe that.....

E 4 PLEASE TICK YOUR CHOICE IN EACH EXAMPLE

1. I consider myself Black / Indian
2. I consider myself Indian/ South African
3. I consider myself Indian South African/ Black South African

Thank you
Alison Lazarus

APPENDIX F.1

INTERVIEW 1

Dr. Josephine Naidoo

12 April 1994

- Q Please share with me your early childhood in the church.
- J. I was raised during the worst part of Apartheid there was a lot of segregation in the church. Vincent Lawrence my grandfather had problems trying to join church organisations...he could join nothing..not the Knights of da gama.. it was a time when to be white was to be superior racially and culturally and all that was confused with Christianity and the Christian message. The whole concept of "Oneness in Christ" was never a reality. We were always out there.. different and we were reminded that we were different. And we were expected to conform...we were expected to say " Yes Sister, Yes Father "-whatever. The expectation was one of conformity.

My family was deeply religious-so I was very involved. We used to go to any number of activities on Sundays. eg. say the choir, take part in plays initiated by members of our family. We tried to practise what we felt was the Christian message. We were never at one with the church which was primarily run by white religious persons. Beside Archbishop Hurley, I can't say that of anyone I grew up with who I will judge as truly Christian.

I studied at Wits and graduated to teach high school. Talking to a teacher at the Durban Indian Girls High, I was told that they would have to get a separate rest room for me if I was to get a post there. As it turned out I could not get a posting to a high school and went to teach in Merebank at a primary school. I used to take a train and bus to get there. I earned 21# a month. A wonderful opportunity presented itself when I got a post to lecture at Paul XII University in Lesotho, run by the Catholic Church. I felt I was doing something really worthwhile for Africa. I was a pioneer at the time. I recall one time when the people from UNISA visited. An Afrikaner professor said : "Don't the natives laugh at you when you wear a sari!". Everyone else loved it.

- Q. Did being catholic offer a sense of being "better off "than other Black people?
- J. I don't think that being Christian pays off in any material sense. Even in Canada where we have a multicultural policy , I don't think being Christian places one in any advantage in a

white man's world. People find it very to extend brotherly love or concern to people they view as different. Unfortunately in social perception we tend to exaggerate difference rather than exaggerate similarity and I think part of the role of education and the church and spiritual training and religious training should be in fact to emphasize the oneness of the human race . And I think we are beginning to do it now through Human Rights Education, multi-cultural awareness..... it's a slow process.

Q. How did Catholics of Indian Descent view themselves in terms of the broader Indian community?

J. By the time I came along, the bonding between the Christian Indian community and other Hindu and Muslim peers , was much better than at the turn of the century when my grandparents came. The Christian community was very separated from other Indian communities and in fact it was Gandhi's vision that when he was organising Indian political activity, to see that he needed the skills of all to fight the common enemy. And he needed Christen Indians who during the colonial period, partly because of the imposition of western culture and language on them, partly because they identified more with western culture and tended to abandon their Indian culture and partly of their own accord and partly because of church insistence...At that time (in my fathers time) and even in my time you couldn't have Indian names , For example you had to abandon your caste name ,like Naidoo would be a caste name, and took on Christian saints name.

So I think that the isolation that possibly exists in the Christian Indian communities around the world, in relation to Hindu and Muslim communities has improved considerably by the time I was growing up. I went to school with them. I had good Hindu and Muslim friends. I used to go to meetings with my mother and my grandmother The Indian Women's Association was open to all . But I think that here I might have been in a more favourable position in that regard. There were other Indian Christians that have felt more divorced from Hindu people. Most certainly the church had no understanding of Hinduism and Islam at that point in time, and rather viewed Hindus in particular as heathen. Therefore they felt that they had to get people to abandon every aspect of Indian culture. Since then they have changed.

Q. How prevalent were vernacular languages at that time (1930s)
J. Older people spoke Tamil in particular. I myself went school on may street to learn Tamil. It didn't last very long because we spoke English at home. We went to St. Anthony's school.

Everything was by rote method. Since we were getting much more westernised teaching as English school.. we found this foreign and didn't last too well..and its to my regret..but since we don't speak at all...its very hard to keep up the language.

Q. The catholic church has devised the South Indian right of catholic marriage. What is your response to this inclusion?

J. Some of my brothers have married in this right. I'm all in favour of bringing in aspects of Indian culture. I would like to know that the interpretation of respect is within the context of equality between people and between male and female.

Q. To what extent does one's Catholicness define one's politics ?
J. I tend to think that Christianity that professes brotherhood of mankind/ personkind and a oneness of all in Christ should clearly define a democratic socialist type of mind frame. For me its difficult to see how people can vote otherwise but think people are individuals. There are many forces in their lives eg. ethnicity, the level of education- there are a number of these factors that peoplekind have unconsciously prioritised and they vote accordingly. It is commonly recognised that people who are more well off tend to be more conservative and vote more conservatively than people who are poor.

Q. What is your level of involvement in the church?
J. I feel an integral part of the church at a level of spiritual experience and the time take to think about spiritual things I'm involved in the church in the world through social issues helping groups when I do have the time. You can't divorce social activeness from people beingness. Spiritual background are part of peoples everyday lives.

Q. Have you experienced conflict between your religion in politics?

J. I think if I experienced a conflict it is to be critical of the church for it's lack of involvement or it's reticence to extend itself. I'm a kind of person who will support liberal theology - that kind of thing and the role of the religious in uplifting people. This of course is not generally indorsed by officials of the church, the pope. I think that's where I would find a conflict.

Q. What are your views on the role of clergy in politics?

J. I don't see how the church can divorce itself from playing a role in the life of people especially in countries like South Africa. I think that if there are people of the kind of calibre to be selected to play such a role, I think it should be encouraged. But I know the reasoning underlining why the church is against it - that the primary role of the religious person is the life of the people but I don't see how you can separate the

spiritual life of the people from their entire beingness - that battle of within the church is going on in many parts of the world. I don't feel threatened to the degree that we need a political party to protect our religious views

Q. Do you think there is a need for a specifically catholic newspaper?

J. I would subscribe to catholic newspapers and read them. I would like to know the catholic view point even though I might not agree with them. I'm very open to reading Catholic view points as part of the alternative press that off different points of view.

Q. What are your impressions of the country as you visit it today?

J. A lot of good things are happening - voter education, affirmative action etc. but I'm particularly appalled at the lack of friendship and contact between people of Indian background and other ethnic groups particularly black people here at the University of Durban Westville

APPENDIX F.2

INTERVIEW 2

Fr. Clem Lazarus

April 1994

- Q. Please trace your experience as a Catholic from childhood to priesthood?
- C. Well, I'll go back to 1947 when I was born at St. Aidan's Hospital in town. I was born into a community that had a school, a church, a hall. It had a strong identity of Catholic and I was born into that community. And as I grew up - both my parents being Catholic (my mum was a convert) a very good convert - Church was something that something dominant, it was automatic. There was a strong sense of going to church, an understanding of the church, Christianity, the virtues and all that. We had a very good sense of community - close knit. And on the street where I lived, a lot of the members lived on that street and I can remember the small kids going to movies and we would all go together in a group - and I was brought up in an atmosphere - although we were surrounded by Hindus and Moslems - there was a strong identity of ourselves as Catholics.
- Q. At that point in time - late 1940s - early 50s - at that time there was a level of segregation in the Church...
- C. Ya, I remember as a kid at the time we used to go to the Cathedral and I remember we were only allowed to sit on the side of the Cathedral or at the back of the Cathedral. It was only much later when I was in High School and I had finished High School that these began to change and we were allowed to sit in the middle of the church. But even mind during the weekdays quite often we would sit in the middle - but on a Sunday we automatically went to the side or the back of the church.
- Q. How did you feel at that point in time. Did you accept it as your place or did you have feelings of discomfort?
- C. I don't think we were reflective enough. It was just the accepted thing and we just did because by then the Nationalist Party policy had already got in. Segregation was in. I remember as a kid going to the beach front and asking my mum and asking my mum why can't go there to that paddling pool. Everything was Blanke-Nie-Blanke and you can't enter this lift. You were brought up in that milieu of segregation, of discrimination. But also in the Catholic Church we had a feeling that we belonged to a wider thing. Although there wasn't enough mixing but we know that there was something in the Catholic Church and there was a growing awareness.
- Q. You mentioned that you belonged to a wider thing. Did you feel that you belonged to a whiter thing?

- C. Maybe subconsciously yes. All our priests at that stage and nuns at our school were white. So there was the idea of whites in the Catholic Church. But having come from a background that was predominantly Indian where we also, although we were an Indian community of St. Anthony's with a few coloureds in between, we knew that wasn't the ideal picture somehow or the other.
- Q. Alright, so within a segregated church you felt at home but different to white people. Within an Indian community what were your feelings of identity and otherness with regard to other sectors within the Indian community?
- C. One sensed a sense of difference. But when you grow up as a kid you are playing with them all the time, but mind you as a kid also, coming from an Indian background, I can remember mum saying you have to go to Tamil school, you have to learn your mother tongue - your Tamil language. As a kid of five or six years I had to go to Tamil school and so you socialize, you mix with the Hindus, you begin to appreciate their music and their religious ceremonies and living cheek to jowl with them - like the Hindu feast of Deepavali - you mix it up, you celebrate. I remember once or twice going to the temple and having terrible qualms of conscience about it, going to confession to confess it you know. But all I knew I was accompanying my neighbour who went to pray. And for me ever since a kid I was open to experiences. And also my mum coming from a Muslim background - the Muslim feast of Eid - we were always bundled into the car and taken off to visit our relatives and as kids we played together and began to understand what the feast was all about. So in our family I would say, in my family background there was tremendous openness, there was no such thing as we were better. There was I would say from my mother, a deep appreciation of other religions - there was no such thing as condemning or any sense of superiority. No there was a deep acceptance.
- Q. In the 40s - early 50s to be catholic within a white church meant to belong and yet to be apart from the whiteness of the church?
- C. that was sort of the atmosphere at that stage. The whites were the clergy at that stage. But nevertheless when you got to know them - I remember the nuns at St. Anthony's School - the late 50s we had our nun who came in and introduced us and got us playing against St. Agnes - a white school. And there was things beginning to change.
- Q. Where will you say you felt most comfortable - within the cultural milieu of your Indian community or within the religious milieu of your Catholic community?
- C. I would say firstly in the religious milieu. I felt much more comfortable because we talked a common language. By then

within the wider community you know one sensed a certain kind of difference - because some people did not quite understand their own religion. But I remember comments. But I do remember when it came to other Christians we as Catholics thought we were one better than all the others. I remember the Methodists were down the road in Lorne Street and we wouldn't even look at them, we'd walk right past them but we wouldn't look at them and here we had my mum who knew all of them and she would greet and talk to them and there was a good atmosphere.

Q. What does it mean to be a catholic today as a priest?

C. today as a priest being a catholic it really brings out the word - such openness. The word Catholic meaning universal - the Catholic Church is far more broad-minded today. I do realize that this is not the feeling of many Catholics but because of my education, how I understand the church and in terms of my own disposition being I would say a bit on the left, I find being Catholic today so fulfilling, so enriching. There are still many things that need to change, nevertheless I find fulfilment in being a Catholic. I'm proud to be a Catholic. When I think of what the Catholic church has contributed to education in our own Indian community, when I think of the many professional people in Durban - the professional body - a lot of them went to Catholic schools and it gave us an introduction and appreciation of culture and of so-called white culture too. It was quite universal - the nuns were Irish - they taught us Irish songs - they taught us Irish dances and I remember even one speech day they taught us the national anthems of different countries - India, die Stem, so there's so much to be thankful for to the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church really has made a contribution - when I talk to Hindus and Muslims who went to St. Anthony's School, they value that education, they really do. and also in terms of politically - I remember when they introduced the Bishop's Lenten Appeal - that was in the mid 50s - when Dr Verwoerd was going into his whole thing - the appeal really made us aware that we had to keep up the African schools. The Bishops were always making us aware - and we were proud of Archbishop Hurley - his stance on the social side - what people would call political - we appreciated his stance. esently on a committee looking at the issue of culture and the role it will play in taking the message of the gospel or the church forward?

Q. You are presently invoved in a cultural committee looking at inculturation. Tell me more about it.

C. This committee started around 1985/86. Father Reg Shunmugan and myself being the senior priests in the diocese, realized that we needed much more to bring the Indian Catholics in line much more with what is happening with the church. and also

to have a real pastoral care and concern about cultural things that were happening. and we were a bit concerned about attitudes to marriage. And in terms of inculturation we realized that we had to have certain guidelines for people with regard to the celebration to marriage. We had no uniformity of policy. Some priests would say have two ceremonies - a Hindu and a Catholic ceremony - others would say no and we realized that this was being divisive, people were a bit confused. We thought we would set up this committee to look in terms of a changing South Africa and a lot of emphasis and change was being made in terms of the white community and black community - did the Catholic church understand the Indian community and its certain peculiarities. Around these concerns the committee rose and we spoke with Archbishop Hurley - as usual Archbishop Hurley being such a broadminded person, never felt threatened by this. He was very positive especially Archbishop Hurley, being a man of the Second Vatican Council saw a tremendous need for inculturation. So much had to be done and basically I would say the committee not so much in terms of culture but in terms of pastoral care of Indian people with their psychological and social background and makeup.

Q. How many Catholics of Indian descent are there in South Africa?

C. In South Africa conservatively speaking we are about 30 000. Of that 30 000 almost 25 000 are in the province of Natal. Of that 25 000 in Natal close onto to 22 000 are in the greater Durban area - it's quite a number. If you look at the Christian churches - Anglians, Lutherans etc. they never make up our numbers. At one stage before the Full Gospel Christian Indians overtook us, we were the leading number wise.

Q. This committee has come out with the South Indian rite of marriage. Tell me more? And discuss it in terms of inculturation?

C. Basically inculturation is to appreciate the different cultures that we have in South Africa - the way you get Portuguese, Italian, Zulu, Xhosa, Indian etc. You come in with a certain background and for many of the white Catholics, the Catholic church's rituals are basically European. We are aware that there are attempts to Africanise our worship in South Africa but there are problems there. I guess when you had a strong missionary thrust - it's difficult to move out of that way of thinking. but I do know that there are attempts among the Sotho, Xhosa and the Zulu to create certain marriage rituals that incorporate their culture. Basically inculturation is then incorporation into the so-called western style of worship. and the Indian community is always being rich in culture. And it is sad to see today a lot of our younger people not keeping or holding onto certain traditions like the dress - I always admire

the sari - it's one of the most beautiful way of dressing - but basically inculturation is to keep culture, your customs, your traditions into the catholic church.

Q. There has been incorporation of the cultural aspects of marriage ceremonies from the Indian ceremony into the rite. What does the incorporation mean and what are the responses to it?

C. Well the South Indian rite of marriage - first we called it just Indian, then we realized that not all Indian Catholics come from the South - there are North Indian and South Indian, but the majority of the Catholics come from the South. I myself come from a South Indian background and also all the catholic priests on the committee come from the South Indian background, that is why we developed it. But we also need to create a North Indian rite of marriage. the south Indian rite starts off basically by preparing the altar and sanctuary with Indian lamps and symbols and then as the bride's party and groom's party come in - we include the parents because the parental blessing plays a very important part in the Hindu ceremony. In our western rite of marriage we have never really incorporated the parent into it and so we have used the ceremony whereby the bride and groom make a profound bow at the feet of their parents and ask for their blessing and I find it to be very beautiful. and we've incorporated it into the very beginning of the ceremony. After that we go through the traditional exchange of bows but also incorporating beside the ring, the thali which is a certain amount of jewellery to symbolize marriage - the tying of that. We also have incorporated the exchange of garlands which is also very symbolic. It adds a lot of colour too. Sometimes our ceremonies can be very bland and white - very white at times. Other things we have incorporated - the mother giving the lamp with the Christian on it because it is traditional that the mother gives the lamp - because it is traditional that she has to keep the lamp burning in her home. This is another beautiful tradition that we try to inculcate in our children, a sense of the sacred and there are certain times we light the lamp - and this is the way of call to prayer and the family is where you learn to pray. Q. With the inclusion of parents linked to the idea of the extended family system - that when you marry you marry into an extended family, not so much a nuclear family? Was this a motivation?

C. subconsciously I'm sure but within the Indian community the parent still play a very important part - sometimes too much of a part - but nevertheless the positive aspect is that parents play an important part in preparing for the marriage. I would say it's only fair that they themselves take an active part in the ceremony, and to credit them and as a sign of gratitude for all they had done. It's just that we Indians have a different relationship with our parents.

- Q. Historically you say that the majority of Catholics are from South India. Can you say where in India and what was the influence of the church in India?
- C. You go back to the year 1860 - it was still the height of the British Raj - but nevertheless you had French and Portuguese missionaries going there. India had already had a tradition of Christianity stemming from the early days right after the Apostles - traditions and legends going back to the voyages of discovery - New World - don't know who discovered who there. Round about the 15 -16th century - there was Portuguese and French influence - so already there had been 200 years of Christianity in India before some of them came to South Africa. Most of the South African Catholics derived their heritage to Madras, Pondicheri - that area - and so what we have read - Joy Brain contains lots of information - although it is said that some of them came from a Syriac background - so called eastern Christians. They came from a different rite within the Catholic church - the Syriac rite. They were a minority and yet they slowly adapted.
- Q. There was a later day apostle who worked in Syria and the Eastern countries. Tell me more?
- C. Yes, Joy brain's book mentions this. there are many rites within the Catholic church. You must remember on the west coast of India, you have so many different rites. You have the Malankali rite, the Malabar rite - the Catholic Church in India has very different rites - very fascinating study. I remember meeting some of them in Rome in September last year - it's another world. You know we were brought up in just one rite - the so called Roman rite - whereas in South Africa the Lebanese have the Marianite rite of the Catholic Church. This is fantastic.
- Q. I'm trying to look at the mass from a popular performance angle?
- C. Oh dear! Oh dear!
- Q. and in your opinion is there sufficient space for the congregation to participate in the mass? Do you think that the mass holds onto that very real tendency among human beings to enjoy ritual?
- C. My experience in the Catholic Church is that there are certain liturgies, especially when you focus on a certain aspect that can be very exciting, very participatory. Especially when people themselves are allowed to choose the hymns and even to be creative in terms of liturgical dance, offertory procession - it's not only bringing up the bread and wine. Like we are trying to have one on Sunday - we are going to bring up the peace flag and the new South African flag, the interim constitution - there's lots you can do. Things like that can become creative. You can have little meditations in the mass if it has a theme

and you focus. Your choice - of music. Lots can be done and it needs preparation and I do believe in a Catholic church you can do much more - definitely. People I think do participate in different ways but much more can be done - you don't use enough of dramatization of the gospel. The children's mass has a lot of dialogue.

Q. So you are saying that the mass can be a popular performance and that the congregation need to take that space?

C. Yes.

Q. I've discovered that very few people read the Southern cross - except for the old and the white. That among Indians hardly anybody is reading it. Why?

c I think it depends on whether you are a reading family. I remember as a child every Sunday I looked forward to reading the Southern Cross. It deepened my own affinity to the Catholic Church but there is a sense of belonging that here is my newspaper and I enjoyed reading it.

Q. so I take it you believe that we must have a Catholic newspaper?

C. Oh yes, strongly. I believe that every Catholic home should have a Catholic newspaper.

Q. what should the function of that newspaper be - I mean people aren't really reading it?

C. It must be informative, it must share what is happening in the Catholic world. Lots of things are happening, you know. We just - the whole delivery - I know that there are changes - that there is a new editor - that they are very much aware of things but you know - we should have a children's page where they do have - but basically to talk about Catholic life. There are so many issues - like the feminist role in the catholic Church, we need to have more sharing of that, we should have healthy discussion in the S.C. on issues that are debatable. I am one for information. I think it is important for one to share information and not just dodge away from controversial issues - we air this out. that's what I appreciate about the American papers. There are lots of issues, social issues, political issues - they are not afraid to tackle them and say - what is the Catholics Church's response to the ill-treatment of mineworkers, especially the tin miners in South America, especially when celebrating the 500 years of indigenous people - the so-called discovery of the Americas. there's lots of information - we can focus on what is the history of the Catholic church regarding native people and the damage it has done and to openly confess our guilt that we treated them as pagans - we never appreciated their culture and there's so much we need to conscientise people on - but here they wouldn't even know about it, they couldn't even talk about it because I notice that the average Indian Catholic doesn't even read much, sadly

lacks reading.

Q. Given that the average South African Indian does not have a reading culture, does this translate to having an unquestioning culture? Are they unquestioning of the catholic church in South Africa?

C. Obviously there is some of that but I've tried to create instances where you question. You may not agree with everything the priest says but you begin to question and in my sermons I try to raise questions that they think about.

Q. Do you think that Christian programmes have a following among Catholics?

C. I watch very few of them. I get put off by them because there is an history in terms of what we had to preach at one stage. So I never agree to participate on T.V. But now I think with the change I will agree to appear on T.V. and I look forward to that. I think T.V. is a powerful medium and we need to use it more. I would really like to see more of that. It's one of the more exciting mediums - T.V. presenters of religious programmes was father...Galter and he died in a crash and that was sad because he was really dynamic. He was creative - he moved away from a usual way of presenting religion on T.V. and that's what we need to see more of.

Q. Are you in favour of specifically a religious channel?

C. Oh no, I think that life must be interspersed with lots of things - an all day religious service will be too much. I would never be in favour of that. What I'm in favour of is that we have different religious broadcasting on T.V. - something like the BBC has - especially on radio - where the evening devotion is taken on one night by a Moslem, the second by a Hindu, the third by a Christian, the fourth by someone else - the Salvation army or someone - where religion is broad. I find it so enriching - inter-faith sharing - that's what happened in my life. I'm not interested in fanaticism in that sense. I'm interested in growing in my faith - I have a deep appreciation of my own faith but I also appreciate different religions. Yesterday I took part in an inter-faith service as part of elections and it was beautiful to see all the different religions focus on the elections - praying for peace. and all of them were saying the same thing. I think religious broadcasts will have to be much broader.

Q. should we have this religious broadcast on a public service or should we have different religions buying time?

C. I would not be in favour of buying time. I think in terms of creating a more tolerant atmosphere for religion in our country, each religion should be allotted so much time on T.V. and be allowed to present its message.

Q. Are you happy with the role the church has played in the build up of this election?

- C. Oh yes, I've been excited. Its has given me extra energy. I've become energized by this input by the catholic Church being so supportive of the people, realizing how memorable this time is going to be in our life, in our history. I am very proud of the Catholic Church's input - very professional - very concerned and drawing on all its richness from other different part of the world. On Sunday on behalf of the Archbishop I will be receiving international visitors from the catholic Church to our province. Once again the richness of the catholic church comes out.
- Q. The one thing that has puzzled me is that I can go to a meeting and hear Catholics located in a range of political parties even in opposition to each other. How does one begin to understand the morality preached by the catholic church in terms of practices by Catholics in all these political parties? Does being Catholic have nothing to do with your political choices?
- C. Being Catholic give you certain guidelines and the Catholic church has given us certain guidelines in so far as what to expect of a political party and the goods that it should deliver. We have a whole history of social encyclicals giving a clear guideline as to what the catholic Church stands for. Unfortunately I would say in this country people are at different places. People are still caught up with racism, people have different preferences. I think as to the question of the different parties' morality - that is a difficult question but I think for myself personally I could never vote Nationalist - not at this stage of my life.
- Q. Is that because there's an intrinsic contradiction between that political location and what the church preaches?
- C. Oh yes in the past the principles it held onto to as a Catholic I don't think one would have been able to vote for the Nats in the past. It was purely racist. but I know a lot of the white Catholics did and it caused a lot of pain for the non -white Catholics in this country.
- Q. Will one's catholicness play an important part in one's decision or one's choice of party in the election?
- C. I don't think so in terms of just being Catholic. But as Christians we share a lot with other Christians of other church's - that is why there is a lot of hesitancy with regard to the growth of ACDP, African Muslim Party. We have lots of questions about them all of a sudden using religious principles. I mean religious principles will always guide the voter in terms of his choice of party, in terms of which party will lead our country to democracy, to ensure that there will be fairness, equal distribution of the resources of the country in terms of education, that there will be justice - these are broad Christian principles - that the end of the gravy train must come about - that people must really serve - not for self glory and

accumulation of wealth - not for self glory and all that. I think those are the guiding principles politicians need to have. The church has a role to play and if they fail we need to point this out - in that sense being catholic your whole moral fibre of being catholic does give you a vision but that is also shared by Anglians, Methodists. They all share the vision.

Q. What do you see as the role of the church in the new South Africa? and what is it's duty if any to the poor?

C. Well the Catholic Church's Justice and Peace Commission is in existence now, it will be in existence tomorrow and in the future. The J and P Commission has done in Zimbabwe and in other countries - there's so much to be done because people make so many promises but they do not fulfil them and being human being there will always be a lack of fulfilment. From that point of view the catholic Church will continue to act as sounding board and a watchdog for any abuses of power, any abuse of nature and the environment, any denial of people's basic rights - the Catholic church will always be there. We are only beginning to discover what are the real injustices of the world. there's so much to be done, so much healing to be done. I mean the elections are not going to create healing and reconciliation overnight. I think the process we need now is to develop a process whereby we have to heal many people of our own province of Natal where families have been murdered. we have to heal those memories and the church's healing and reconciliation ministries will continue for the next 50 years. From that point of view the Catholic church has a role to play in the post-election period. The role will never end as it has been involved in the process of reconciliation - that process will continue for the next 50 years.

APPENDIX F.3

INTERVIEW 3

Fr. De PASOS

November 1994

- Q. Do you think that we can talk of a South African Culture?
- D. All race groups now are going to mix more freely and have more chances of meeting each other, with the result that I think in time South Africa will form one South African culture like Brazil did. And there will be a little bit of everybody's culture in it. But I cannot see one group holding onto identity forever. An immigrant community will do that, like if you suddenly get a bunch as refugees from like Poland. Refugees will be people who have been in a country for long like third /fourth generation. They don't speak the language, for one, and its the trimmings, that are actually preserving: the colourfulness, the food, the clothing.
- Q. Are you saying then that there will be elements of culture that will remain in the cultural realm, but that this will not be expressed in any political realm...er.. Indians for example having a particular party to whom they give their votes. So it lies outside of the political realm but some elements remain in the cultural realm?
- Fr. When you say a particular realm you say that Indians will vote for a particular party? I think the last election showed that they were split in three: some voted ANC, a lot voted NP, some voted minority front and I would assume that a few might have voted IFP.. Already it is showing that they are breaking away from a specific group to become part of a larger group.
- Q. Now that we are talking a little bit about politics and political behaviour, the community as you have ministered to them....what pointers or what kind of political behaviour do you think they manifest? I'm asking her basically for an opinion. Did you find eg. that a lot of the the parish community are for something like Justice and Peace, which besides having a religious component, a moral fibre to it, also had a political agenda to it? If you had to comment on the political behaviour of South African Catholics of Indian descent, what would you tell me?
- D. I would say that it was very strong in St. Anthony's, not so much in the outlying areas. You would find particularly the higher, high school student and university student, tech student very involved, but you the parents very wary and scared. They didn't want ... they just wanted to let things be. They just wanted their child to get through, get their degree with as little problems as possible. And that was where the conflict I think used to come between the two generations-the generation gap.

Q. Would you say that in terms of Catholic Media , particularly the Southern Cross (SC), ...would you say that people actively bought that newspaper?

D. No.

Q. Why?

DEP I don't think anybody reads the SC !!! At least I don't!!!. There's nothing much in it really. To be an expression of church feeling, I think it is very weak.

Q. earlier on we were talking about people developing a South African culture. If we had to look at media in the church we would expect the church to be developing own media, what it means to be a South African catholic. Would you agree with something like that? The SC transforming itself?

Dep It would. but when you talk about SA catholic, we first have to become South African, and with the system we lived under we were never allowed to be South African, we were 4 different entities and before we talk about the SA Catholic, we've got to learn to become South Africans. So once we know actually what a South African is, then it will involve into what sort of catholic we are.

Q. So then, if we had to ask questions about identity, are you suggesting that our identity comes first from being South African and then being Catholic?

Dep No, a catholic is a catholic, but you specified what is a South African Catholic at the beginning.

Q. Then you your mind then your sense of identity comes first through your religion then..

Dep think so.

Q. ...and then in terms of the country. Would you say then that this is true also of the parishioners? How do they define themselves? First as catholic, then as Indian , then as SA? Or first as SA and then as Catholic or... How are they viewing themselves? How are they defining themselves as? What is their identity?

Dep If you ask 90% of them , what are you ? They will say Indian, very few will say S.African. It depends , if you ask a general question, people assume you are asking what are you. If you ask what religion are you, then they obviously... I don't know, I've not given it much thought really.

Q. I'm asking the question because people have said : Well we've been defined by an Apartheid system, so in terms of the Apartheid system, officially I am Indian. In terms of my political beliefs I'm Black. Someone said well I only know myself in a positive way through my religion, so I'm not interested in defining myself in any other way. To what extent do you think religion is an identifying factor?

Dep I would say it's very, very strong in the sense that it is an equaliser. It's the one time a person doesn't feel discriminated

against..they feel equal, they have their dignity.I don't know if that answers your question?

Q. Ja.Others have said similar things. So they actually choose the say, define themselves in terms of their religion first and then everything else after?

Dep. I think its very rarely that when when you go up to a person and ask what are you they will say: I'm a Catholic. They will give you their occupation or their nationality.

Q. But in the unspoken, they have tended to say : I am so and so , I practise this religion...We looked at briefly the media, what influence catholic media could have had and from your comments it would seem that it has no impact.People don't buy it, people don't read it...so the SC does not give people a sense of identity...

Dep. But the SC isn't the church. There are other periodicals, but I mean people don't get them. I think its mainly through the pulpit, through their bible study groups, through their small christian communities.

Q. Through the mass?

Dep. Through the mass, yes!

Q. Would you say the ritual of the mass is inclusive? Participatory enough?

Dep. From whose point of view?

Q. Participatory enough from you point of view as a priest.

Dep. From my point of view , I would say yes. But the congregation, I don't think have thought about it.We have our lay ministers, our readers, ...there's a tremendous involvement... which acn also lead to a power struggle...where you give people a certain amoiunt of authority and they want to take total control. It happens any where.

Q. So in your opinion there is enough space in the ritual of the mass to participate and feel involved and have a sense of identity.There have been experiments you know elsewhere in Africa,to broaden out that ritual and incorporate aspects of African culture in the mass, in the architecture etc. I think the South Indian Rite was an attempt also at that kind of inclusivity and from what you are saying people people in the parish presently , or those who have had to consider taking this type of marriage, don't identify too much with it. If you were to inculturate a little more in the mass , what are some of the things you would include, that you think is relevant for this grouping of people.

Dep. Youv'e got incense, youv'e got brassware,they can wear saris if they like, they got the lamps, but the majority of catholic indians , I think identify themselves with the Roman Rite, they are quite happy with the Roman Rite.They haven't got any complaints against the Roman Rite.And the problem with inculturisation.... who are you inculturating? When they've

use these Zulu symbols..the non-Zulu is excluded.

Q. So are you suggesting, correct me if I'm wrong, that in the development of a South African Catholic Church, that maybe those symbols are actually exclusive and excluding?

Dep. Let me put it to you this way : In a Zulu marriage. A Zulu is not married until lobola is paid, right. What happens when a Zulu marries a White? The white isn't going to pay lobola. In a Zulu's eyes they are not married. So now in the inculturation process, what is happening? Is the white going to become a Zulu or is the Zulu going to become a white?

Q. Do you see the church then providing that middle road?

Dep. I see that it may take time, as I said in the beginning, we have to find out what a South African is and from there then start building... because in every culture something's going to fall away , something's going to remain....in all four cultures. You will get little pockets that will maintain their pure tradition right, but we haven't been allowed to evolve, like the rest of the world. So we still see ourselves as Indian, as Coloured, as Black as White till today. If you go to Brazil or any other place in the world, you can meet an Indian, an African, a White, a Coloured and you ask any of them what are you and they say Brazilian. We haven't reached that yet.

Q. Would you find someone calling for a cultural revival, would you find that problematic? Would you find that divisive?

Dep. I think if its needed, I think its good. But if its been done for the sake of being done, I think its bad. If you go out in a mission and you are dealing with the simple African, who hasn't been affected by urbanisation...because inculturation to me in the church is a means of communication...that's all you are trying to do ..communicate something...that your'e trying to use these symbols to explain the truths to someone. Its got to mean something to them.

Q. So its a means of communication.

Dep. And the funny thing about all this, if you look at the history of it , it is the white that has asked for the inculturation....the Indian never asked for it. they didn't come to the "whites " and say we want to be inculturated. They were quite happy. It was basically the whites who said ..it would be nice to make them feel that their culture has got tremendous value so let's add it and make it seem good.

Q. Are you then suggesting that this is just an academic exercise? That in terms of real people, in real experiences, people don't even think about it?

Dep. it depends what aspect you are looking at . But if you are looking at the hindu marriage rite, the pope has stipulated very clearly that you can't exchange vows twice. We have to accommodate the Hindu party, right, otherwise the church was being very arrogant..it had to be done our way. You get

good Hindhu people who also want to compromise, right, so their solution was ...we'll study the Hindu rite, we'll have it in church, we'll throw in the coconuts and the banana leaves and the petals and the incense, to pacify the Hindhu person which basically doesn't really. I don't see the problem doing it both ways. Let the couple come here and receive their priests blessing and let the couple go and receive the Hindhu blessing and then we wouldn't have to have this hindhu rite..

Q. So you are saying that that is actually more egalitarian and that the south indian Rite is being to an extent patronising.

Dep. It's a compromise . It's meant as a compromise, it is patronising - if you look at it carefully unfortunately it is a compromise and in a sense it is nothing more than a compromise its obvious to everybody that its a compromise and even the couple who are going through the ceremony can see that it is a compromise...which is something negative.

Q. so you would rather see each of the vows taken within their context.

Dep. Yes.

Q. You were talking about two vows within their context as more meaningful.

Dep. Yes.

Q. I want to go on to something that you said earlier on about media - you are saying the S.C. was a non-event in most Catholics lives - right but there are other good media - what are the good media? Is the church producing that seem to be reflective of a dynamism of a church?

Dep. I say that unfortunately at this point in time there isn't really any. You get permission which ...it tells you mainly what the rest of the world is doing. What the Portuguese are now trying to do...there is a Portuguese newspaper that comes out once a week - like your Sunday time - and they(Catholics) are getting a page for themselves.

Q. Are you saying the Catholics.

Dep. Yes the Catholics. The Chaplains and it is going to be their way of getting through to the people. And they are reaching every Portuguese - practicing or non - practising Catholic person. But the Southern Cross - it tells you about nuns who died - nuns who made their 75th anniversary - you know, a whole lot of photographs, people who made their first communion all over which means nothing to anybody. Then you get statements which the Pope has made which you read in the Daily News or the Mercury anyway. You don't really learn anything new anyway.

Q. So you are saying that there is definitely a space for some dynamic media?

Dep. Yes.

Q. If you had to look at media - print media or ...

Dep. But before you carry on you must remember the church was also caught unawares - nobody expected change to come as quickly as it did and all the churches which the ANC had a problem with in an way had geared to fighting against apartheid and dismantling apartheid and when it was dismantled they had nothing left to fight against. So now they had become... they had to rechannel their whole energy - and it is still on the drawing board. Because the sad thing I think about the church in South Africa which I think, is really ...it wasn't the church which dismantled apartheid - it was the government. The very National Party that they were fighting against were the instruments - we didn't really play that much of a positive role which is sad. I mean they protested - they made a noise but it was ineffectual really.

Q. Are you suggesting now that we are talking about media - that there was no dynamic media that challenged, that there was no dynamic catholic church which challenged the past system.

Dep. There was but I'd say that the majority of catholics are threatened. Because you had the church telling you what you had to do and on the other hand you had the reality of life...you had detention without trial and all sorts of things. And most people I think just tried to do the best they could in the sense of accepting the situation as it was. You know you get organizations like I heard of who go for rallies or big marches but up until four years ago they were afraid to go - they were afraid to let their children go- especially amongst the Indian community. They sacrificed so much for that education so that the child gets somewhere so they didn't want to see it disappear because he is marching down the street.or get shot or

Q. ...
Then you were saying that there is no dynamic in the Catholic media? That there is a space for that to emerge.

Dep. I think so.

Q. Now, when you talk about media - are you talking in terms of print media or are you saying that perhaps we should be looking at more broadcast media, in terms of radio and television. Which is the way the church will go in terms of creating a dynamic media?

Dep. I say both.

Q. You gave an interesting example of how Portuguese Catholics are trying to communicate and reach practicing and non practising - or of reaching Catholics of Portuguese descent resident now in South africa. that seems to me now like what some people have termed community media - community media meaning targeting specific communities and in some instances specific ethnic groupings whether its Portuguese or of Indian descent or Zulu speaking..Those in itself becoming smaller ethnic groupings who now reside in this big community of

- catholics. Is that a happy medium?
- Dep. For who? You see we have a problem at S.A Council Bishops level, Where you find the immigrants: Italians. Spanish, Germans...they integrate with the community, the Portuguese don't. They're the one immigrant group who have stuck together..in fact we've got... I can take you to people who have been in the country 30,40 years in South Africa and they still cannot talk English and their children and grandchildren still marry another Portuguese. And its a bit of a unique situation - what I mean it happens amongst the Indians but then they were forced to because of the colour question but you find with the Spanish, the Italians and the Germans and the French they have integrated into the country they are living in. The Portuguese won't. So the French, Italians and the Germans don't need their own little newspaper. Because the country's newspaper is good enough for them. And the problem with working with the Portuguese is that we're trying to educate them to integrate into the society that they are living in.
- Q. You would in a sense say that that is a good move. Utilising this media targeting the Portuguese and I think there is a need there because I think earlier on in our interview you were saying where there is a need.
- Dep. I was just giving an example of what one group are trying to do. but the Southern Cross doesn't reach many people any way.
- Q. No, it doesn't. all the people that I have asked don't even bother to read it. In fact we get begged to take it - its money being wasted which the church needs to look at. Where else can we plug this money - maybe we need to change the paper to be more reflective of dialoging Catholics in South Africa. But there have been for example older generations Catholic of Indian descent who religiously take the S.C. as the word of the Pope.
- Dep. Yes, because it is tradition. They have done it since they were 7 years old and they will carry on until they 77 years old. But you will find the younger generation are more critical - they are not as accepting as the older generation were. they have learnt to stand for themselves.
- Q. Just to go back to the mass and spaces within the mass for participation by people. Have you had liturgical dance included in your mass celebrations and if so what has been the response to that?
- Dep. Ya we had two or three or four. I'd say a minority like it but majority don't see the point of it. If we talking about the Indian community the dances we've had were Westernish dances but were not Indian dances right. A lot of people question what is it for. It is a gimmick to make the mass more interesting or does it have a real effect because 90 % of people sit there and

they just don't...the dance doesn't convey anything to them.

Q. It's not a form of worship?

Dep. It's not a form of communication.

Q. The mass is very verbal and even the prayer. Are prayers set down which we learn first by rote and as we go along we get to understand the value of those thoughts put down and we can relate to it better. What do you think about...I'm looking for example the way we as Catholics have a very set structured form of worship and ritual compared to say some other churches who tend to be more spontaneous or less structured. Can we change? Should we change? Is the structure what we need?

Dep. We can change but structures aren't a bad thing. They can be a good thing or a bad thing but what we got to remember is prayer...you supposed to pray everyday. When you come to church, it is a community worship, you're praying as a community. The structure gives it a amount of discipline and it is a facilitator where people can worship together. Rather than everyone doing their own thing - as happens in some places and you end with confusion. The structure helps, it gives a certain amount of dignity. With dignity comes respect - if it becomes too unstructured, the truths can become loose. You know what I'm trying to say. The structure helps us to stick to one truth. That we know have our limits and we can't go beyond a certain point. I don't know if I've answered your question.

Q. It does. Now, I like to ask a question directly related to my agenda in this study. Do you think trying to find out what makes South African Catholics of Indian descent whether 4th or 5th generation, trying to find out what gives them their sense of identity and their feelings of otherness...do you think this is a case of trying to revive something that isn't even there initially. Is it a waste of time?

Dep. Being a Catholic?

Q. No. trying to theorize South African Catholics of Indian descent...the feelings of identity, their sense of identity and their feelings of otherness. In trying to work to work out whether they really are Indian. Whether they really perceive themselves as Indian.

Dep. You see, they in a difficult situation because you still find in the Indian community where the child will go to school in the 20th century and they get back home they in the 16th century right and you find in Indian marriages the mother in law plays a tremendous role and sometimes a detrimental one because it might have worked 20 years ago but today most women are liberated and the Indian women especially is coming into her own. And to be dominated by - it's always the husband's mother - she is the boss until she dies. The wife takes second place and if there's is any domestic dispute - then he is

expected to take his mother's part. So in a sense I would say culturally they are caught between two worlds and with all the marriage cases I deal with 90% of them will go back to the mother in law.

Q. So it is worth looking at this sense of identity?

Dep. Because with the other nations you get married and go out the house right. With the Indian it is more the extended family system and that poor wife is dominated by her mother in law and even if they out the house the mother in law still does let go and in that sense I would say she is very Indian in that she can't escape that tradition. You know the most irritating thing for me is when they come for an interview when they want to get married - the couple come and sit down - all the aunties and uncles will come and sit down behind them - you ask the guy how long have you known her and the one aunty will say six months. You ask her how old are you and the other will answer 21. That you can actually go through the whole interview without the future bride and groom saying one word. It's a control - so they rebel and they want to break loose.

Q. So at the level of culture there are certain family structures that are still operative.

Dep. Yes.

Q. And that ... and in a sense that seems to be a factor that contributes to a sense of identity or feel or practice if individuals behaviour.

Dep. It can also be a supportive thing in one sense but it is also detrimental one in another sense.

Q. One last question. If I had to ask you about the impact of Catholicism on this community - positive or negative?

Dep. I'd say positive in the sense - you don't have to discriminate between people but you will find that if sit and talk to a Catholic Indian - his values will be different if you sit talking to a Hindu say or a Muslim. Not that they are better people - I'm not saying that Catholic people are better but you can see that their value structure is different. They generally more considerate in their thinking not necessarily in their behaviour. But I'd say you definitely notice a difference in values.

Q. Has the community recognised this positiveness? Have we grown in numbers?

Dep. I think so.

Q. Do you have any statistics?

Dep. No but I can go through the register and tell you the number of converts we have every year. But I know the Hindu society is deciding to do something drastic because of the large number of Hindus becoming Christians, not necessarily Catholics, but Christians. The Catholics get their fair share of them. But there's this terrible whatever where the Hindu fear...where the

Indian feels that if the Catholics marrying then the person must become Catholic.

Q. That's among Catholics?

Dep. That's among Catholics. That's the mentality. We are very reluctant because you become a Catholic because you want to - this is what you believe. But the Catholics won't see that. And especially if the boy is a Catholic. It is a problem if the girl is a Catholic because the Hindus expect - they have this mentality - if you take my name - you take my religion. But the Catholic won't budge either way. The Hindu party you will find if their daughter is marrying into a Catholic family fair enough - they are quite happy but if the son - if a Catholic is marrying into a son's family they expect her to follow his way. So it creates a constant conflict. and there is just one other thing I want to say you know we had to change - we went through this Indian rite - I was on the committee when it first started - only at the end we changed it to south Indian rite because within the Indians themselves they have different cultural groups - and we only catering for...I only tried to use it once right - well I thought that this couple would like to use it. and when it came to the dot and all that - the bridegroom did not belong to that one - this one you paint a stripe from the forehead to the back - so all our little things in Indian rite they don't use it all anyway. So it didn't work with that one. But I don't know.

Q. As a member outside - as a Catholic but outside of this particular group of Indian descent. What have your feelings of otherness being. Have there been feelings of otherness on your part?

Dep. That I'm outside the group?

Q. Do you feel that?

Dep. As a person or as a religion?

Q. Well, as both.

Dep. Well I find no difference in our religion. As a person naturally I come from a different culture, a different background.

Q. How did that affect your communication?

Dep. I did affect it in a sense...I will give you an example. In my country it was the height of inconsiderateness, bad manners etc. to come late. we would never dream of going to a wedding reception if we didn't attend the church whereas I work in a community where they arrive when they like. You know and even till today after 10 years ago I still think it is the height of rudeness and it irritates me. It goes against everything that I was brought up with - they've got no consideration of keeping a person waiting - they will arrive when it suits them.

Q. And how do you deal with that?

Dep. First I've given sermons on the form of stealing - it's stealing, taking other people's time - you know and it's inconsiderate, it's selfish, it's not showing any feeling for the other person - things

like that but in the end you just accept it - you let them be what they want them to be.

Q. I'm sure there are other areas, other issues when this intercultural or communication or irritation comes in and as long as it doesn't interfere with the dominance of the Catholicism, you accept it. Would that be putting it correctly? that where the cultural, intercultural conflict between you as a priest outside of that community interacting with a particular community...

Dep I would't say that the intercultural thing is me as a priest in the community - it's me as a Portuguese and with the Indian community - and the Indian South African - it's a nationality thing if you like - not a religious thing.

Q. It's the religious communication that is dominant?

D. Yes, you will find people that normally come to mass, they come on time - but they don't walk in at the end of the mass like they do for weddings. But they got no real sense of time.

Q. How has the community been towards you. Have they been inclusive? Have they tried to change you?

D. I think they like to dominate. They do. Certain people do. But I mean I've made very good friends here so I feel very accepted here. There are people I have rubbed up the wrong way - the majority of people don't like to be told up straight - to them I'm rude. That is a hard question to answer. That they will have to answer.

Q. Father, thank you. I'm concerned about the issue of inculturation. In fact I should share my agenda. Actually, because I believe that with the freeing up of expression, I think that people are going to become comfortable with showing who they are. And apartheid didn't allow us to do that and so all the cultural colour and flavour will emerge in a new set up. And my own position is that there will be some form of ethnic and cultural revival. I'm hypothesizing that - maybe my studies are going to prove me wrong because of the dominance of westernization and because of the dominance of cultural symbols: culture through media. Whether it is nearly an academic exercise for the people furthest from the cultural practices who have no language and who are totally westernised...is it an academic pursuit on their part or whether it is an academic pursuit on my part is left to be seen. You know they say what the son rejected the grandson tries to find - but my own position is that with the freeing of expression we are going to see this cultural flavouring emerging. I could be proven wrong - you may all just products of the media.

Dep I don't think the Indians ever really lost but I think that we have to merge into one culture.

Q. I'm saying that this will be expressed at a cultural level and not at a political level. That politically Indians will vote as we saw

them vote in the last elections across the spectrum.

Dep Which they doing already.

Q. But in the cultural realm I see a freeing of expression and I think maybe with the emphasis by UNESCO - the focus on indigenous peoples, the protection of third world cultures.

D. But that is what the apartheid was trying to do.

Q. Apartheid took it into the political realm. I don't think that it will be an apartness as such but it will be what one theorist call ethnogenesis - positive creation of group self-image - but it remains in the realm of culture.

APPENDIX F.4

INTERVIEW 4

Brian Gabriels

22 April 1994

- Q. Brian won't you share with me your experiences as a child. What at that stage of your life, did it mean to be Catholic ?
- R. Well, as a little boy, growing up in a predominantly Hindhu community or what some people would term a sub-economic group in Cato Manor, it was both strange at first, being very conspicuous. We were one of say three or four Catholic families. We had to travel by bus to church in town...St. Anthony's. The church being so far away also made it feel that you were sort of divided between two areas...the area where you lived and the area where you worshipped and that added to the feeling that you were very conspicuous, very different. As a little boy, it was church in a sense, which in retrospect I feel, was very heavily on the side of indoctrination. You were taught, you were told, and you were scared out of your life if you didn't obey. That was the approach I witnessed as a little boy. Of course there was always that element of mystery, of some hidden greatness that made one want to obey, that made one want to believe, made one want to belong. But then, coming home and playing with your Hindhu friends, where religion wasn't an important thing and I think religion in itself wasn't really propagated, wasn't really taught to my Hindhu friends..So for them life was one big happy occasion where they all met and played our various games and had our little fights. So religion wasn't very significant as a little boy except for the fact that one felt this compulsion...that you had to do what you were told to do. You had to go to mass, you had to go to confession, you had to do that and go to communion ...and you had to behave because all along you felt that if you didn't...or well you were taught that if didn't, there was some great punishment in store. That's my memory of my religion basically as a little boy. Although I must add, one was always in awe of the pomp and the ceremony. We had very little exposure to other denominations, although I had a lot of exposure to Hindhu ceremonies. But the catholic ceremony was always one of dignity, lots of colour... But always that sense of mystery that something big was going on.. because as I said we were indoctrinated then, one didn't question, one didn't ask what was really behind all this...That's what I remember as a little boy.
- Q Thanks Brian. I do know that you are involved, were involved in certain Church structures, can you trace that involvement for me and the kinds of questions you asked about those particular structures. I'm recalling here your involvement in the Justice and Peace Commission... and what kind of questions you raised.
- R I think I have to go back a bit in time, to when now I became a high school student...again thrown in at the deep end in a basic Hindhu-Moslem student population...very few Christians, very few Catholics I might add, to mention

an important fact....And therein lay some very important challenges and questions. My first exposure to Darwin's Theory of evolution, was fraught with embarrassment and sometimes humiliation because my friends asked me outright;; Do you honestly believe in that Adam and Eve hooey? It was very difficult to actually explain it because as a little boy i had the impression that that was the beginning of time and that's how my faith sort of started and continued. It started with Adam and Eve and this whole belief in Christianity started with that. It was now very difficult to understand that there were races and civilisations long before the birth of Christ. So to explain and understand Darwin's Theory was very difficult. And then of course being Indian and basically non- white , there was one question I was asked : How does your church relate to this terrible sin of apartheid. We believe you go to an Indian Church, how come you all have Indian churches and white churches and Black churches... why don't you go to the Emmanuel Cathedral? I remember as a young boy the Emmanuel cathedral was a white church. If you did go , you were very unceremoniously shoved to one side or to the back of the church. I found it hurtful. I found it very confusing. I didn't fully understand it...it perplexed me. but as I grew older, I was asked...I was invited actually to join the Justice and Peace Movement. And after much thought I said yes. Maybe this was my chance to Challenge this Apartheid church I now believed it to be. Not only to challenge but to make some important contribution. And in joining the Justice and Peace Mvt. , I found that it was worthwhile meeting people across the colour line, people from different backgrounds, opinions beliefs. one guiding light was my sense of belief that if we believe the words of the Lord's prayer,, We said our father, we had to believe, we had to accept that he was the father of all...he is the father of all. And if I had to continue believing in Christianity, or any religion or in God. I had to accept then that this was the beginning...and what it all meant this whole business of the brotherhood of man, loving your neighbour and practising the faith which seemed to embody all those good things...with the odd exception of the political limitations..if I could say it that way. And I then joined the Mvt. and got involved at the sort of regional level, at our own parish at St. Paul's, there was a tremendous enthusiasm..it had a very wonderful and exciting inauguration... But it was that inaugural mass that frightened the daylight out of me...because of the response we got from all other parishes. They were wildly enthusiastic. They started to see us in a light that I thought was not quite right. We weren't that open, we weren't that open, we weren't that spiritual. We were trying but the other parishes gave the impression that here we were...such heroes, exciting, full of a great message to give to other churches and i wondered if we had enough to continue in that vein. In time it proved that it was something worthwhile worrying about because eventually it died. And it died not only because we didn't have enough to let us carry on but there were other things that i found very disappointing. I found that J&P was wonderful to have all these little exercises, these little bits of development, personal; development but that's where they ended. they had no real meaning, they didn't reach across to the living, to the people we were supposed to be working with and for.

Q. Are you saying then that in these gatherings of supposedly Catholic people, that you didn't have a sense of identity?

R. I think in that respect, now I would agree with that. Now my identity was one of an outsider...I was an antagonist, I was someone who was confused. I had a different idea. All these people seemed so comfortable with their existence. They seemed happy with what they were doing and seemed to be the only one who was asking questions and some of the questions were very uncomfortable for the other people. I challenged them on education, the Catholic schools, the convent-run schools. How many non-white students did they make it possible for them to attend? I knew of all my rich doctor friends and relatives who had Hindu sons and daughters who were eligible for those schools because they had the money. But what was going to happen to the poor Catholic children of all races. How many were being admitted? How many bursaries were given. I didn't get any answers. And it was then that I decided No, I don't fit in. Perhaps I was too radical.

Q. I want to try to understand your experience there. Here were a group of people from the various race groups in SA whose commonality was their religion. At that point did you or the others feel that commonality of religion or was your race still very much a deciding feature of your identity?

R. I think it was both. There was that commonality. Yes, we were all Catholics but one couldn't hide the fact that there was this hiving off of groups according to race. When the social events came across, I expected, perhaps my expectations were too high, I expected that when it came down to breaking of bread, there would be this great camaraderie of all the different race groups. We're Catholics aren't we. I didn't see that happening and I also got the feeling that some people were patronising and I was hurt and was annoyed and I decided that if I wasn't going to upset anyone else it was time to move on to something that meant something to me. This didn't mean anything to me...it was alright while we were there as Catholics in that community area but we never went beyond that area...we never became Catholics working in the larger community together and getting a message across and that is what I joined for : to get a message across.

Q. It would seem from your discussions and descriptions, that you were also very aware of factors such as class and economic position. Do you think that in deciding who you are, and in deciding how Catholic you were, that your political education is the most deciding feature, your most dominant feature of your consciousness?

R. I don't know. I must admit that one was always reminded in various ways of class. In my particular family, I won't go into it because it would embarrass a lot of relatives, but one was aware of it. But I count my blessings in that I grew up in a poor community and I learned to associate, and to love, and to see people for what they were....not for their titles, not for their degrees, not for their wealth that I think even now I am very aware of it that I find very off putting because I find the rich so pompous, so spiteful, so self-centred. And I find those who lay much store by their education seem to want to flex

their intellectual muscles all the time. Perhaps I'm asking too much, my expectations are too high but, my thinking is that with all that wonderful knowledge, you should be doing something worthwhile for the larger community, rather than having so much store in that you have degrees. My humble opinion they are part of exams. They don't necessarily make you living experts in a particular field.

Q. When you have to fill in a form, and you have to fill in race and religion, what goes on in your mind? Is it an automatic filling in of those categories or do you question it every time you fill it in?

R. I hate, I can't emphasise this too much, I hate, having to fill in race. I'm not an Indian! I'm not an Asian! I'm a South African. And I hate having to be called something that is not a South African! That's the very basis of Apartheid...that I'm something different according to someone else's vision. But I'm a South African, so I hate having to be called something other than a South African. Being called Indian, means I'm part of a group area, I'm part of an Apartheid ideology and I cannot accept it! In fact if I could help it I would ignore that column. As far as religion is concerned, I know that in the early days, even now, I found that the Catholic Church wasn't very welcomed by the government of the day. And I thought that my being a Catholic was my business, why did I have to tell somebody else? How relevant was it what I believed as far as religion is concerned. All these official forms..I mean they're important in as far as they collate statistics, or for tracing some kind of thing or the other. But I don't see what my religious beliefs got to do with it. So I would say that I dislike having to record it.

Q. I want to move from your experiences of identity and your feelings of otherness which you have expressed very well and with much pain, I note. I want to go on to discuss the mass and the South African Rite of marriage. What's the nature of your participation in the Sunday Mass?

R. Well, I answer the prayers with conviction. Singing is a very important part of a very small choir. I sing with gusto. I try to think about what I'm doing during Mass, I don't just have some kind of recital. I think in between of the significance of what the priest is doing when he raises the host. My one observation is that when I was a child we were taught to bow our heads and say: "My Lord and My God". But I don't see anybody doing that anymore. I see people gazing into the distance.

Q. At that point, at the lifting of the host, have you ever felt the need to go right down?

R. I have always felt a deep sense of humility. I don't know how to explain it. I don't know, people who are not Christians will say: Ah...that's just a wafer, that's just a biscuit, a symbol. What are you so emotionally involved with... But that feeling is there. Something important is happening. Something of great mystery of which I'm a part. So I always feel that this is a very significant moment and I always feel very humble about it.

Q. You were saying that the bowing of the head, is something you appreciate and

there is a feeling of respect, of humility. Is there anything else that you would like to do that point in time, in order to show that, any other body language, that you would like to reflect on to show, to do ...

R. I'm not a very demonstrative person, I'm also a bit conservative. I know some people would be very spontaneous in the way they may reach out to someone next door, or say some loud prayer, whatever. I don't if I can find the courage in me to do that. I think I would be very proud of myself if I could, but being conservative. I doubt I could.

Q. Do you think that has anything to do with the Mass is presented? Do you think it is just merely your personality or is it the structure of the Mass or the pattern of the mass that disallows spontaneity?

R. Yes, I think I must agree that that's an idea that has always been at the back of my head. This Mass is too confined to a set programme and all we seem to do is follow it robot-like. And we do things in response, nothing is spontaneous. I found that in other churches their style of prayer: the way they sing, the way they pray seems to be a lot more meaningful. They don't seem to be shy to say it out aloud. We seem to just recite in a very meaningless sort of way.

Q. Does that hesitancy to be spontaneous, now I'm not looking at personality, but that patterned response, do you think it links in any way or reflects in any way our own feelings of basic inferiority within the Catholic Church? Are we very forthcoming in our pride for who we are and what our religion is?

R. I'm not sure that it is a case of us feeling inferior. But I do feel that it is due perhaps to the what we've been brought up to pray and to respond. The whole Mass structure is one of: I will lead (that is the priest) and you will answer. And there has never been any room or any scope within that rather rigid programme for any spontaneity, for any one else to do anything. Even.. there used to be some occasions when some priest used to invite the parishioners to pray out aloud the prayers of the faithful...I don't see that being done anymore and I see very few people found it easy to do that. In other denominations I find that they, in their training, they pray very spontaneously and very warmly. It's a beautiful thing to observe.

Q. So do I summarise you correctly if I say that in terms of the Mass, it is not the popular performance or popular celebration you would like it to be?

R. Yes, I think that describes it in a nutshell.

Q. If we had to take steps to make it a popular performance, you know with the pomp and dignity that is associated with the church, that you recall you made mention of, what are some of the things you would include?

R. Well I'm impressed by the negro approach, spiritual approach, the holding of hands, the personal contact, the physical contact with your neighbour, the chance to share some special feeling that running through you..and I think it can be done with that physical contact. I think we should have more of that. I think we should have more of the congregation leading the service, rather than being led. perhaps I do not have to good an idea on how that can be

done. On the otherhand you could have Masses that would never end, because everyone would want to have their say.

Q. What effect do have candles have on you?

R. I think generally candles do have some kind of effect. They seem to instil some kind of warmth by their little glow rather than the electric light bulb. One always feels there is something different...a candlelit dinner...why does it sound so romantic ? I think it must be the candles ! So the candles in mass have some meaning, have a lot of meaning.

Q. What do you think about the substitution of candles by lamps?

R. It would be very interesting being an Indian. But then I shy away from anything Indian...because I want to deny that I'm an Indian, I'm a South African. Perhaps I'm saying this the wrong way. But every time I'm forced to do an Indian thing, I feel that I'm being shoved into a corner. I'm being reminded that : Listen Chappie you're stepping out of line ...that's where you are ! If I could just relate a humorous story. I was at a dinner party, in our work situation, and the lady next to me at the dinner table, a very prominent scientist said to me : Why are you drinking brandy and coke?.... So I said : I like a brandy and coke now and then...She said : Why don't you drink cane which is your national drink !...And I was amazed that there I was , a South African of many years standing believing that I as A another South African had a different national drink! So I hate to be reminded or to be asked to do anything Indian, but I can't deny that I'm of Asian descent and there are things in that t, that I find wonderful and beautiful. I can enjoy the festival of Diwali. I find it very moving. I can appreciate the significance of a Hindu wedding after its been explained. I don't understand the language, I don't speak the language. But I can appreciate things Indian, but I don't want to do it because I'm to be an Indian. So perhaps I can ask a little question here : Would lamps be okay in the Emmanuel Cathedral ? If they were then I would say lets go for it.

Q. Alright, then let me take you into this question about cultures then. You do not want cultural symbols then merely because it is identified or is an identifying feature of your race, but it has a place. What do you think the relationship between the various customs and traditions should be in this country? What do you understand by cultural freedom or by inculturation?

R. A difficult question to answer.If one has to just look at it from a point of politics. If we are to become one, which I've been shouting about all this time, and to be treated as one, we can't just overlook that we've had different cultural beginnings , different cultural traditions, different rituals. How all these can be blended into one common thing, I think is perhaps is too difficult to imagine at this point. What is exciting is that the new government of the day has promised religious freedom and I think if you have religious freedom you will continue to have cultural freedom, you will continue to practise things the way you were brought up to practise it, or the way your grandparents or great-grandparents did things. I don't think very much of that will change.

Q. So then your views on the South Indian Rite of Marriage? Are you familiar with it?

R. I'm familiar with it. I'm a little bit concerned that not enough was done by way of consultation with the people...not just Indian Catholic people but with Indian people. And my personal opinion was that it was bound to cause offence. Hindus are constantly reminding us that Christians are making inroads into their religious community. We promise all sorts of things and we're bribing people to become Christians. I'm sure some of them see this as a covert move to bring more Hindus to the Catholic Church through the backdoor. I think it has been said already in the press and I've read some letters that showed some very, very, angry angry Hindu people. And they've expressed themselves in no uncertain terms. I think a lot more discussion must take place and I suppose because we are all a little bit, still a little indoctrinated in the way we approach our religion....: We got married the Catholic way, no allowances were made, are allowances necessary? If one is to marry in the Catholic Church, should one be Catholic? If one has to bring children up in the Catholic faith, shouldn't one be a Catholic? These are questions that have to be answered. I don't know whether things will change by introducing the lamp, by introducing religious Hindu symbolism into the Mass. I don't know if it will change the status of whoever is entering into the marriage with a Catholic? And I know conservative Catholics will find it very hard to accept that. They would see this as a tampering with their religion and the way they've been brought up.

Q. Thank you Brian. I want to ask now about your response to the media. Do you watch the Christian programmes on television?

R. Not very often, I must confess. I watch them when there's a lot of music. I love negro spiritual singing. Our local services I very seldom watch. They are at times that are not my normal times for watching television. My normal time for watching TV is straight when I come home from work....just for a little while in the evening. I'm not a TV addict. I would hate to stay up at 2 o'clock in the morning, or get up at 4 o'clock in the morning to watch a boxing match. TV is not that important. I very seldom watch Christian programmes on TV.

Q. Do you read The Southern Cross?

R. I last read it maybe...30 years, 40 years ago, when I was a young fellow. I wasn't particularly impressed with it. Perhaps I could be forgiven if I said I found it a fuddy-duddy paper, full of things spiritual, talked too much about the Vatican, it talked too much about the Pope. I didn't say anything about what was going on in my Catholic country here Catholic Church here. Whatever it did say was more on the social side...some priest being ordained whatever. It didn't seem to have anything for me.

Q. Do you think there is a need for a Catholic newspaper?

R. We need Catholic news. We definitely need Catholic news. We need... it is important for us to understand, not just from a local level but from a broader picture what...Some of the things we are called to do, we don't understand, because a decision is taken from higher up and it's never explained properly...you know we get letters from the Pope, we get letters from the

bishop that you are to do this. Perhaps if there was news perhaps if there was a medium for questioning, for challenging, for contributing, then I think a newspaper like that would be very important.

Q. Do you think that a newspaper would be able to bring about cohesion amongst Catholics across the race groups?

R. I think it would perform a very important role in that direction. We are fragmented by the very geography of the Catholic Church...The Group Areas Act had us stationed in group areas and so i don't think the people of Chesterville know much about what is going on in the Catholic Church in Reservoir Hills unless you have some kind of sharing, regular sharing and perhaps if there was a paper common to all catholics giving us the news it would bring that cohesion.

Q. Do you think that there should be time set aside on SABC for religious programmes and paid for by the tax payer?

R. Well we do profess this South africa of ours to be a Christian country. If we are to have special times for Christianity, then we would have to have time allotted to all the others. The media is a commercial thing and it would depend on time and money and the kind of trained people that you would need to do it. I don't know how you would be able to wrap that all up in a 24 hour day if you had to be fair. I think one of the things any new government would try to do is to be fair to all.

Q. Are you saying that within the broadcasting media like radio and TV, that the government must make equal space and time, however much or however little, to all religions and that this should happen on channels paid for by the tax payer?

R. That's right.

Q. There are certain channels at the moment, where you have programmes on Christianity. Of course this is commercial, you buy that time. What is your opinion of that?

R. Because its not...those channels are not popular channels one tends to ignore them and those programmes tend to appear in my non-television time so tend not to see too much of it. So if by accident , I switch on the Tv hoping to catch a soccer game and I get one of those, I might watch them for a while. But my need to watch the soccer will force me to change the channel.

Q. What do you think , we are going back to the political situation, what d you think about religious people being involved in politics..like Fr. Maktshwa and Sr. Bernard ... they are on the ANC candidates lists?

R. I feel proud of them actually. I know there's been a lot of dissent. People have been unhappy. One of the main things that have been said for too long, is that one should not mix politics with religion, and one should not mix politics with sport. I don't understand that statement. As far as I'm concerned the very act of staying alive is political and the social side of the church is a political one.

How do you honour your neighbour, how can you love your neighbour if you are practising a political ideology that separates you from him? So religion and politics are one. And the same for sport. You got to learn to play the game for the game sake. And you can only play the game that way when you honour your neighbour. And that's political. Perhaps people confuse politicking, making political speeches with the role one plays in the church. We are saying that a Catholic priest or sister or a nun shouldn't stand up and say to Catholics: That's wrong what you are doing! You haven't behaved in a Christian way by treating your neighbour, or by treating a person of another race group in this particular fashion. No! I think it's high time. I think it's important that we do that all the time. We should be made aware of our political responsibility and how they tie in with our spiritual ones. I don't see the difference. I don't see how they can be divided.

Q. I'm forced to ask a question now from what you have said, about your own personal experiences. Your sense of morality, where did it come from? Did the church give you a sense of morality?

R. Possibly some of it came from the discipline, the early discipline of the church and later on. Possibly I have grown with the benefit of my family upbringing and the foundation that has been given to me by my parents, my friends, my relatives, by the community. This led me to become a moral person. Perhaps as a teenager I wasn't as moral as I could have been. To me morality is a sanctioned aspect of one's lifestyle.

Q. I'd like to ask a direct question: How involved in politics are you..besides now just being able to vote? Are you involved in any political party?

R. I have not joined any one particular party. But I have made every effort to study them all. I'm highly critical of different aspects of different parties. I'm very critical of politicians. They're not a breed of person that I trust very much. I haven't made any conscious effort to be really involved by way of joining a party or by canvassing or anything like that. But if it means that you are trying to influence people, others by your political views, if you argue and debate structures and laws and things like that, then I have been unconsciously canvassing for a political party.

Q. Have there been any particular political events or movements in this country that have influenced you?

R. I was very influenced by this great figure who lay in jail for 27 years, Nelson Mandela. I was very influenced by what I was able to glean from my father, my late dad, of the ANC and its early struggles. I was very impressed by people like the late Albert Luthuli. I had heard a lot about what had been said about local Indians like Dr. Dadoo, Dr. Naicker. It was disappointing that nothing concrete materialised from their joint struggle in the early days. The fact that they chose to go different ways I still find a disaster, a terrible mistake. Black Consciousness... for a time I thought that it was proud that people were proud of their own skin colour, but I saw that it was becoming an entity, an all important thing, that you had to be black, that in other words you had to deny white. And what worried me was that the emphasis was on

a colour. And I asked myself were we not now practising the very same thing that the white man was practising. ...and I started to drift away from that kind of thought or consciousness of being black. I would rather someone think of me as South African. So it probably explains why I never went on to join AZAPO, parties like that who are part of the Black Consciousness thinking. I've never wanted to be associated with anything that was radical, any thing that was narrow, any thing that refused to see another point of view or to make room for another vision or thought. I'm scared, I'm afraid of things like that.

Q. Thank you Brian. That was most forthcoming in sharing your experiences. It has given me a lot to think about. It is going to help with the question that I am asking myself : What do South African Catholics of Indian descent feel that their identity is.

Q. Brian, for a lot of people, they are articulating that being Catholic, had an almost contradictory feelings. They felt a sense of superiority within a broader context of inferiority. Does that apply to your experiences.

R. Very much so as a little boy, I was accused by my playmates of being a white. They used to use the local word for it which I found very insulting. And as I think about it over the years. It's probably true that as Catholics we felt different. It is not part of our religious education that we are taught early that only the Catholics will have the benefit of heaven. that was drummed into us by the nuns, in the early days in school. In fact, I was rudely awakened when I went to high school and I saw other people who were good. It took me a long time to appreciate other people like Mahatma Gandhi. How could I appreciate a non-Catholic! But here was a very good man and when I went to high school I realised that it wasn't just Catholics that were good only. there were lots of other people of other faiths, groupings that were actually better than Catholics in a way. And I think we have been quite rightly accused in this country of being too much of a unique and select group. Probably, that has caused other people to not want to learn about our faith and see the winners of it.

Q. Do you think that feeling of superiority was actually merely a superiority that came from having been introduced into a white world and becoming at fault with the white world which was so shut out from other groupings.

R. It's no doubt that being brought up as a Catholic by Catholic nuns who were basically white, by Catholic priests who were basically white, there is no doubt I was now beginning to aspire to a foreign culture. I think it's fair for other people to have felt offended. I must have given the impression that I was better off because I was a Catholic.

APPENDIX F.5

INTERVIEW 5

Kogie and Cyril

July 1995.

- Q. Thank you for sharing your experiences with me. I'm interested to find out more about the kinds of ways in which both of you have handled the fact - like myself and my husband - we come from a mixed religious background - was it difficult?
- K. At first it was for me - coming from a Hindu background and getting into a Catholic - it was totally different - you know and now i'm used to it.
- Q. Did you think that Catholics were Indian enough? How did they strike you?
- K. Okay they Indian enough. i mean er they do most of the things that the Hindus do.
- Q. Would you give me some of the examples of that Kogie?
- K. Like you know on Easter father burns the havan - we also do that - the samrani.
- Q. So you think there are lots of similarities?
- K. Yes.
- Q. And for you Cyril?
- C. I have to be a bit wary because I always thought that our diet was different and the foodstuff that we eat - English and are lifestyles are much more Westernised but I found that the idea of Christ very well represented in Kogie's family by the Baptist Church and I met Kogie at work about 15 years ago - we were married for eight years - it wasn't hard to relate because there was always that background and the missionaries were there and they had their preconceived ideas about Catholics
- Q. So you feel that in terms of religion - itself - would I be correct if I say that you not hard and fast - that there are more similarities than differences. Would I be correct in that assessment?
- C. Ya on both sides - the sacraments are most important to the Catholics and bible learning we lack to a great deal because even the children in Kogie's home - they go through the bible easier than i do.
- Q. If someone had to ask you - what happened? who are you- how would you answer them? Kogie - I meet you for the first time and say hello and I want to know more about you. So I ask you - What are you? How would you answer the question?
- K. I'm a Catholic.
- Q. You then have made a conversion and by saying you a Catholic - am i correct in saying that you define yourself first by your religion then anything else?

- K. Yes.
- Q. And you Cyril.
- C. My work i'm mostly a Catholic. I'm a Catholic worker.
- Q. So you define yourself by your occupation
- C. Yes.
- Q. What does it mean to be Indian in South Africa?
- C. I think if I start thinking about South African Indian then I think of all the fears the community has to the future because we have put in so much good work - to see it destroyed just by a government not thinking - we can handle the struggle but if we came to a situation where we are victimized then I think a lot of us would start leaving and even now because of the violence - I think some are leaving.
- Q. And you, Kogie. What does it mean to be Indian? Do you think about it?
- K. [shakes her head - negatively]
- Q. Do you think of yourself as South African?
- K. Yes I do. South African.
- Q. So if someone had to ask you a very simplistic question -like what are you? ... seeing yourself as Indian does it raise any sort of fears...do you think people generally because of the race classification see themselves as Indians or do they see themselves as more South African?
- C. They see themselves as South African but you can't really divorce ourselves from our culture and that's the way we identify ourselves and it serves to make us when we identify - we show that we are capable of...
- Q. You mention that our Indianness is our culture - do you think that Catholics have expressed that culture - you said earlier that you thought that we were quite westernised - in what way do we express our culture? Do many Catholics speak the language? Any Indian language?
- C. No....
- Q. Do you speak an Indian language?
- C. No, not at all.
- K. I think that the more - the ones that come from a Hindu background that have changed to Catholic - they are the ones that speak...
- Q. So you saying your observations of Catholics is that they don't speak an Indian language.
- C. That wasn't encouraged by the missionaries. Catholics that were converted - then they spoke English - post - colonial...
- Q. Do you think that should change? How do you feel about that?
- C. It's going to make our task a little easier to accommodate change in South Africa. My grandfather was Catholic then he came to this country - my mother's side - my maternal grandfather was also Catholic so a lot of that whole tradition was very colonial - India was still under the British Rajah at

that time - we haven't gone really back into that time - maybe my sisters have studied it to look at where our roots are.

Q. Do you consider it a loss?

C. No at that time it was an asset - because you knew English - higher education came easier.

Q. It was expedient to you - I mean not being very cultural and not...

C. But I mean there were ten of us in the family so I didn't get married until very late.

Q. So you saying it was expedient to retain culture or cultural links earlier on - do you think that it's going to change now in the new South Africa?

C. My father was a headmaster but there were no cultural Indian activities at home - we had pianos - we had violins - there was all classical Western music all the time- my aunts played the organs at church for years - those were our aspirations to become like English lords but education also played a very big part in it - most people in the family were very well educated - like I said Kogie and I worked at C.I. Caravans at the factory there - making tents and that's where I met her.

K. You mentioned that you are a Catholic. What kinds of feelings went on in you when you made this decision to become Catholic? What were some of the things that you talked about?

K. We didn't discuss anything together. So everything happened so fast and I got baptized very quickly and I didn't learn about anything - in a years time everything just happened.

Q. Was that the time that you got married?

K. No.

Q. Was it after you met each other?

Q. At the point of getting married - Did you have a Catholic wedding?

K. Yes.

Q. At the point of your wedding - did you have any questions?

K. No I didn't.

Q. Any regrets.

K. No, I didn't.

Q. In a sense you got married in a Western garb and earlier on say in your teen years you thought about getting married like a lot of young girls and women do.

K. I never thought that I would get married in this way - I always thought that I as a Hindu bride - all those - flowers and garlands and things.

Q. Do you think that your decision at that point - did it ever enter your head that the wedding should be the other way around? Should you have a Hindu wedding?

You think it.

K. It didn't occur to me at that time.

- Q. You were quite prepared to get married that way?
- K. Yes.
- Q. Cyril, were you thinking about this - were there major questions that you had to handle at home regarding the mixed...
- C. No, once people understood that I finally decided to marry - they just had to let it happen.
- Q. I want to go back to the similarities - at the time of the birth of your child - usually it is quite a moving experience for people. Did you have any questions at that time regarding the way you raise the child - any changes you would like to make in terms of religion or practices?
- K. No we never because we three sisters and both my sisters married Christians - full gospel and they had to follow their husband - all their children did too and I did the same.
- Q. So your decision was very firm.?
- K. Yes.
- Q. And you had no conflicts within you. Okay now there is an Indian pastoral committee that is going around. I don't know if you are aware that there is this development - the South Indian rite of marriage which has all the traditions that we associate with Indian culture from exchanges of garlands - exchanges of thali and to the burning of incense and to the exchange of rings. Now do you know about this?
- You know that there is a particular South Indian rite of marriage?
- C. Yes I'm aware of it. Father Clem is strongly behind the Catholic Church - is that a fact?
- Q. Yes there have been a lot couples who have gotten married according to this South Indian rite of marriage but basically the Catholic marriage but where it can be done in the vernacular - it is prayed in the vernacular but where it is done in English then there is the cultural elements of exchange - the exchange of garlands, the handing over of lamps with a cross on it, using of the thali which has on it three symbols - could be a symbol of trust or dove or a there is one other symbol - I forget now. 3 symbols - it could be on the gold - symbols on the thali itself. Do you think that it is a good idea?
- K. Well, I always said to Cyril why did he not put a thali round me? His sisters in law have got one the same day that they got married.
- Q. Was this as a result of the girl's Hindu parents? Was this a result of having separate weddings? Two weddings.
- K. No.
- Q. They had single weddings. And Cyril may be able to tell us. In terms of the wedding did they have a separate sort of Hindu wedding and a Christian wedding or they exchanged the thali?
- C. No they didn't have a proper Hindu ceremony. I think perhaps that Kogie had in her mind...if perhaps Kogie's father had been

alive perhaps he would have insisted on certain things but Kogie's mother is not a person who would insist on anything. She's a very staunch Hindu but...

Q. If you had to renew your vows - if you have the option of making use of the South Indian rite of marriage at the time you had gotten married - do you think that would have been something you would have chosen? Cyril - Kogie?

C. I just think you know that marriage is not something that I would like my marriage to be controversial...I think you know that if Father Clem had come from every criticism...and I thought what is this guy getting all heated about. It's social and it's function and it's there for people to do. So I wouldn't want to upset anyone or to make anyone feel that I was doing anything wrong which I had no right like to emigrate or something like that. At the moment I feel let things simmer down a bit and if there is a value then people will accept that there is a value - it may have been a bit early then but 5 years ago or 8 years ago for us to do that but Kogie didn't have a white wedding dress - she wore a sari and the bridesmaids were dressed as Indian dancers...

Q. So you had the dress that was cultural?

C. She wore a white sari.

Q. Kogie let's hear what you think about the South Indian rite of marriage. Like I'm saying that it is basically a Catholic marriage but has elements of Indian dress, Indian headgear, exchange of garlands burning of the lamps with the cross sign on it ...it has the blessing of thalis... and what do you think about that?

K. I think that would have been great- like Cyril said if my dad was alive at that time - he would have loved it. Because my mum is so simple - staunch Hindu but she let everything happen the groom's side. But if my dad was alive - she would have loved that. then I'm sure I would have liked it too.

Q. My husband has always felt the effect of Catholicism ...that somehow it didn't quite complete the process and when he discovered that there was a South Indian rite of marriage our only aim was that it was wonderfully accommodating - that there was a difference between culture and religion. Do you think that is a clear difference between culture and religion?

C. Well where do we start - with the Catholic faith ...the culture...the ancient culture is all based on Roman gods and English weather so we've taken all that and accepted that. There's lots of changes taking place without...without any particular Indian culture as well...

Q. I read that as a feeling that should happen?

C. Yes, it should happen.

Q. I just want to go back to a comment that you made earlier - say if we start this cultural recovery in the church - in the

dominantly Indian churches - and start obviously saying in no uncertain terms we are Indian by culture do you think - your comment about the fear element - do you think that in the new South Africa that mood of cultural recovery will be a big one or do you think people are going to do what they did in the past?

C. For myself I would like to see my culture coming back but what Father Clem does here which is a bit unusual - Kogie mentioned about Easter - but is a very beautiful ceremony...I don't see much of it because my job is to switch off the lights at the right time. You know I see from the top but all the candles lit up and Father Clem and Father...looking like the high priests ...

K. When I got baptized that time...I can still remember...I was pregnant.

Q. You mentioned some of the similarities like the case of lights, the presence of incense, the presence of the flowers. What do you think about the contact of god - you have a rich understanding of two religions now - what do you think the similarities are - is it easy for you when you pray - do you find that your contact with god has changed in any way?

Q. Kogie, in a change from Hinduism to Catholicism - when you think about god - does it differ?

K. No it doesn't - I just pray - god...I pray as normal you know...I don't find any difference.

Q. Do you think of god as a male figure - as a father figure as a female figure?

K. As a person - I just pray openly.

Q. Do you find in church there is this genuflection - do you ever feel the need to whenever you worship as you commune with god - do you feel the need to use the same body language you use when you prostrate on the ground and joining hands ... do you find that you...

K. I do that still - I do that...[demonstrates]

Q. Is it different to Cyril? Have you noticed how he worships?

K. No I didn't. Most of the time we sit at the back with children - now that they big we've gone forward and I always got my hand like this - I still got it down like this.

Q. You bow?

K. Yes, I bow?

Q. I'm asking because I like to understand how you feel about being in church? Do you feel included what do we really worship and you Cyril how do you worship?

C. I sing - my wife says I sing too loudly when I worship as a Catholic - I listen to the meanings - I tried to make my peace and get a certain sense of contact with god or with something superior to mankind. Before I go to communion and then after that it is very short you feel that you been to mass.

- Q. Is there anything you like to include in the format or the liturgy or the way in which we worship? If you would like to feel totally secure and not shy at all about the way we worship? Is there anything you would change - that you would like to include but you just don't do it because you feel too self conscious?
- C. Oh, you mean like...
- C. Some people stand up and...
- Q. Any aspect - during the course of the mass - We kneel, We sit, We stand, We sing, We join our hands we bow our heads. In doing all of that we can either begin to feel that we are worshipping and feel close to god maybe there is something else that we want to do which is not quite included in the mass itself. If so what are the other things that we like to bring in?
- K. Stand up and testify what... god has done.
- Q. I'm asking if you had to include other aspects into the worship - the communal worship on a Sunday - we have a set pattern the way we worship. Is there anything that you would like to see happen or included in that prayer meeting on a Sunday? Do we have sufficient contact with each other during the mass or do you like to be individuals praying on their own?
- C. No I don't think that you get enough out of the mass simply because of the individual ...for this church people should come in at least 15 minutes before mass starts...I know that's hard for everyone to do but they should be singing - get prepared at the alter before...if you get to mass just in time or to be somewhere else then I don't think that you should even bother to come. You should have even set out that late - don't come.
- Q. Are you suggesting that there should be more of a participation - like even just watching others getting the alter ready - you want ...before it actually starts.
- C. You should learn to respect each other - we come here to worship god - but god belongs to you he is also evident in all ...and we should show more respect for each other. By doing things that the mass teaches us...in our church we shake each other's hands and always say peace be with you.
- Q. If you had to make that contact - kogie do you think we have enough contact with each other during the celebrations?
- K. As Cyril said we can only do that if we get caught up with one another...
- C. We hold hands during the Our Father. Why we remember that is because it touches us. It's beautiful - to hold hands and sing the Our Father - it's beautiful...
- Q. When you go to the East, the Catholic Church in the East - mass is often said with the congregation sitting in various positions on the floor - sign used for... which is very much a cultural social greeting that you find among the real Indian culture. What do you think about those things being included?

How would you feel about liturgical dance being part of the celebration? Is it too way out or what? So they have had liturgical dance. Did people ever accept it? How do you feel?

C.

It was for the children's mass and it was... Do you think it had a place?

C.

Yes i know that the black congregation are asking for more singing - the chance to express themselves the way they are used to - you find that the Roman Catholics mass is a bit too stiff and proper.

Q.

So have you had instrument mass during the courses of the mass - like the cymbal or the harmonium?

C.

No.

Q.

Does anyone in the parish play those sorts of instruments?

C.

Not that I know of. It's very hard to find someone to play.

K.

The organ.

Q.

So what do you think if we started introducing some of the

C.

If you get children at nursery school level and start teaching them - I think that the educational process...but you need it...but when children start going to school even they get so tied up about everything that it's impossible break them away from that cycle.

Q.

That Western cycle that you talking about ...

C.

Ja, of earning a living and studying and all that...it becomes heavy on the people.

Q.

Are you hopeful of sort of more mixed marriages - you two seem to have come to a sort of an understanding - Kogie's views and your views - about couples who keep their religion - do you think that would be problematic? You know each of the partners keeping to their particular way? Do you think that it would create too much of a problem?

C.

If people decide to get married - personally they can live with each other's religions but there is always the rest of the family that would make it a little harder than it ...

Q.

But generally you are hopeful.

C.

Like Kogie and I say god is there...

Q.

So now you've been married how many years?

K.

8 years.

Q.

I wish you much happiness and I want to say thank you for sharing your experiences...

INTERVIEW 6

Max and Sharlene

20 NOVEMBER 1994.

- Q Thank you for participating in this study. I like to start off by asking you to share with me - initial discussions you had when you got married and discovered and knew already that you came from different backgrounds - what were some of the tensions? Some of the ways you dealt with it - where there any problems?
- S. Definitely were problems - initially we talked about it - everything at first was fine - talking about it but when we got to the actual doing of things and carrying of plans and the little things crop up that you don't think about or you never would come up like you know basically eh it just...
- M. It boiled down to what we wanted - basically what we wanted and not what er|what parents wanted - Q|
- S. At first we were very pressurised you know into pleasing both sides but we got into what we wanted for ourselves our lives and afterwards and like er once that hurdle was overcome - things started smoothing out.
- Q. When you look at your parents and er the way they were thinking - how did it differ to the way the two of you were thinking?
- M. I think our parents were more conservative. It was like my parents in the Hindustani way. It had to be that way - but then after you start talking to them and then you realise that they not a bad people so that in a way it also opened up their minds to our way of thinking because we speak - we can get caught up in the paradigm where that way is the only way and when it comes to change - then we reluctant to change but er my parents were hard to change for that moment. And after that when we spoke to them - they started giving in slowly but I think they started to realize that for me being the eldest it was time to let go - although I was far away from them. They in Newcastle and I was here they still would let go because they - even for me for that matter as well if I had - if there was something I'll phone home first just to let them know what's happening but then slowly but surely you got to give way a little so I think in that sense like my parents also started just leaving us to do what we wanted. Because in the end I'm going to be living with Sharlene and they not going to be my wife

and I mean I'm going to be living with her for the rest of my life although they important to me but now that I married Sharlene she becomes very important to me - not to say that I must neglect them or forget about them but people tend to change you know.

Q. Do you think er that the differences - vastly - parents thought would exist are not really there? Do you have a sense of difference? For example the lifestyle that you two lead or lead seperately and now lead together - is it vastly different?

S. It is when Max and I - I had a group of friends and preferred going out - going here and going there - Max is very much into sport and now our life is settled and slowed down a lot and the baby's come along and now I think we have to do things as a family and young lifestle now - although we still young - it is just us.

Q. In your minds okay - or how do you define what it means to be Indian? - Do you see yourselves as Indians?

S. Seriously no?

M. Seriously no, ja?

S. You think of yourself as a person - people point out to you that you an Indian that you aware of the fact that you Indian - Max I think has an understanding of what it is to be more Indian - I mean more traditional than I would because been Catholic I went to a Catholic school and it was a multiracial school. I had exposure to that side and I really and truly - except for Diwali and the more public side of events I know very little - you know and as Max knows very little about mine it's like the only way you can say.

Q. So there isn't a serious or very direct understanding of being Indian. Max how would you define Indian?

M. First time I have been asked that question and I'm caught up. I think basically you are a unique individual. So a lot of okay - we've got I have a lot of friends in Newcastle and are Indian but act anti- Indian you know what I'm trying to say and when someone points...you only become aware of it when someone tells you listen you Indian and not white and act like an Indian and not like a white.

Q. Act like an Indian what does it mean - act like an Indian?

M. I don't know because it basically is your lifestyle or maybe it is the colour of your skin...if I want to act white and acting the way I want what would they tell me - act like an Indian I mean...

Q. Okay; do you think some I might be putting words into your mouth but do you think somewhere along the line er in the minds of your parents who as you say are more in touch with the traditions? Would they have imagined Sharlene to be less Indian? Do they think that you are less Indian because of your decision?

- M. Er well at first they thought that Sharlene was less Indian because like [laughter]
- S. Very much less Indian.
- M. But like I say it takes time to understand each other - now that they known Sharlene the first impressions were obviously distorted...
- Q. What were those impressions?
- That's what I'm interested in. What made them imagine that you were less Indian?
- S. Firstly I think Catholic - nothing about Max and the relation - very opinionated I think and this I think and what they actually thought I have no idea.
- Q. But I'm asking you these questions because we have a sense of identity and people perceive us a certain way and the way we perceive depends on the way they conceive of fitting the mould or fitting the definition or the identity of being Indian or Christian or Hindu or black or you know.
- S. not know the culture you know because Christian girls or Catholic girls you know - We I don't know - at least I'm talking of myself - other girls do I really don't know anything about Indian tradition - or Indian culture - I may know bits of it from my older relatives - my grannies or aunties - but that with the culture and the religious part of it I know nothing so maybe that - so maybe that was the first thing they thought - non - Hindu or non-Tamilian.
- Q. When you talk about Indian culture what does that mean? What are you talking about? Are you talking about dress?
- S. No. I'm talking basically about the religion itself you know what I mean...
- M. Ya...
- S. That basically defines Indian.
- M. Ya, it's the religion, its the religion.
- Q. So if you practice - I'm trying to understand this - if you practice Hinduism, than you are Indian.
- S. No, it could be white people doing the same thing - they following Buddhism and stuff like that.
- Q. Okay, so religion doesn't make you Indian
- S. Make you.
- Q. The way you eat, the way you dress, the way you speak - which languages you speak that make you Indian?
- M. Ya [puzzled] what would make you Indian.
- S. Colour of skin [laughs] basically that's how we being classed.
- Q. So you saying that our definition of Indian has come from apartheid?
- S. And also our...
- Q. The stamps in our books of life...
- S. And where we came from...
- Q. So it's linked with our descent?

- Q. Yes, I don't know too...
- M. I never ever thought of it.
- S. Look at our lifestyles today I mean you can't really say that we leading really typically Indian lifestyles you know.
- M. Where the wife will wear a sari 24 hrs a day and sleep with like a sari like in a Indian movie - then you would say that is typical Indian culture because you see it happening India like where your ancestors are from but you don't see it happening here so you can't really say that you can really class us. I'm not saying that...
- Q. Are you saying that your way is very Western?
- M. Ya.
- Q. Would you say that true of people your age?
- M. Yes, that's very true which Indian girl at 16 or 17 or even 14 or 15 will you see walking on the street wearing a sari. But you will find them wearing minis, cropped tops etc. I mean that you would say is totally Westernised.
- Q. Would you say or anticipate a 14 or 15 year old lighting the lamp?
- M. Ya that is...how many 14 or 15 year olds light the lamp now?
- Q. So you saying that's not so now.
- M. We have been brought up to light the lamp so...there is actually nothing...you can be Westernised but you can still light the lamp.
- Q. Now I don't know if you heard of the South Indian Rite of Catholic marriage.
- S. I heard about that.
- M. Er...
- Q. Where they have included in the Catholic marriage traditions from an Indian wedding and the traditions involve the parents handing over to the couple a lamp to be kept in their home to be lit at the altar where there is an exchange of the thali because it is a South Indian rite of marriage - an exchange of wedding bands - there is that as well as - and that parents in an Indian wedding are very much present in the whole ceremony and before the ceremony is over the couple go the parents and - like to show respect and that has been included in the rite of marriage as well - is this the one that father was explaining to you. What do you think about that. That mixture of religion - Catholic religion plus Indian tradition.
- M. You see. Is that happening overseas - is it already been practised or already been carried out?
- Q. Well I can tell you in South Africa it has started.
- M. It has started.
- Q. It has started - it's very new - not very many people know about it but...
- M. Ya you see I'm - it difficult - okay Sharlene is the only daughter and I'm the eldest son right now it is difficult in the

sense that my grandparents and my parents and being the eldest grandson and the son would want the son or grandson to be married in the Hindustani way right now Sharlene being the...eldest granddaughter and the only daughter. They want her to be married in the Catholic way there comes to a stage where you can't please both sides okay you either got to get married in the Hindustani way and the Catholic - okay - but I got married in the Catholic way - now why can't we compromise like you have just spoken about. There is nothing wrong with that - why can't we just compromise and let both sides be happy because in a way okay they might say they happy I'm mean which ever but in their heart they must be saying if only he go if only he...given us that much more pleasure if he had got married in the Hindustani way you know and I don't know I just feel it is unfair to this - I mean we can't really pick sides can we - I mean we can't really say okay we doing it for this side or that...

Q. You want a mixture...

M. Ya a mixture...

Q. You want something that is going to please both sides because I think that really is our community dilemma.

In the past people would have traditional Indian wedding, Hindu wedding and they would have a Christian wedding and that's very costly in this day and age and then some Catholic priests who would not allow both weddings. And there were those who did allow both weddings and so on and so on. And so the Indian pastoral committee in the catholic church got together and put together this rite of marriage which has the tradition of both. It has cultural traditions and religious significance.

M. And here because I mean like you have the flower - you have the leaves- like you have the candle - you have the lamp

S. But I mean like Father was telling this to us...

Q. Would you have chosen it if you had known more about it?

M. If I had - I would have chosen it.

S. We did know about it but we didn't know - that Father hadn't told us that it had started here - he just told us that this was in the air - can you remember - then we had a talk about it when he came for supper - he told us that it was in the air. You know.

Q. Well it is now being performed.

It is probably i think in its primary stages.

M. What do you call it - they were still discussing it?

S. The diocese.

M. They were still discussing it - you see - now - I would have had no doubt in my mind but just say yes...

S. But that South Indian and you Hindi and they don't use thali.

M. Ya, but then you don't have to have a have a thali - you

have that mangasutha.

Q. Yes, that's it.

M. Yes, the same thing.

S. Well - that just goes to show how much I know about it.
[laughter all round]

Q. So you think that is a very good development. That it would solve a lot of problems.

M. Ja that would solve a lot of financial problems, ill- feeling between families.

Q. Emotionally.

M. : they'll give both families pleasure it will satisfy both the families. Ja I think that will be a good idea.

Q. Do you think that its a dumb thing these days that couples renew their vows - their marriage vows - in ten years time - twenty years time - if you had to renew your vows- would that be an option that you might take?

M. I think I will definitely talk about it with Sharlene because it is not taking away rights of any side because she will still be married the Catholic way. It's just that some of my rights now obviously that were included in her rights so in that sense if we willing to get married to me compromise that's the initial building block if you can come to a compromise then if you can share my beliefs as well then you've got all the rights to a successful marriage but obviously if you want it to be done traditional way - both the Hindustani way and the Catholic way and not come to a compromise then I think there are problems because obviously straightaway you not going to compromise. The way you want it is the way you want it all the time.

Q. Max and Sharlene - I want to ask you - were both of you staunch practitioners of your religion.

M. Sharlene was.

S. I'm not that....

M. It's not just that - I wasn't really - that I would do everything the Indian way - that is one of the reasons why I said okay to get - it was easier for me to get married to Sharlene in the Catholic way but had I been I mean a person that goes to the temple or pray every day had I been that what would have happened. That's what I like to ask other couples in that situation.

It was easier for me because like I know for a fact that I wasn't this staunch Hindustani person that my mum and dad so...

S. We would have got married.

M. It's difficult to say if that situation had arisen what would have been the predicament. If I was like say the Sai Baba what would have the situation.

Q. Interesting, now that you have a child - a lot of us have to do things that sometimes we don't understand but we do it because

parents say that you must do it and seems to be these things that go on - that happens at the time of marriage as well - now that you have a beautiful baby - there are decisions that you have to take regarding your child as well - where there points of conflict- did you do what you had to do - did you do everything that you were supposed to do?

M. Well basically it boiled down to what we wanted okay - you want to start first or do I do it.

S. No. carry on.

M. Okay, you start first. No, just...

S. We had discussed what would happen to our children. Being a Catholic I had to fulfil my Catholic duties...as a mother bringing my child into the faith and what we had decided was that babies are babies and would be baptized but being - carrying on the Catholic faith would be a decision that they would make on their own - when it came time to their confirmation it would be their choice if they want to continue - if they want to live their lives the Catholic way or follow their fathers religion - its er - that's what we said and that's what we wanted to do.

Q. It's very hard - the decision that my husband and I made regarding that - that seems to be a common thread that because the baby is there and not independent you do what you think is the best protection and when they old enough they go their own way. That seems to be the common trend.

M. The other reason why I told why the baby could be baptised and carry on because I feel that the best tutor for the child is the mother because I am not here the whole day - who is going to teach the child - the best tutor for the child I think is the mother - okay but the mother goes to church now it's not going to be fair for like when the mother goes to church and the baby asks - obviously when he grows up will ask me - mummy is going to church - what am I'm doing - do you know what I'm trying to say so the other reason because one of the reasons as well - I know that sharlene's got religious beliefs so I don't want the child not to have religious following.

Q. Okay, can I just stop you there - you do not want the child to be without religion - it doesn't matter which one in the end but you do not want the child to be without religion. What does it mean to have religion? What does that mean? To believe in god?

M. Nods.

S. To believe in life.

S. like I know because prayer is a wonderful source of consolation - it's a power within you that you know when you in trouble you need just to be - if you need some solace within yourself - prayer is a wonderful thing and having a religion - having a faith - having to know that there is god - there is some thing

out there or up there that gives you reason - then if you don't have religion - what gave you life - if you don't believe in a god - where did you spring from - there are wonderful theories of Darwin or evolution and it is all very scientific and expansionary but where did it start - how did it start? And if you have a belief- faith - a religion - you have a good life.

Q. Are you saying that religion gives you morality - teaching you right from wrong. I want to go back a little bit now - we were talking about how - we can't really define what it is to be Indian living in a South African context - what does it mean to be South African. To say I'm South African - what does that mean?

S. Living in the country - you know - you have a right to say you South African because this is what we know - this is the land we grew up in - this is the only place we know- our ancestors may have come from India but like we have come from India but like we were born in this country so why can't we say we South Africans.

M. I don't think South African has got anything to do with culture or religion - it's just because we born in South Africa - I mean you can be born in South Africa but you can still follow...

Q. How apartheid decided in terms of our race that South African meant being born here in South Africa and that one can have traditions different to other groupings in the country. About those traditions which you mentioned earlier on - that are actually dying because we don't really practice . Do you think that we should try to keep them alive? Is it worth keeping? What benefit would it be to us to do so?

S. I don't. When I was at tech. I noticed that the young Indian students - they have has - Indian student society - varsity has it too - the younger people are realising that their culture and tradition must be upheld and they must keep it up. So they are doing that you know. And then you do get the group that have started doing this - living the lifestyle - living their culture - living their religion out to the fullest and that's a good thing but there are still a lot of them that are still letting it fall away.

M. You should'nt actually have youth societies because you should be carrying on religion.

Q. Max you seem to be saying that religion or culture are the same things. If I went to a wedding dressed in full gear, ate breyani with my hands, wore a bun with a flower in my hair - I would be to all intensive purposes on the outside be Indian right - but i would not be practising Hinduism - so is there a difference between religion and culture. Or in the minds of people is it just one and the same?

S. ummm...

Q. Generally speaking, generally speaking.

- M. speaking.
- S. Your culture - how is culture defined?
- Q. How do people live their religion?
- M. But if it...
- Q. You could have...
- M. You could have...
- Q. A Western religion with everything else - Indian or of a Indian continent.
- S. Every culture is determined by your lifestyle.
- M. Culture is basically your lifestyle.
- Q. That's what you meant when you were saying Max you should'nt have a society to keep it going but it will happen anyway when they go home or whenever.
- M. Because it should be within you - basically like I said you are a unique individual.
- Q. Do any of you speak an Indian language?
- M. I speak an Indian language.
- Q. Did you go to a school to learn it?
- M. My granny used to teach me - like I say - with traditional people - the only way we can speak to you is the Hindustani way -like my granny - how often I used to speak to him - she can't speak English - she can but will talk it very seldom and if she does speak it she will talk it in Hindustani but she will give the answer back in English- so that's I learnt it from my granny
- Q. Would you say you're fluent?
- M. No not at all - not absolutely fluent.
- It's like but if I spoke to someone who is very fluent I would know what the person is speaking but I'll speak back in English
- Q. Okay - why do you do that do you not have the confidence to do it?
- M. It's not that I don't have the confidence - it's just that...
- Q. Would you like to be heard speaking the language?
- M. I would mind if I could you know speak it fluently.
- I would be embarrassed in the world to speak Hindustani - like people are not embarrassed to speak Tamil I'm not - I would be embarrassed to speak Hindustani if I knew how to speak it - it's not that I had'nt been taught - it's just that - but I was taught - it's just that we too busy playing sport or doing other things where at that time didn't seem very important but now if you look back you would realise how important it was then.
- Q. Okay so what would you two feel about the idea of an Indian language being the second language. That one would have to study in order to pass as an option - English and any other language?
- M. If we talking.
- Q. If any other language being Tamil - Hindi or what...
- M. Are we talking of any other place or South africa in particular?

- Q. South Africa.
- M. That I think would be left to the majority -you can't let's say what you mind as a second language.
- Q. But as an option.
- M. As an option.
- Q. In schools.
- M. As an option in schools - I would'nt mind
- S. I regret not knowing a language - I definitely regret it.
- Q. Well when people have theorised about culture - they have defined culture as the way people live - the way they talk - what language they talk and the way they talk- the dress - the ways of eating - all of those things they have defined as culture? Okay - Sharlene I just want to focus a bit on you I know Max has said early on he was'nt a staunch practitioner - he didn't do - perform some of the rituals or some of the demands of the religion consciously and actively and all that but you seem to be practising. Now what is your level of participation at church? Do you belong to any of the organisations at church?
- S. Well I was younger and very much involved - my parents were very much involved in church - they were our youth leaders so we were much...we prepared masses - took active part in the masses of readings and stuff like that and like er liturgical dances...I always used to be part of that.
- Q. That's wonderful - tell me about the liturgical dances?
- S. We used to especially have them around October - Mary's birthday and those events and in other special events like our priests anniversary or if a parishioner is leaving.
- Q. Did people respond to it? What were the parishioners response?
- S. The entire parish enjoyed it.
- Q. But they...
- S. would'nt know the actual response because I was very much younger then and er but I mean when I was young my level of involvement in church was very much so.
- Q. When you performed the liturgical dance - did you experience any religious feelings or was it just a kind of ballet a kind of dance performance - what did it mean for you?
- S. Well I was in primary school at the time so it was very much the fact that you doing something which has the excitement of being - of doing things - that was more the case than but now if I had to do something like that - I suppose it will have more meaning like to actually listen to the words and understand the movements but er... unfortunately in my teens my involvement died off...
- Q. When you pray you know what for you is a good prayer session - how do you know when it's really meant something or not?

- S. Quite frankly, I find prayer very fulfilling when it's open and you are allowed to praise - like the Catholics we've been taught to kneel down, say your rosary and pray for forgiveness and do your penance and that sort of thing. But I mean I find that I used to - recently I find that I go to a prayer meeting with my mother at my aunt's house and it's amazing as you listen to like we used to have my uncle - he used to preach and like now they have guests - people - guests coming over to the house to preach - it's amazing when you listen to these people and they talk to you and you get so much out of it because you older - you need that much more fulfilment - you need to you know you need to understand why, where and how come -not just do it because we say so.
- Q. Now when you do it - is this a spontaneous speaking or is it a...
- S. I have'nt plucked up the courage yet to you know....
- Q. Just pray out loud but when you pray in your mind, then do you just instead of saying a Hail Mary out loud.
- S. Ya it's better when you talk to god listen to what they say listen to them talk - listen to what they say and you - it's better to let everything wash over you...
- Q. A kind of meditation.
- S. Ja very much so - it's sort of like cleansing - you actually feel - before when I used to listen to the music - I felt the power of holy spirit wash over me and you feel like of god it should go on like that but when you experience it yourself you know what it is like and I mean I'm sure you must have. Like it's like no matter how you pray or where you pray if you feel that power within you then only would you feel
- Q. That you had a religious experience.
- S. That you gotten something out of it.
- Q. So does mass give you that religious experience?
- What points of the mass give it to you? What points don't you have? What would you like to include in the mass? If you were given the chance to make the mass happen for you what would you drop? What would you keep? What would you leave out?
- S. Actually I would like to include a bit more vibrance in the church - the youth bring that into the church and what is missing now is the youth - the young blood- you know- you need that young blood to keep it going you know...
- Q. More song...
- S. Ya. Basically instead of keeping it to the older things bringing in a bit more of the new like the hymns and choruses and stuff like that. Mass should'nt just be mass for the sake of being on a Sunday - you have to go to mass on a Sunday - make it something like you know...
- M. You don't have to be reminded to do it.

- S. You want to get up and say ah today is Sunday I have to go to church not oh my god Sunday - church- that kind of thing.
- Q. Max do you go with - do you enjoy anything about it?
- M. I go to church not yet - because you put into a new environment - its going to take me not months - years to adapt to it.
- Q. Do you sing along with the hymns?
- M. Just know I like one.
- Q. You discovered you like one or two.
- M. When you put into a new environment sometimes you can grasp it quickly but sometimes it takes a lot of time and I think for me it's going to take a lot of time but I think just the first - the ice must be broken - the first is going with Sharlene to church - I think that you know that you want to learn.
- Q. Were there - if you if you were going to the mosque the first time or the temple or the church for the first time - like when you went for the first time - did you find yourself drawing some parallel? Or they have this here or we have that? Did you find yourself drawing some parallels?
- M. If they okay the temple.
- Q. Or the temple is totally different.
- M. Totally different - it like if you go to the temple - it's more based on - I don't know like...
- Q. Okay , let me ask you some direct questions - they ring the bell at some point in the mass - does it remind you of anything in the temple?
- M. Ya.
- Q. When you look at the movement of the priest - raising the...does it remind you of anything?
- M. Ya it's like them putting the dot or ash on Ya there is some similarity.
- Q. Did you notice them do this - {some action} on the forehead?
- M. Ya it's like us - we go up ya there is similarity - that's why when we talking about the wedding like you know if you look at the whole scenario there's so much that's so similar yet it had'nt been talked about before to coincide or bring things together
- Q. You made an interesting point - when we started talking about the similarities then yes you were making these connections but yet there was a feeling inside that didn't make you feel in the right place? Or that you were not used to this right place - so it would seem that religion tends to have similar signs and symbols but it doesn't become religion until you feel something inside?
- M. Yes, it also has boundaries that you know - until you given that opportunity - then you don't know how to react.
- Q. Well there's just one more question - I need to ask. The kinds of newspapers that you read - are you familiar with the New

Nation - as a newspaper - did you read it do you buy it?

M. No I don't buy it.

Q. The Weekly Mail.

M. Ya I read that.

Q. You definitely buy The Weekly Mail and The Daily News.
Do you watch impressions?

M. I'm mostly working so I...

S. That's the time we at church.

M. Ja that's the time we go I take...

S. But we used to - or if we are at home - and the T.V. is at home we catch bits of it. Or if we busy with breakfast on a Sunday...

Q. Okay but it's not something that you sit down to watch?

M. Like for me.

S. Like the one on M-Net - we used to watch that one.

M. Okay - I'm talking for myself - like East Net and impressions - like now I'm married to Sharlene - like Sunday if you off - we go to church - it's like you know you not neglecting your side but now you get into the rut of - not a rut...

Q. A routine.

M. Like a routine - you come back from church you read the paper - you have breakfast - like before that never used to happen for me - Sunday morning - wake up 10 or 11 o'clock - on to the stadium - play soccer - come back six or seven o'clock - that's it.

Q. Right.

M. So in a way it's taught me not{turns to Sharlene} you know - it taught me to be more family.

Q. Family man - a married man.

M. And not that there is any restriction - it's just that you know you start to learn where your priorities are and like you seem to have more time.

Q. Ja.

M. To spend with your family.

Q. Okay are you suggesting Max that in our youth you would find youth not too concerned with religion or too concerned with culture or whatever but when we get married it rises in importance?

M. It does but if it plays an important part in your youth then you would have to realise later on now religion is important - it should just be like a gradual step carrying forward.

Q. But would you say that's a common experience

M. Ya.

Q. I mean Sharlene you were saying earlier on that the youth are not there - there isn't a vibrancy - so all of a sudden...

S. It's like you go through a stage - I know what's it like for me it was like when you in primary school - you pre-teens - you go to church - you go to catechism - then you get confirmed -

it's between then and the time you get married then the church gets to play a very low you know thing in your life - till you married and get a family - then it's back to church - the children have to go to catechism - and you have to go and stuff and go to church and er like also once you finished school then its varsity - work and career and stuff like that - because I know when I started working and you know like my weekends were - I worked weekends and church became like - I had to go in the evening - like now we married - it's back to...

- Q. You have some sort of focus. Okay.
I must thank you very much. Your input has been very refreshing - very interesting and what is going to happen I will edit and make a documentary after I've written document and hopefully you will be able to screen it to a bigger audience. Just so that the kinds of questions and the kinds of changes that are happening to us at a religious level at a cultural level will become things that we talk about and understand. And I'm very grateful to you for participating. Thank you very much and much happiness.
-

M. Is there a pattern?

- Q. Look I think I started off with the study because I'm one of that grouping and for myself - my own feelings - you shared your perceptions for me - I didn't define myself as Indian up until - of Indian descent or I wasn't concerned with the whole issue of roots up until pretty recently - because my influences was black consciousness movement so I defined myself as black but with the changes in the country and the freeing up for people to express themselves in all their multi roots - if I think about the roots of my father - of the roots on my mother's side - I should be able to move quite easily from one to the other. On my mother's side my grandmother is white and she was married to a Hindu speaking man. On my father's side my grandmother was coloured and my grandfather was South Indian Tamil so there are all those mixtures. I was raised in a Catholic Church. At a time for political reasons I left the church where I felt it was too racist and when the children came I did what you did - you got to take care of the children - you got to baptize them and at that time that is all what I knew so whatever my husband knew he did too. And it is from that background that I'm asking this because I think I need to say to you that I am a supporter of a multicultural revival. I'm very supportive of South Indian rite of marriage and my husband and we talking recently about when my son turns 18 - he is now 14 now - when he turns 18 then we would like to renew our vows and we would do it in the South Indian rite of

marriage and we feel that kind of academics sociologists term it inculturation - the bringing to - bringing from all your experiences into a relationship with god however you see it and so I was quite excited when the pastoral committee came out with this type of wedding. There have been four weddings done that way already in Phoenix - Father Langroy's parish - The Good Shepherd - I will be interviewing those couples. They took that decision to marry that way. I think it was just after your time.

M. Did you ever consider that? [to Sharlene]

S. I would.

M. If you were given the opportunity...

Q. To exchange the garland - you can dressed in Indian garb instead of a white dress

S. No - I would want my white dress.

My white dress is very special to me. [laughter all round]

M. If we had been given the opportunity - but I think it must have been just after our time.

S. I heard of a girl from our church she also wore traditional...

Q. She wore a sari yes...

S. And she was I think she wore ----

Q. It's very interesting because throughout Africa - the church has been Africanised - if you go to mass in the townships - if you go to any Catholic mass you know that you are at a Catholic mass right but you can see and feel the symbols coming in - the identification - the black wire representing Christ on a brown cross - all those kinds of symbols - people make sense of an idea from where they are and er they call that inculturation. And so yes I am very supportive of that. I would like to see - and I think that it is going to happen more and more - cause for the first time in...

APPENDIX F.7

INTERVIEW 7

Sr. Lilly

August 1995

Q Sr, I know that you actually from Srilanka. When did you come to the country?

R It's a pleasur to talk to you alison and thank you for calling me. I came to SA in 1986. There were two of us. We spent two months in Joburg, then came here.

Q Do you think the decision for you to stay here was because there's a strong South African Indian population?

R Yes. Because of the lack of vacations there were no Indian nuns to work among the Indians. There are quite a few Indians. So our Provincial from here requested our Mother General to send some sisters from Jevna province because we speak Tamil to work among the Indian population here especially amongst the Catholics among the Indians....and that they'd be happy to see their own, you know, so they requested. In the meantime, I opted for mission countries and that's how it worked.

Q So now, in your experience now, close onto 10 years, have you found that many South Africans Catholics of Indian descent speak Tamil?

R I have found some people speaking Tamil and can understand Tamil. Especially in the catholic community the percentage is low.

Q Correct me if I'm wrong here but statistics say that the majority of Catholics are of South Indian descent -Tamil speaking?

R That's true...mainly from Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh- Telugu speaking and from Malayalam- Malayalam speaking. But I found that the Tamil speaking population is high among the Catholics.

Q You know for people like myself, South African born, I've never ever had the experience of listening to mass in one of the Indian languages. Tell me something about that. How is it done in Sri Lanka?

R Okay. Vernacular came into our service in our mass and prayer after Vatican II. So the inculturation came in too, it was a current topic and then we were allowed to have our mass in our own mother tongue. So all over they took it up...so automatically it came in Tamil. So what they did was, the Latin was translated into all the different languages...immediately we took and everyone started learning the prayer and everything was okay.

Q And what were people's responses to this?

R Oh! They were delighted. Before they were just like parrots, but now they know what they were saying, what they were praying...they can understand.

Q The language helps that feeling in the mass...and the understanding...but other movements like the gestures and the rituals...did that change in any way? Because generally the idea of prostration is in the culture?

R Yes...I have a lot to tell you about this topic. To start with at the time mass we began the Tamil mass, then we got into the Tamil hymns. Before we used to sing western hymns and melodies, even Tamil instruments we had but

western melodies. Then after that what happened was all the classical music. Tamil music came and we put all the hymns in Tamil music....

Q Was this karnatic music

R Yes it was karnatic music...and we started enjoying our tamil music.

Q Then all the instruments like the cymbals were used? Just like Bhajans

R Right! Very much. I was very much involved in the liturgy Commission in our diocese. So I was one of those members to go through the music, choose the music, choose the hymns, then I really compiled a hymns book.

Q Do you have a copy of that? I would like to have a look at that sister!

r Yes. They started using the cymbal first to beat the time. Then for big feasts like our patron saints feast, then we started bringing in the violin to play the music, then we started using veena, budgrangum.

Q And what do you think the role of the music and rhythms of the culture that people were used to, what do you think that did for people's spiritual experience?

R I think people really enjoyed it so much. From my experience when the church feasts come we always amplify it. You see when we sing in the church, the surrounding village, the whole village can hear what is going on in the church. I used to sing and people used to crowd the church, There are some people who used to say : Oh it not so much for the service , but we go in for the singing. So they enjoyed the music because they couldn't understand Latin before. Western melodies also did not grip....and they can join. ...and it really gave...brought a change in the people .

Q They participated?

R They participated!

Q Okay, now lets go back to the point where Latin was used...and being a nun yourself, what did that do for your understanding of your own culture? Didn't it feel awkward...taking on another culture, foreign culture..in the Latin and the ways of the convent?

R You see we are submissive people. We do what our parents say or we obey what our church or priests say. We worship them a lot. When I started going to church and everything, so I thought that this is the only method, this is the method, I must pray....the latin. So now I can say the prayers in latin. So I was brought up in that way. We used to sing hymns in Latin without questioning...that's the trend so we must do it. So then the tamil came into it. First it was a bit awkward to us you know but then we came to an understanding we were delighted.

Q So when you say that you felt a bit awkward, wanting to stick to the latin, did you think in some sense by celebrating in the vernacular(at that point) it was changing the religion in any way? What made you feel awkward/ Was it the fact that you thought now you were moving away from religion or what?

R No it's not that. We thought when we pray in latin , we are a bit upper class...that kind of a feeling...it came from Rome and all that, it came from top. So maybe Tamil? Oh! There was a little bit of that idea was there. But when they realised it's our language, it's our culture, then also the priests or people concerned explained it to us...why it is all about. They did not just push things to us, they explained why they are worshipping, why this change came up , the vatican Council was explained to us, inculturation was explained

to us, then we were ready to accept.

Q It's interesting that you say, there were a sense of being Catholic, doing things a different way, or doing things a western way, a mass in latin tended to make you feel sort of different and more special than other people. Do you think now from your observation of Indian Catholics in SA, especially here in Natal, do you think that they think they are more important than other Indians?

R I see. I think you are coming to the point. I also had that experience. When I came here, when I visited the churches, the parishes, they made me to sing. The older generation asked me to sing Tamil hymns. So when I sang Tamil hymns the older generation appreciated, and some of them even teared to hear. The younger generation was so indifferent. And they thought: Ah! she's not educated, only she knows Tamil....that kind of an idea. One person said to me you can only speak Tamil and sing in Tamil, now you can speak English. So it was a shock to me when she told me that straight to my face. Because they think if you sing Tamil you are not an educated person. That kind of an attitude in the younger generation....in the middle-aged people too. So they think they are a little high above the other Indians because they are Catholics. But they don't realise Catholicism embraces every culture, every race, there's no distinction. But I think those people need to be educated in that. And they also associate Tamil with Hindu religion. They don't really feel the Tamil is a language, that anybody can speak Tamil. That it is a language, it is not a religion at all. First they must differentiate cultural worship and religious worship. How the things they can adapt in your worship is cultural. Distinction must be explained to them.

Q I know sister that you have been sitting on the Paroral Council, that the council has put together the South Indian Rite of marriage. Firstly Can you tell me why a South Indian Rite of marriage and secondly, why you took the decisions that you took. What elements, that you are calling culture, are included in the wedding mass.

R You see we found, that is the priests that are working with the Indian parishes, they found that the Catholics marrying other religious partners so it was a bit difficult for them to live their religion or their life and even the parents of these two partners, they found it difficult to come to a decision: this side will pull this decision and that side will say no we are strong we want this way...so we thought we can sit together and talk about it, discuss about it. ...and do a research on this and that's why we formed this committee_ Commission of the Indian Apostolate. The burning issue is the mixed marriages. Among the mixed marriages, how to satisfy both parties so that's why we are trying to work out how we can satisfy and please both parties knowing this one, knowing that one. So we try to bring the culture, explain to them what is culture. For example, burning of the oil lamp, it's not a religion at all it's the cultural. So when our Catholics see that in our church, they see we are committing a moral sin. Instead of burning candles they are burning oil lamps. It's actually ignorance. I was actually laughing about it because we use oil lamps a lot. And the brass lamp for any occasion ...first thing it's auspicious, first thing the celebrant or chief guest..he or she comes there and light the oil lamp. JOYTI, then we start the function. Even before

mass the celebrant or the jubilant, they come in procession, first they light the oil lamp, bow and then pray. Then the gestures came bowing. Instead of genuflecting came the bowing. You touched on this. Well I will tell you. The first thing came when instead of genuflecting we put both our hands together above our heads and we bowed to God. We put our hands near the chest that means we are brothers and sisters and we say vanekum. For God we put our hands above our heads and we bow. That's one thing came. Then we started squatting on the floor.

Q So there's no pew.

R We still have pews then we use them. But if you have a small worship in a chapel or small prayer room, then we squat. Then the meditations came and the bhajans came. Sorry I went away from your point about these marriages. So we are still discussing, still we are researching, we have prepared papers and mass leaflets. We tried to experiment it. Once or twice I think with one or two couples..it's really very early still.

Q Now when you researched, did you speak with, did the council feel the need to talk with Hindu celebrants, Hindu priests. Yes we invited the Hindu priests quite a few times. We had Hindu priests at our meetings and they gave us lectures and explained to us what they do. We had one priest explain to us about the havan pray. Actually I also came to know about that.

Q What did they think about the Catholic church making these kinds of changes?

R They are very happy about it. At least they are happy we are not strictly westernised or something. Because you know Catholic churches always attached western that's why our Catholics, Indian Catholics think that if we are Catholic then we are westerners. That's why they are very reluctant or very slow in understanding or adapting from eastern culture, or practice culture. We are trying, still we are in the early stages. We are trying to go between and find a way to try to please both parties so that the couple can satisfy the other partner's, parents. Like if it's a Hindu boy marrying a Catholic girl, then when we integrate, then the Hindu parents are happy. Say like for example putting the garlands, we have already started. I think Fr. Langois has already started exchanging garlands. It's a common cultural practice, it's not Hindu religion it's culture. If you go to India, you will never see a lady without a garland on her hair, on her bun, a flower, a small, sort of one..they make the garland and sell and straight away they put it in the hair. And when you greet people when they come and you greet people. And the burning of the oil lamp, it's already there. So slowly, slowly. And the burning of incense sticks. Instead of the other incense, we burn our own incense sticks. oil lamp. incense sticks and the other brass lamp. So we are just introducing.

Q I am very excited by these kinds of changes and I've been asking mixed religious couples if they had had the opportunity, would they have chosen this way of marriage. And what you say about some people thinking that the only way is the western way, and then I've had the response by the Hindu partner who gets very excited and they say, that's wonderful, it would be nice if we could have done that, I would have felt so welcome. So I think the Hindu partner is very very happy about this, and your comment that the actual Catholic partner, needs to understand this in its true perspective is very good point. I know that this has come through in my own research on this. The idea

of the 'Thali is that included?

R Yes very much! Because Thali is the sign. It's called wedlock, you see thali. The ring is actually the westners use the ring. So we also the indians are using the ring. But you see in the Hindu religion and culture they always have the thali on a yellow cord. So in Sri lanks we always have a golden chain, but thick, thicker than the ordinary chain...its ver thick, beacuse if you are a rich man, you put on the thali about two sovereigns, 15...my mother had 15 so heavy ...that does nit matter ...any achain or anything you can put the thali ...it's a little symbol...it can be a bible or a dove ...a holy sign..a cross..you can put it on the chain and then put it on the bride.

Q Now , coorrect me if I am wrong, but the thali also seems to have the clan sign or symbol with Hindus..like the symbol of a disc with a dot on it stands for the naidoo clan, like the givenders have different kind of shape. ON the thali suggested by the Commission , will they also have the clan sign.

R It's not so significant, because we are not going for clans or any of the other sign, we are only going for Christian symbol. So we din't worry about Naidoos or Govenders or any ..We go by : I'm a Christian, catholic so my sysmbol is maybe the bible, the cross, the dove..these are the three symbols we use very well. My mother had a cross in the middle and two doves on either side carrying the cross. You can have big framework or small framework. Its very beautiful.

Q These are the exciting times you now. I think with the change in our country, we will feel freer to express their cultural identity. In the past we had to put that down, hide it because it was seen as inferior. But I think in a democratic society we will express our culture even more....okay. When soemone says to you : What are you? What do you answer?

R Me personally? I'm just thinking Alison, that you are coming to the right point. Because I wear sari people don't recognise me as who I am...I'm an ordinary ladt. Tha's fine. But sometimes they look at my change and see my sign and then they say something. And also sometimes when I go for special functions, I strictly wear beige or a saffron colour sari. That's the colour all the religious used to wear. If you go to India or Sri lanka you will find the sisers or the buddist monks they have got their colour.This saffron colour is the colour of detachment and we wear that. But here i don't dress strictly with that colour but i just wear pale colours, light colours...it does not matter. For me the fabric does not make the religious. Your life is very important....your closeness to the lord and your service to the people. You radiating the love of God and you work with the people for the people among the people...that's all. That's why,i feel I don't like to be a different person in my dress. And also to make the Indian people, our people to realise : This is our culture.. That's why when i acme , I decided to wear a sari.

Q So then would I be correct if I said taht if someone asked you to identify youself you would say that I am Indian.

R Yes, I'm Sri Lankan but there is not much difference because South Indians are Sri lankans, northern part of Sri Lanka and we are not much different.

Q So you prefer to identify yourself in terms of you nationality rather than in terms of your religion? Have you ever answered to anybody when they ask you what are...you say : you are Catholic.

- R First I am Sri Lankan. I think that's the first thing I will say. I am Sri Lankan, Holy Family sister...That's how I identify myself. Because if I wear a western dress then I'm not identifying myself with you people..the Indian side. They don't really come and talk to me if i wear a western dress as other nuns do. I think I am very approachable with this because many people have told me : Sister because you wear a sari and are like us I am able to sit in front of you and talk to you...and non-catholics told me this..not catholics. They are free to talk to me. If you are otherwise..they won't insist just be : Oh that sisters coming and they will just go. And so it is approachable. I can walk into any flat any house without any ...I also think this way, Jesus never wore a special dress to prove to the people I am poor and so. He was called a Galilean, a Nazarene, just an ordinary man but he did his job.
- Q Yes it's very hard to act to follow.
- R Sometimes people use to ignore me because I'm in a sari...What this auntie is here..you know . Sometimes I used to laugh inside but I will just keep quiet But somebody introduces : Sister..., oh then they'll come and say hello. This piece of material is giving them value, but it is the person. I think this our people need to realise and come to an understanding the person is more important than what she wears or what she has.
- Q Are you happy about the move to South Africa.
- R I am very happy.
- Q Are you going to remain here for many years?
- R As far as i can work, my health allows. To tell you the truth Alison, when I visited India last year, my home there, first time I visited India, and I saw the people and our sisters, our Holy Family sisters in South India and the way they are working among the people...there was a craving in me to go and work there. Don't be surprised if I really go to India to work there for some years.
- Q It will be nice. I also have that yearning to go to India just to experience , to look around and see elements of culture that one can be proud of.
- R Before we finish off...there's one of our Sri Lankan priests in Botswana. So when they came here we had Tamil masses. A group of ladies came and asked us : Please sister we would like to have a Tamil mass. So these ladies and myself and Father said mass in Tamil. So if you are interested when he visits Durban, we will make a plan and we will invite people who are interested. And also we had a Tamil mass when the priests of South India came here to visit, they are in Zimbabwe, they are working among the very poor people, they came on a very short holiday...2-3 days and I said we went the Tamils masses ...and we sang, there were 4 priests.
- Q Yes sister. I really would like to be involved in that and I know there are many people that i have been speaking to who would like to experience this. Also I think the church will become open to a lot of people who are interested in inter-faith dialogue. You answered a lot for me. I think your perceptions of us here, have just reinforced what I have observed and what other people who really look at themselves and said about themselves...it's been very valuable to me this session.
- R Thank you. What I feel is that our Catholics, the younger generation must really come to an understanding of this..our culture, our worship to start loving our culture, appreciate...even with wearing of sari or certain things

you know

Q So you say it lies with the youth?

R Ja the younger generation, but also the middle age..under 50 .

Q So what do you think we should do about that sister? How do we go about it, amongst catholics of Indian descent..what steps do you think we should take to start doing this,

r I think, say for example in our school ...When we do something cultural, we must explain to them why this is being done and why we have culture...it is something precious, you should understand your own culture. Come to know about it, try to know about it.

Q So you are saying that the schools have a very big role to play.

r And the Indian churches, see starting with the children, the youth. sSee when they have a mass, say try to introduce a little bit of Indian movement, you know. Don't think of this is hard, just introduce a little bit...this is Indian style..liturgical comes and culture comes..and then they understand this is beautiful, try to introduce a little bit of soft music..Indian music..you see. then I think the the older middle age will see oh this is what //...Oh its nice! I won't blame everybody for this only a few people who really think that they are westerners but the other people are really now after these changes, in this new South Africa, they are trying to go back to their culture . If the other races can go back to their culture, and strictly holding on to their culture, why can't our Catholics too?

Q. Being proud of it!

R But I won't blame all the catholics. In many , many parishes they have good catholic members who are interested. They even ask me sister why don't you form a bhajan group, to come and sing and organise a tamil mass.

Q So sister i'm looking forward to the bhajan group. i cannot speak Tamil , i never had an opportunity to learn it in school , and as you say in the new SA, children are going to have so many languages that they can explore and learn about...it will be wonderful really.

R I'm also looking forward to that day when people can, our catholics can get together and sing a bhajan in Tamil. When I say bhajan they say : Bhajan? They say in hindu temples they have bhajan or sungum group!! I say bhajan what is the meaning of bhajan.? It means getting closer to God. That's the meaning of bhajan. When they sing the bhajan by repeating the same word, the same little phrase, you get it deep into your heart, it goes on inside your heart and you start off getting closer to God. You are deep, drowned in it .

Q People don't understand the meaning

R You heard about taize prayer. Its Taize. What is Taize/

Q Exactly!

R I say I'm not surprised about that because this is how we pray. Oh! There is one thing i must tell you. When I went to India to the sisters where i was staying. Everyday they would have regular prayer but one certain day we will have only our music, our bhajans..Oh I was really lost inside!!! and then finally in the darkened chapel only the light from the oil lamps burning, they take the tray of the light, and they do arati. One sister will do the arati and one sister will ring the bell. Ooh you are just...you feel like its out of this world!!!!!! Really I love it!!!! If I do miss anything Alison, I miss the worship.

I really miss our way of worship.

Q I can just imagine what you are talking about because I often sit in amss and try to find my own way of to focus because there's not enough I feel that makes me to respond. I try singing to my hearts content, focus on the words of the hymn. I would love to hear bells ringing , I would love to smell the incense.

R And you see an important point is that in our music, ur Karnatic music, our Tamil musicthere's a mood, a raga. If it is joyful, raga is a joyful , is sad that's how it goes. Say the preface..the Lords is with you...then we sing that all that...(sing and gestures in Tamil) It raises your heart with the meaning, your raise your hand with the tune. Just like that. It just come automatically.

Q I think we've got to learn how to do that.

R You see we have the liturgy school here. Even though I knew Indian liturgy how to do that I went to Johannesburg . It was an American who ran it and when I introduced the Indian Rite mass, Indian Rite mass even ou Indians dont know the whole thing.Its very solemn.Only thing the bhajans, the postures the gestures and all . Then when they saw it they weret so taken up. They asked: Sister how lng will it take to introduce. I said you must wait some 50 years more, said.

Q Ooh! That's the beauty of it.

R Yes that's the beauty of it.We must start appreciating.

Q Sister you have just started me off with that. I would like to come to a quieter place and actually see you demonstaret certain aspects of the mass. Is that possible?

R No Problem.

Q Because you know what you were saying about the raga, the gestures...I think we could do it in a situation where its less noisy outside. I would like to capture that very musch sister.

R It's really lovely

Q Especially , I would love to know how the arati is done.

R Arati is the worshipping and honouring the Lord with incense, light and flowers you know. Three elements used in arati.Its not Hindu or Buhddist ..its not that.

APPENDIX F.8

INTERVIEW 8

Phyllis Naidoo

August 1995

- Q. Tell me about your birth, childhood and what you thought about your education?
- R. I was born in Estcourt, in Natal.... A Catholic mother and Methodist father. I went to school in Pietermaritzburg, right up to matric. ..that's formal. Still formal, I started teaching as an unqualified teacher and did my degree at Natal University after school. I got that degree at the end of 4 years but that with the view to being a teacher. I got a teaching qualification. But I think education is not had in books and classrooms and lecture rooms and all that.... I think it is to had in life and being able to see and absorb , but I think my education,,that's if I am educated and I'm not sure that I am, I think I had outside the classroom. Probably the only bit of education that I had which for me is vital, is the study of literature. And I can relate to it. I feel so happy that I have done a course in it at the Natal University, in English literature. I would have loved it to be much broader thing. Due then you know like the constraints of religion , constraints of the education here, you tailored it into English education. When I confronted them with the Russian wruters, well I aw's beginning to get in touch with War and Paece, tolstoy. When i said to this English lecturer that there was no British novelist who could compare with Tolstoy. She looked at me as if he wanted to kill me.. I think in terms of education , schooled education, it made the least impression on me.
- Q. Did you go to a catholic primary school?
- R. No! my mum though a catholic was a very subdued person, I had a very dominant father. In fact I was baptised a methodist. Right! That would tell in a Catholic family how suppressed my mother was. And then she tells a stry that i stopped breathing one morning after she had bathed me. I was about six months old. She rushed me to the Catholic church and I was baptised, cold water put on my head and I started breathing again. That's the story she sold me and certainly told my father who immediately thought his position through of baptising his kids Methodists.. And after that all of them were baptised catholic. She had won her point! She was quite an astute lady, you know! But it only hit me now. And when I repeated this to my brothers they were aghast! They couldn't believe that my mun would be that. I said : No, you see she concealed from me her pregnancy. She was pregnant a long time before she was married. That was a terrible thing to Happen to you heh, and when I got to know about it I was doing my Matric then and it messed me up because I was brought up until then in one of those holier than thou Catholic families, you know. And when I was told that my mum was pregnant with me...it was told so dismissively... I said to my uncle where are my dad's wedding photographs. He said : Oh, well where the hell did your father have a wedding. It was through you he was forced to marry your mother. And I said

what happened, what are you saying ? And everybody clamped up. Nobody wanted to talk about it. I got sick, really finished. The whole idea that my parents were doing things , seemed to be..of well I didn't know what was wrong ...you couldn't go and enjoy friendships, you couldn't stay too late after choir practice and chat with others. You had to rush home, they would send people to fetch you, and all this sort of thing. And I thought damn it! Here was mum pregnant at seventeen you know! So it destroyed me. You know I said to my parents that I wanted to have nothing to do with them at that stage. And it was very painful for them. And they couldn't explain. In fact I found out when my mum had married in my dad's file with his executor. I found their marriage certificate then. They had married in September or October and I was born in January now, when I came back to South Africa!! So it was an event that was not celebrated. There were no anniversaries of my dad's wedding. They lived through that whole bloody thing without even talking about it. I have friends in similar situations who talk to their children. I mean Des says : Hey man, I'm a baby who came in four months time. Well you see I could never be that sort of person, never.

- Q. Was it because of the kind of religious does and don'ts ?
- R. I don't know they weren't too happy with their marriage, you know, in the sense that it came with.... You know, when I put it to them that you were forced to marry my mum because of me . My dad said...you know we hadn't been doing things and he said to us : You weeds ...you know eating and living off him without contributing anything to this family . And I said : No. The only weed in this family is me. Because I was born, conceived when you guys weren't married. Strangely enough it was this Pat Poovalingam , this idiot , who helped me through that period. I worked at FOSA then, you know. And really, I am so grateful to him for getting me to understand that it was just shit and nonsense. But it took a hell of a lot of time. I suffered immeasurably from it. I really felt unclean and all that nonsense.
- Q. Because you had been socialised into certain values?
- R. Yes. All this white veil and wreath you wear to confirmation and all this confession. It gives you some sort of artificial idea of holiness. What does it mean.
- Q. So am I correct when I work out that for you religion was a matter of does and don'ts and policing. Is that how you see it?
- R. I don't know what religion meant to me , because I gave it up so long ago, I can't now put an interpretation to it. But I mean er...My brother was twelve when the church refused to bury him. This is one of the reasons I have not gone to church. Now, I was seventeen then. Before that I don't know why.. You'd think a seventeen year old would be big enough to understand,...
- Q. But why did they refuse to bury him?
- R. Er shit...Your father talked about him hey? He died and it was just past the Indo-African riots and er...no I think it was just before that and ...I wrote it down for my daughter recently, er ...Bucky we called him...he died. He died

at McCords Hospital. And we were going then, we belonged to a church in Overport, as you come up Marriot Rd. ? Now we were living in Overport and we walked over there to go to this church.

Q. Oh! That's where Mais Stella is .

R. Yes that's it. We went to it regularly while we lived in Overport and they said nothing to us and we went to communion, confession and all that.

Q. So you had all the sacraments via you mother's influence?

R. Yes, remember I was a Catholic. We've been raised as Catholics...all of us, all of us ...every one of her ten children she raised as Catholics.

Q. Was she very, very strict about it?

R. No. We used to go to church and come back and dad used to say to us : And what have you been doing? Counting your prayers on beads? So we had a healthy respect for what we were doing ,Thank goodness! And then in the afternoons, we went to the Methodist church. Oh. yeah. Where we sang hail and heartily. I mean the Mthodist Church without all the paraphanelia, all the statues and all that, you know, maybe one or two candles, but we sang!

Q. So you went down to the Lorne Street methodist Church?

R. We lived there. We lived in Thomas Street so it was two doors away from us. So we went down there and sang, Now remember we had my grandfather and mother living with us all the while, who were Methodist. We'd dress up and go to church then come to thomas street. Then granddad became blind and so after the Methodist service the whole church would come to see him, you know. So we had a healthy catholicism-cum- Methodism. But in the Methodist Church I enoyed the singing. I enjoyed the singing in the catholic Church too. But the part that i remember about the church, which I told Bishop Hurley, is that ,,this is the body of the church right, here the altar here and on this side here they'd have some chairs and the choir sat here and the piano was there...but here whites sat and Hurley used to come in with his mother. A very young handsome Hurley. He's now had heh, but in those days us young girls used to watch him and we were not conscious of the fact that they went to communion first before all the Blacks in this thing went there. And those days you didn't have the wine, it was just the thingy-me-bob- you put on your tongue. So they would finish and then the other people would go. But for sure Fr. Gabriel was an Indian, they gave them first the communion. They went back and then we strated going. I remember a very beautiful woman from India Dr. Peter's wife who I used to wait for to go down the aisle.And she had these saris that would swing in front of her...you know the pleats. I used to enjoy this woman. I was a little girl then and was fascinated with her having come from India. You see we didn't wear any tribal dress in this church. It was hats, gloves...Elizabeth used to wera gloves. But my mum always wore saris and covered her head. With us she got us to wear dresses.And I know one of the biggest expenses at Christmas time was getting a hat and expensive things and we couldnt afford food those days let alomne Christmas wear.Ja, so this child diesand we go to this church in Overport where we'd been to and the priest tell us : No, you don't belong to this church, you belong to St,Theresa's .It's the first time we hear about it, you

know.

Q. That off course was the church for blacks, Coloureds.

R. Well, Coloureds certainly went there. But I don't think it was based n colour. I don't think. I'm not sure. It was the first time that we knew that we belonged to this church.

Q. But the church was just across from where you lived?

R. Yes. It was just the other side of springfield road. now St. Theresa's was on the other side. We were at the bottom end of Silver Palm rd. That's a long way from St. Theresa's.

Q. Yes.

R. So we were told we now had to go there and my father and I and somebody else went to see , I don't know it is was Fr. Hugo, and he said to us : Only when you have a dead body, then only you look for the church and refused to talk to us !!! So we came out and my dad said to hell with the whole bloody lot of them, we'll go and bury him in the Methodist Church and he was phoning Minister Choonoo, I think it was,. He was going to phone him. When we got home and told my mum what happened, she started screaming... she went to some much of trouble making sure Catholicism came into the bloody family she was making sure her son was going to be bureied there in the catholic Church. About the same time the nuns walked in. You must now I'm sevbeteen. I might be stupid about a lot of things, but somehow thesethings were beginning to bug me. And so mum cried and told the nuns this is what's happening. So the nuns went down to the tearoom downstairs and phoned the Cathedral and somebody at the cathedral, I don't know who, a young priest, said okay, he'd be prepared to bury this body but if the body is not there at 12o' clock(he knows how we keep time poorly), if the body is not there at 12o'clock then they can bloody well do what they want to do with it. Ans my mum gathered up her son with indecent haste and made sure he was in time for that. that was the last time I went. I didn't go to his funeral. I just sat at home. I've never been since. I go to fureals and weddings and that. But that was the end of my catholicism . And I have never questioned it. Not all the questioning that you are doing with yours. It has never bothetred me , you know.

But my mum. it bothers. because my two marriages : to Willy was in court and to MD was in court and there was a divorce and certainly another divorce after MD. And my mum was very worried about the fact that.. and she went to see Hurley and said to Hurley :(I'm not sure when I heard this) Have you excommunicated my daughter? And Hurley said whose your daughter? She says Phyllis Naidoo. No! She's my best catholic. I think I heard that when i was in exile in Maseru, sometime around that time. ('77) I didn't know what was that about because I had done enough to be excommunicated. I don't know what he was taliking about. I don't know who, if any body, was excommunicated how taht would have happened. But I was indifferent to that. So whatever catholicism was there ended in my 17th year. I never been to church.

Q. So, it seems there was no sense of identification, no sense of belonging/
 R. No. But I must tell you that since I've been looking at my grandparents, that I've been amazed at the fact ...in my work place also, that the church, being Christian is very important to the society. In '75 I was doing an application and this fellow had been a ...What are these things that come and demolish your homes?...

Q. Bulldozers?

R. Bulldozers were there to demolish his home in that Seaview area and he came to see me. And I said why you coming to see me now when the bulldozers are there ready to knock you down. Where have you been. He said : I went to see Pastor Rowlands. So I said what for/ And he said to pray. And I said : did he? And he said : Yes. So I asked what happened? and he said nothing. So I said why do you come now, it's late now. But we did do something. We held the bulldozers at bay for a little while...not too long. And in the course of that time I became quite good friends with that client and he said to me that when OK Bazaars and some other people want workers they would phone Pastor Rowlands for him to recommend Christian workers. And I found that so obscene By which time I knew that the jails were full of Christians and they had no preserve on honesty and all those things.

Q. Why do you think this was so. Did they think they were more malleable/

R. No. You see Christians, the whites who came here to this country and who imported this labour, all Christians whether catholic or whatever, but they were Christians, and they persuaded people, they thought we were barbarians, not only the Africans but us. Church came in with a venom, together with all these hunters and these no-do-gooders, they came in apparently to civilize the barbarians, to make malleable. They said any school was available to Christians, so you became a Christian to go to school.

Q. It was strategic to do so?

R. Ja! Get jobs ! So I look back and look back at Hindus and Moslems and others who were able to sustain themselves, their religion and say % ^ \$ # % @@ them You keep your catholicism, your Christianity..we're not going to buy it. I have great pride for them, you know. Christianity came with a lot of supports. To be able to say, I want my little statue here that I want to worship and to hell with you. He probably went fishing, he probably planted food in his garden...Just look at it...Education was denied unless he became a Christian.

In Std. 6 I was with a lot of Hindu girls, and I think I must have had some problems with them. You they said you bloody Christians, you know, and Christians were the low castes in Hindu society because you reneged on your religion and sought this new religion.

Q. And also you did come the lower castes or classes?

R. No , you have different people, just depending on how your influences were done. But mainly...I mean where are the most churches in this country? Where? Not only in this country, in the world? Soweto contains most of the churches. The poor- That's where religion has a field day. So you have more

churches in Soweto than anywhere else in the world per sq.metre. And you know that this government and any other government will aside places for the church. They don't let aside places for school, but for the church always. But none for those temples to support those. People have to grind through their poverty to support those. Not that I approve of that sort of thing, but I'm just saying...I'd approve of a religionless society.

Q So if you look back on this religious community, if you look at South Africans of Indian descent, those particularly of the Christian religion, whether Methodist/Catholic / Anglican there all very active, When you look at them do you think that they have a particular identity? or do you think that they have no identity?

R. I don't know. I'm sure.....You know i went to a funeral the other day there in the Methodist church. There were a whole lot of methodists that I remembered from the old days, I'm sure they have an identity. I'm sure those people that go to St. Anthony's have an identity. But I don't know about it. I grown away from these things. That experience is not part of me experience.

Q. From your comments, from your historical perspective, you were saying that this community made, or people made strategic and tactical decisions to convert to Christianity in order to achieve certain....

R. Let me tell you...My grandparents...I didn't finish that... when the girls at school std.6 could be std5, because I went to the school in std.5 and they must have been asking me what i am and all that and I came back home and said to my grandmother why did you become a Christian? And she said very simply: to educate my children. And if you think of the Lawrences who were the educated in this society, who were secretary of the Natal Indian Congress for no other reason but that they could read and write, it does make some sense that they thought through education...and certainly the history of my family, with education there's a .. tells that story eloquently...that education was the prime mover. You could get out of this misery through education, Not so much through religion. I didn't feel that because my dad who was sort of ..the best sort of description of him then would be agnostic, you know..because I remember after my brother's death...afterwards in the house, apart from "the counting your prayers on beads", he'd be having arguments with Michael Sebastian, catholics, Uncle Tom Sebastian, all that group of people...Masla Naidoo (catholic again) and having arguments. it sounded as if he wasn't a believer. But that was a child-like impression, that period. But with the death of my brother, and that death was more horrible for him- apart from the relatives- Because Bucky was ill that Saturday and wasn't getting along. We used to have those weekly baths, where we washed our hair. We had no baths like we have now. We had to heat water on two pieces of iron outside, scoop it up and have our bath and scrub our bodies a lot more than we did during the week and Bucky hadn't done that. And dad kept on shouting and saying get on with it. And in the end I think he either pushed him or clapped him on his back. My father wasn't very much removed from giving

us a hiding. I remember at 17 , getting a hiding from him. He twisted my arm and corporal punishment was the order of the day then. And because he did that to Buck, and Buck went to bed . And the doctors came, and going to hospital and all that, and when he was about to go to hospital, I was feeding him with maizena and the car had come to take him to hospital, and my dad went to pick him up. And he said to my dad ; Don't touch me. I think it was terrible for my father and I picked him up and we went to the hospital. Got him admitted and all that and the next day he was dead and dad had no time to make peace with Bucky. I think it lay very heavily on him. And what happened was that... You see dad was very broad in his religious outlooks. In one way also very narrow...I don't know what he was. Anyway a whole lot of influence came..alot of Hindu friends' his good friends came , talked to him, Moslem friends talked to him about how to deal with this death. What happened in the house was that every evening, in this house where there was no prayers , no nothing, no lamp, nothing!...Suddenly came evening prayers! And my attitude to it then (I had started working then) and now was : Dad youv'e got a problem with your conscience about it , you have your damn prayers, but I refused to. And again and again there was : This is a Christian home and if you don't like it you can gey out. By which time I'd got out. All the kids had this problem about getting out because they slept on a Sunday morning and all that sort of thing. ja. you see he became very religious and he ended up a lay preacher in the Methodist church!!! But when I look at the kind of things he said in his speeches in different places and all that. His religion was much more wider than the narrow Catholicism. He went to Muslim things, spoke at cricket clubs and he would say these are the things you need to know... he had a pretty non=religious, broad sort of ...he went to the Rishi temples in India when he travelled, Pakistan...

Q He was a teacher by occupation wasn't he?

R Yes a teacher, headmaster, supervisor, all that crap you know.

Q It's interesting you point to an incident in your dad's life that seemed to be a turning point, or a point of discovery, of some religiosity. Do you think for yourself, that might happen?

R A point at which I become religious?

Q Ja...you know ...like age and this critical incidents somehow tend to lead people to considering life after death, God, religion.

R You know I've losy my two sons. The first one was assasinated and the Fr. John who was bombed with me, lost his hand...in Lesotho, very close to me ..he was in Lusaka and I knew that any ANC dos, he's usually the guy who conducts. A nd I rember phoning Fr. John from Lesotho to Lusake to tell him my son has had no religious teachings whatsoever. How are you going to bury him? Because i don't want any prayers over his dead body. And John siad to me ANC funerals are not religious funerals, only of you request it. Well, I said I'm telling you now. He said well that's fine. And their bodies, two of them had died, their bodies were conducted in ANc... there were speeches , no prayers at all. Then Sadhan's body was taken to ...Moss was taken to the cemetry and there they had prayers, but Sadhan was taken to a mortuary.

where he was kept. So that was sadhan. Now When Shah died, that's this year... You see the divorce from MD was very peculiar in one sense and yet probably you know could have been predicted in another. Because suddenly MD wanted to become Telegu? Where no such thing obtained before. I had gone to tamil school, used to write letters for my grandparents in Tamil to India, and reply and all that. But now I've forgotten Tamil. My speech is awful, I can't bear to hear myself speak it! But I used to. I went up to Std. 6 in Tamil. MD hadn't gone to Telegu school at all. But suddenly with the divorce and our break up, he was wanting to become Telegu, the kids had to go to telegu school. I think one or two times they went and then just didn't bother at all. There was that. After Sadhan's death I was told that some religious ceremony took place in London, in which MD was one of the actors. Know you must know I was married to a man who refused to take the oath in court. His communism or his lack of belief in a God was what I married. And so when Shah dies now in March this year, my brother goes over to see MD. And MD wanted prayers in Telegu, in Tamil and a universal prayer to be prayed, and he wanted to cremate the body. Now while Shah was dying, and I didn't know he was dying, some of my friends had come in to see him and started to pray... took the bible out and started to pray and when they left Shah said : Don't inflict those people on me again. I said I didn't know they were going to pray. He said ; Don't inflict those people on me again! then my friend who had been to some fellow where she had got the light, some Japanese thing it was, some religious thing where she got the light spoke of how she was cured of something. And about three or four days before he died I was saying to Shah, there's this woman who wants to come and pray and she says she can make you better again, what do you say? And he looked at me with so much disgust and turned his head away. So you see how my children were.

So when I heard this that they were going to have all these prayers, I went listen : I will go with the cremation..it's okay, but these prayers-No! We can have a moment's silence. Meanwhile he went and told Zuma, you know the MEC fellow, that I had agreed to prayers and told him : No! And suddenly every one was clambering, he was the atheist. My Christian background was thrown at me again and again. But I think some members of the communist party must have phoned him and said what the hell! Then he phones my brother and says : No prayers at all. So Shah was buried with no prayers. Now one of the things I've had to deal with then is to watch. Recently my sister who is a Catholic ;lost her son and he lived with me. And the two weeks that he lived with me we had some very marvellous times. I'm so grateful at having had those times. I feel terrible that he had to die in my home...my sister's child. He and Shah lived together in Jo burg. And I can see..when I first went to her, I couldn't believe that Santosh was dead. And she said to me : Oh, Phil its nice that the two boys will be together. I thought : Bully for you! That's not how I feel.... No! I don't have any beliefs and I don't know that I will...I've been through two tragedies that have really been earth shaking. This last one's left me without any feet... without any... I don't think that my children, brilliant as they were, are any different from the cockroaches that squelch under my feet, I don't think so....I think that they've just gone..dust. to dust, I don't believe in anything else, they're gone . They've

lived their lives and they've gone. You know lots of people have been talking to me about the energy that they had and all those things..and I don't know, I can't relate to that, I can't relate to that.

Q When I listen to you...and your responses to religion, the dos and donts, the force that it comes with, clearly there was something else motivating you, some other belief, something that drives you. What is it?

R I don't know if it's a belief, but I'll tell you I'm extremely particular about justice.

Q Is justice a political thing or a thing of your soul?

R Soul, I don't know anything about that! I don't know anything about politics! In that sense. I mean when I'm confronted with something, I want to think of the justness of what I'm saying, the justness of the solution. You know my kids were having lunch at a table like this in Scala with two of Justice Poswa's children and they'd come to spend the day with us. And a little Indian kid went past on the passage and said : Hey Sadhan who are these native children here...you know. And I thought : Oh my God! You must know the parents are listening. Mr. Poswa and his wife. And I'm standing holding a pot waiting for Sadhan to say something. And Sadhan said : These are Uncle Justice's children. And Sadhan would have been about eight or nine. I'd like to think, that I was very careful about my children not offending people, be aware of that sort of offence. When Sadhan said to me : Don't talk about Dad being in prison Mum! This people think that Dad killed somebody, that Dad stole, you know Mum. Don't talk about it! And he said that picture of Dad, I want you to take it down and I had to explain to him why his father was in prison. I then to watch tell somebody...The papers were screaming Mrs. Naidoo house arrested...you know.. all the captions. So the little kids are asking so what's going on with your mother? Oh, he says my mother stands for education for everybody!... This little kid explaining!!! I'd like to think that I was able to impart to my children a justice for all people in this country. I don't know how I did it. I can't remember. I think of the results of it, but I can't tell I schooled them. But when my child died-Sadhan- my daughter said one of the things she remembers most about Sadhan, when she was angry with Jemima who took care of them and shouted at Jemima, and Sadhan clipped her. And while she was very hurt at the time, she understood later what he was saying to her. For me it hasn't been relations across the colour-line and those sort of things...just to accord like, Sadhan did, an elder with the dignity that due to her, that experience of her elderliness....those things. I'm unforgiving about that sort of thing.

Q Is it that practice of humanity?

R I don't know. You see, when I was a little girl Daddy took me to a race relations conference in Pietermaritzburg in the '30s. I can remember that thing so clearly. You must remember I was brought up in an Indian home, no labour. In my uncle's house there was a gardener, and that was the first time

we knew of ...But my mum slaved it out with 10 bloody kids, I think once they had Jumni, an Indian woman, but no black woman working in our home. So there was no problem of ...er So we go to this conference. We were supposed to help serve tea. I must have been less than 10 at the time, I can still remember I had that bow up here and curls made with the stockings...and went with . My mum used to dress us in in terbracole, it was a kind of cotton...beautiful...Iremember my mum used to iron it and we had panties to match and I go with dad and ada says Okay you take care of it...when people want sugar, milk....he left me there you know. And during the course of that a white woman said to me : Go and find the boy, go and get the boy! Now you must know this term is unknown in my what you call. And I go out and she points to ..you know there was this old woman, an African woman dressed in a long skirty sort of thing , like our old Indian mothers will wear with tose things to cover their heads. So I said to this lady Mrs So ans So wants the boy. And she said the boy is my husband. The boy is my husband. And she was an old lady and I started crying. And much later dad came and I was still crying and wanted to know why. And I said this is what happened. And he said I think you'd better go home now. It was lunch time. He took me home and left me in...street and came back to this meeting. And I remember the hurt on that woman's face.

Q And you felt taht you had hurt her?

R And I felt that I had hurt her. And I think if I had lain a stone for whenever something hurt me so traumatically about any of the South African things, I think it would be that. You know there were no whites in our lives, no blacks in our lives!! It was a very Indian life up till then. And why that should be such a hall mark in life , I dont know. I don't know if I have just put it on...I do remember that incident!!

Q So what you're sayiing seems to be similar to a lot of people who have a deep sense of morality and a sense of practice, good interaction with other human beings and yet they are not sort of seeped in any sort of religious practice. Where does morality come from? I'd like to know. For myself, i think, my sense of justice and injustice came from the church. The sense of justice came from understanding Christ as a friend of fishermen, a carpenters son and saying to all these people the best way to live your life is love each other as brothers. That fired my sense of morality and justice. Then I go to this church and I see (in the 70's when I was a teenager), I see no sense of justice, practices that supported Apartheid. Nobody stood up and said this is wrong, change it!! We just engaged in a lot of singing and we sat in different areas of the church and we went up to communion and you know mechanically did these things and went wasy thinking : Well if I die , I'll go to heaven because I went to church on Sunday. And so it did two things : I gave me a sense of morality in the teachings of Christ, but it let just go by the way side.

R Did you pray abou it?

Q No. I actually left the church. From 13 onwards. When next I went to church, I was 21 and I was pregnant and it was the 80's .

R You'd be surprised at how many priests I have for friends, how many minsters got for friends. We have a very fighting relationship. I mean, I phoned Fr. Dick, I said here is your bad conscience in Cape Town, what are you doing. And he said; Of we must get together. I'll call you back. Im between calling me back, he got a call from Ireland to say his mum was seriously ill. So he phoned me and said Phyllis, mum seriously ill, i've got to go to Ireland. ...What!!! you putting me off for..... He spends time with me, John, Fr, Michael virtually got healed in my hands. We have a very wonderful relationship. But its not the praying, kind of ... Michael was bombed. He was lying against the table, his hand, his eyes came out of their sockets, he was bleeding, it was burning... don't touch me, its burning...because he was going to fall off while they were arguing about what they were going to do with him. And then he said pray for me. And I said: Don't test our friendship too much!! The nurse who was with me said: Our father who art in heaven... you see and Michael said: Ah pray Phyllis and said Our father with her... And found I stopped where the Catholics stop. because she went on to finish it. And I said see how my bad catholic past comes to bear on me!!! And it was such a... you know he was dying...for me what that whole incident said was: he believed so completely in me. For me it was shocking to see the belief and there he was dying and he was asking to pray. I thought: Hey God, these people really believe in this thing.

Q Yes! That's why I'm saying there are these critical incidents in one's life that makes you think beyond yourself, and to not only your role here on this particular planet in this particular time but.. I think one thinks about a time outside of this planet, outside of this time...although its not focussed on that. It's focussed on: How do you live your life now, how do you make this a growing period ...because you conceive of your life as forever growing. But may be this is a rationalisation...people can't face the finality of things...

R ..There was a sort of vacuum. I wasn't going to get my kids to go to church and that sort of thing..methodist or otherwise, or go to temple and that sort of thing. I just decided that... you know this thing about Spartacus... what was that story...if you got a child up to seven years you could determine...it means that you got him by the balls and I thought I wouldn't do that. I thought that my kids will truly choose and always I said you choose your own bloody gods whatever you want. And the two boys hadn't chosen and now when my daughter was married she was confronted with a fellow who was as they said spiritual...and so she had to cater for him and they had a passivist..I don't know what it is, but its Christian, they had their marriage done like that

Q That's it... its about how we negotiate the influences in our lives. That is why I am saying I have an agenda in this study, because I want to from my standpoint as a member of this community, but also as I perceive myself as a kind of organic intellectual, I want to call for a cultural recovery within Catholics of Indian descent and by that I mean we need to recover into our meditation, into our worship, a sense of Indian culture so...

R That I can't relate to hey!! Get that straight, I cannot relate to that.

- Q Ja... why I'm saying that is in as much as I like the organ , I'd like to hear the veens too, in as much as i appreciate the beautiful canelabra, I'd like to light an oil lamp too...
- R Then you must go to India. Thye do all that there.
- Q That's the point. I'm saying that for South African Catholics of Indian descent, we have been forcible removed from that.
- R But you SA Indian catholics have been conditioned by western Catholics and you imbibe to do is...
- Q I'm saying that we should have a recovery, that we should have the freedom within worship...like the rest of Africa , there is an inculturation going on, that the church after Vatican Council II said : dont do the latin mass anymore, pray it in the language of the people,,, get it closer
- R Who said that?
- Q Vatican Council II, that was in the 1960s. That's when they said spek the mass in the language closer to people
- R Are you sure? I stopped going to church in 1948...its a long time.
- Q That's why that kind of inculturation has happened in Sri Lanka, in India etc...but has not happened here.
- R In India it happened along time ago. Grandpa, my prandparents on my dad's side were Catholics.They listed in this book and it was only talking to Rubby Royeppen, that realised what happened to my grandparents. that they when they came were confronted with these white priests who coudn't speak their language. If they were lucky to get some Indian priest with their Indian language but they didn't. And they went to church and listened to something of which they understood very little, they worked for people whose language they didn't know and these bloody sidars and all were nithing else but grovelling pigs...you know I'm still to hear a good story about a sidar...they grovel to their employers for the extra pay that they got...And my grandparents became Methodists for no other reasons tahn my uncle thomas was preaching in the language.
- Q That's waht the Methodists and the Anglicans had... they had priests who could preach in the languages after a while. What I'm saying is that there is a political content to cultural action and I'm saying that the politicalcontent of my call for recovery...
- R How do you define culture, politics...are you compartementalising these things?
- Q No, because my definition of culture is that it is the wya people live within the context of power relations. When we make certain decisions or ceratian calls because we want to make a certain point like for example I want to say that: Listen SACIDS you must know you roots. That becomes a political act , there's political content to that..you must know where you come from, you must know your roots. Secondly, you must begin to express that in a context where we have a new SA and the idea that you now have the freedom as a South African, to express your multi-identity.
- R But nobody would have stopped during the Apartheid years, they would have loved it!!

- Q Okay. they would have loved it but in a certain context : that that idea of my separateness was exclusive. But when we call for the expression of cultural roots now, we are saying that it has to be inclusive. Its happening in a context of inclusivity. When people first hear me talk about this they think I'm going backwards.
- R I don't understand the inclusive part of it
- Q Right.. There are a number of things : first of all I want them to have a sense of their roots, I want them to have the freedom to express that and I want in that freedom of expression for nobody in the current context to then exclude me because I'm not Black enough...politically. So I'm saying, in a context where people of Indian descent are also suffering from a kind of backlash, where you are not Black enough anymore, where there are sufficient expressions of that, we need to give full weight to the constitution's acceptance of cultural diversity. And in the expression of that cultural diversity, it doesn't exclude me from full participation in anything in this country and it doesn't exclude others from participating in it.
- R You see if you were doing this for your personal agenda, but I get the impression now, it starting a revival, a born again catholic business,,correct me if i'm wrong.
- Q No, I'm not interested in the religious born again..
- R No, I'm just using that as an expression...but you want to go and get to your roots say?
- Q Yes, I want people to accept that. In the past , like you rightly pointed out,in the past it was strategic not to remember who you are, to be as white as possible and all that kind of thing. Now what I'm saying is that throughout the world, in the Catholic church, there is this process of inculturation, African inculturation that's going on, right? Now here are we here. People have either neglected their roots, are ashamed of it, or...and some people have practised it. I'm saying that we should be able to create instances in the church, within worship where Catholics of Indian descent can feel quite at home with singing in Tamil, praying in Tamil and so on.To do that, to get to that point of comfort, is to say recover what you hid away.
- R You know, now I'm having problems with this thing now. Maybe, I'm not understanding you. But one of the things that has happened is that this whole idea of born again christian fundamentalism is pushing you back into those things. But the Muslim fundamentalism is something I can understand a little bit. That is a reaction to Uncle Sam, right and its based in politics, right and you pushing. Here there is no such pressure.
- Q No there isn't.
- R If you want to go on a personal thing, like I want to say how proud i am of Hindus, then I definitely will put that into my book...but only as a statement. But for you, it seems to be a lot more.
- Q It is because I don't want to just say Indian Catholics , you know, feel free to practice. For a lot of them, in the current situation, they don't know what it is to be like to have a mass said in Tamil, they don't know other forms of body language, other forms of worship.
- R What would you do with the Coloured community? How do you deal with

them?

Q I believe that Catholics are not a homogenous grouping.

R With the Africans they're okay, they've had something before...the African religion.

Q It's interesting that you say that because a lot of Coloured Catholics will immediately say to you when they are asked... when you ask them or they introduce themselves to you they will say I'm Catholic because that's a strong factor that governs identity. Religion is a strong factor that constructs identity.

R No.no....in this going back to your personal agenda about Indian, where would you put the coloureds...where would you send them too?

Q I wouldn't send them anywhere!

R So they would stay with the rest of...

Q No. Once a month where there's a need, where there's a strong population of Indian Catholics and there is like you have a youth mass, a children's mass, a traditional mass, a latin mass...er in communities where you find that they are dominantly Indians and you could find a mass in tamil, or a mass in cultural expression

R But language excludes

Q In the cultural expression of Indians, that is not exclusive, anyone can go to it.

R But you don't understand it.

Q Exactly. But then again we ask ourselves for example how do people who join the Hare Krishna movement do it? related to the movement's philosophy and all that, didn't quite understand the language but in the process of the non-verbal they participate. Now i'm saying that participation in the mass can be a mechanical thing, it can be a non-verbal thing. The priest says something you respond...you kneel, you sit, you genuflect...right? Now I can go to a mass where I sing in a language that some people understand okay and then in the process recover that language...People begin to become fascinated again with.. for exampleTamil

R Bearing in mind that Latin is gone out the back door!

Q Weve got a policy in the country where we say that we are multi-lingual, let alllanguages exist, we have this language of English where we speak to each other...but I've never learned Tamil, I never went to school because with the emphasis at school was to get away from that, its not going to help you in any way. No we have a situation where we can express culturally...so we say go and learn Tamil...recover that language...it's quite dignified to learn it...

R You need to think some of these things because yo are going to be hurt by this!!!

Q There is a possibility that I will be highly marginalised right?

R No! No! No! If you believe in something you go for it hey!!! But with language here, I was telling some african comrades, you have to know English because English is the working language.

Q I have no problem with that.

R But you are going to learn Tamil to practices you religion?

Q No, I'm saying that in a context of cultural freedom, which we didn't really have before, where everybody is going to feel a sense of expressing and living the way its handed down to us from your parents, from you braoder society

at large, and so on and so on...There's nothing that we will get now that will be exactly like it was 10,20,30,40 years ago. But in knowing our cultural history, right, in feeling that it's okay to learn Tamil....I didn't feel it was okay to learn Tamil...I was somehow raised with being ashamed of that...in the sense that I must speak English well, I must speak it a certain way with a certain accent...or that will make me more pliable for the marketplace and all of that and it's not necessary, you don't have to dress in a sari because we associated dressing with a sari with those people who wanted to keep culture in its fossilized form and so on and so on....

R You see, you know what you're doing...I'm glad you said this thing. You are reacting to your own personal environment hey!

Q Definitely!

R It's a very strong reaction.

Q Yes I am acting to my environment but it has come through in my interviews with youth today in the two parishes.

R What are they saying?

Q They're saying : You know what, I don't think that this thing with for example the South Indian Rite of marriage,some of the comments ; I don't think that we should be having this, because you know you can't mix two religions. So you say to them : Does wearing a sari or speaking Tamil is that a religion. ...No, but that is what the Hindus do...okay? So in their minds culture is religion.

R Ja.

Q Now we need to be able to say to a lot of people who, because under Apartheid, right they said : each of you keep to your own culture!!

R In fact it wasn't Apartheid.

Q Okay before that, even with British colonialism and all of that. So what did we do/ How did I for example growing up in the 60s and 70s , especially the 70s as a teenager , think about those people who put on (I ' talking about students at university) looking at the people whom were putting on Tamil Eistedfords, having Garbha dancing and all that....I can remember our discussions..Oh you know what it is no use getting involved in those kinds of youth movements, they are just only stuck with culture and we can't do much with them. I think we should work with this other grouping or we need to form new youth groups that ...and so on. Even in our own understanding then, was that this area of ...or this grouping of people practising culture was somewhat less political , less legitimate than the rest of us who were, or had a more...we were interested in a South African culture!!! And these people were too rooted in India, going back home. now what I'm saying is that you can quite easily feel free to express cultural traditions and all of those kinds of things, the language, the dress. the form of worship, the body language in the form of worship, the instruments used in the form of worship...We can use all of those things right...without feeling less South African and without feeling less Catholic. Because this is what the youth were saying to me : No. that we felt different in school to the Hindu children and the Muslim children. Some of them expressed that we got upset when...Like the one boy said : When my mother came to school in a sari, they asked me but isn't you mother Christian? So in the minds of Hindu youth, Christian youth ...or Christians

don't wear saris. You see there's that confusion that came with the understanding of what it meant to be Indian in Apartheid times.

R No! No! No!...not Apartheid times!

Q And before okay..even before, right. So I'm saying taht you can have that recovery of all those traditions..

R I went to the catholic Church and the Catholic church had asris, had ijars, you know those long dresses with those pants

Q What period are we talking about?

R I'm talking about the 40s and don't forget Apartheid also in this business of separate universities and separatism and all that engendered the concerns you are now raising, or dealing with. I never had to deal with it, and maybe tha's why..But I don't know in the new South Africa, do you want to ...

Q In a new South Africa? ...We come to the question of : What does it mean to be South African? What is south African culture? And then we start answering that we look to our constitution. In our constitution South African culture is a recognition that cultural pluralism is a normality, that it is not an abnormality. And that diversity that they talk about, okay, is not a melting pot. Because a melting pot idea is that we all will melt and somehow come out of that pot with the idea that we all must go with the dominant culture.

R No! ...No, no, no! I've been a member of the African national Congress and I have never had that problem.

Q But then you see dominant culture as your political culture. I'm not talking about political party. I'm talking about the idea that there will be this thing called South African culture. But what does it mean? South African culture maens that we accept and acknowledge that diversity. What does it mean in real terms...cultural diversity?

R So there's no South African culture.

Q There's no monolithic or singular culture. That's what I'm saying. And I'm saying that our consciousness as to be one of happy expression of that without the ideas of exclusivity that the nationalist party placed on that :. to be Indian you could only do things this way and only indians do things this way. Whereas now, I can go ahead to bhajans and you can come to whoever you are! Experience it, enjoy it if you want to , leave if you don't.

R I think that that has been there all the time.*****

It was so divisive right. Divisive not only in hair, nose, mouth, you think of the ugliness of Apartheid, how it has divided us. Now what we are attempting to do is to bring this community together, to see a common justice, a common education, you know all those common things that we have been kept away from. your study worries me because it feels as if we are going back. I understand it. i understand the need for it. But you have got to watch that because people can clamp down on you, you know.

Q You are right because the first time I presented a seminar on... it was very early in the study...and I was trying to put down my proposal and I was saying to students this is what I think i'm going to do ; I'm going to look at my own poision I want to look at this community, i want to look at he role of culture...and they came down on me...and part of it was an unspoken thing...they just had had enough of this separateness...that was how it seemed

to me

R This is it. And I can not understand that you feel that with Apartheid gone, it gives you the freedom to do this thing...But in effect people will see you....that's whi i put the birn again thing to you...to see how you would react...and you reacted the way I expected you to... er I think also what you are doing is dealing with your own personal problems

Q Yes, I am a member of that subject community analso interrogate my own position in this

R Not only community but personal.

Q Yes, my own personal position.

R You are a Catholic married to a Hindu.

Q Yes that's right.

R You have to very careful of how you tailor this .

Q Right. People have said to me that i should be very careful that I might marginalise myself. That in practice, I'm considered progressive, but this might marginalise me. I'm not worried about that because you see, in the history, what I've tried to do in my studies, is I've tried to show how ethnicity has been a dirty word, has beena dirty practice if you think of ethnic cleansing, but we are living today with attempts in Eirope , in the former soviet Union, of peoples, not only trying to achieve political independence, whatever taht is, but also that the nature of the struggle has shown that those cultural differences, those ethnic differences should not be suppressed. It should be given forms or opportunities for expression that is not exclusive.

R One of the things...I want to just stop you there...Whatever the problems of the former Yugoslavia, it managed to keep the ethnic..the Bosnians, Serbs, Croats and all that, it managed to keep that intact . How happily I don't know. But you never saw this thing...certainly with WWII, which came about from that area and set the whole world fighting, was contained. But certainly with the break up of Yugoslavia , all this things start coming up. We in South Africa (and everywhere in the world this is what people are telling us), that you got to watch out. The Chechens are saying these are the problems. But I want to use an expression which you resorted to earlier. You said when yoy were faced with the problem, you looked for something. It was the problem areas that lead you to look for a form for this god, right. Europe at the moment is very troubled and certainly the Soviet Union that has gone under has suddenly filtered away into this little things, and people are looking at how best to know, how best to ...and all this fighting..Here in SA we are different, I'd like to think that we are very different, in the sense that we have been so pulverised, marginalised with Apartheid, our moral fibre destroyed despite all the very powerful religions around us, but Apartheid was able to destroy the moral fibre of every South African , including the whites who had their bloody religion to fall abck on. And this inclusivity that the ANC , South Africa is at the moment, is very precious to me simply because of our ugly past. And I have no problem with what you are doing for yourself, or even for your church to understand....but to give it further publicity will get you into a lot of trouble....beacuse people don't understand.

Q For example...Nelson Mandela...

R Darling dont quote me Nelson Mandela ...He is a very articulate African in

a very inarticulate society, you know what I'm saying...

Q Yes...and that's the danger...people will view what one is doing in the old understanding of ethnicity...that's the danger

R Yes, 2/3 of our people are uneducated...that what you are dealing with when you are dealing with this. You have got to be very careful and it will destroy you.

Q Yes, I will take this seriously because I have been told that by other people too. But I feel that if one has to study further...for it to be meaningful for me

R And you children

Q You know I was looking at president Mandela's presence at the World Hindu Festival... the first time we have been able to host something as big as that and feeling the freedom of that, freedom to host it, freedom and pride at having your president at the gathering, now thinking about the visit of the Pope, you know, where the kind of religious freedom that the constitution speaks about we are actually seeing being manifest, you know. I would like to see that happy inclusion of cultural aspects that Indians have in their history into what was a westernised experience of the religion.

R (Showing a photograph) You see these two academics came from the Hindu Conference and they wanted to see me. And I said : Hey hang on, I'm not religious, I'm not a Hindu, I'm not a Christian, so I'm the wrong person you want to see. Then they said No, we just want to see a freedom fighter. I said there's lots of them, they don't have to come and see me. But they asked to see me. That's how I knew about the Hindu conference. Well as head of state, Nelson is bound to show this all embracing sort of stuff hey.

Q But we would never have had that outside of the new South Africa. Where it is dignified, let's say, is dignified and is made important by the presence of the president.

R No problem with that.

Q So that's why I'm saying let us recover what we lost for whatever strategic or tactical reasons or for whatever conditions of oppression existed, let us have the freedom of that expression so that should I wish to choose to worship that way, I should be able to do so.

R Yes, nobody says anything about that.

Q And in the process, that people begin to redefine what it is to be Catholic.

R You see, you know that African Bishop in Zambia who did things and the Pope wanted to throw him out and there was this big row in the church and they said you can't define Catholicism the way you say in this western way, it has to be defined in these ways as well. I don't know how this argument has been settled, but I see no problem with that...if you want to include whatever forms of worship.

Q And in having the freedom of that cultural expression, it shouldn't make me any less South African, it shouldn't make me any less Black.

R No, No, look at the Muslim community...they are South Africans..

Q But at the political level...on a bigger political level.. you know you were saying that our role is to be inclusive, what the ANC wants to do is to bring all those groupings together that have been battered, to bring together in a sense around what it is to South Africa. So I'm saying what it is to be South African, is not to have a singular, monolithic identity, and to call for that

freedom of cultural expression is to enjoy that freedom that SA has to offer and that it shouldn't make me less South African and that nobody should see me as less South African, nobody should see me as less black.

R You see your religion is your personal affair. As far as I know in the Movement, as far as I know in SA politics at the moment, they tried to make it everybody's affair, over the death penalty, over abortion which is all nonsense in my opinion. But I can understand how you want to conduct your religion, whether you want to be prostrate or upright or kneeling that's your business, how you want to say, in what language, that's your business. What you will be tested on in this country is by the laws of this country...whether you abide by them. So it doesn't really matter.

Q So I'm saying that within the broad Catholic community, there has not been that recognition, that one can have this cultural expression and that it is about time that given our new constitution our new SA...

R You see our repression has been so complete for you to make this study now. You should have been able to worship the way you wanted to. And you could say in the freeing or the democracy that has hit us, it has made possible for you to think up your position.

Q Ja, it has made possible in the freeing up, it has also made possible academically, a revisiting of our understanding of ethnicity. Because it has a very, very interesting history. In the 70s, the whole idea of ethnogenesis, positive creation of group image. Someone said I was reading that, it was a black academic, that it actually suits the powers that be to think....

Rthere you are there's historical amnesia here (showing an article from the newspaper)...hey....very important... yours is not historical amnesia...it was deliberate

Q It wasn't only different from the forces outside, but it was active choices by the subject grouping themselves.

R I told you that. In '76 Pastor Rowlands was asked if he had people to employ so if you wanted a job, you became a Catholic...it was actively encouraged this way

Q Someone was saying that it suits the powers that be to think of Blacks as being Blacks...this singular monolithic grouping and that they don't actually consist of a whole lot of smaller groupings because then it's easier to dehumanise if you can think of clumping people. Then you don't see the complexity of those groupings and revisiting the idea of ethnicity helps us understand the complexity.

R Or...whether you need to do that or literature. All you need to do my friend, in my book, is to study literature and you can understand that you can never say "the British".

Q Yes, I once read a comment that the best commentators of contemporary experience have been the journalists and the novelists....that academics have not been able to do that.

R Academics can't do that...they're a bunch of spooks....mercenaries.

Q Ha.ha.ha. ha! Cultural Studies tries to bridge...ie Culture and media studies...they try to bring within the academic gaze, the study of popular literature and the media. So what they try to do is they try to bridge the social

sciences and the humanities and create this new school at universities called cultural studies and media. I think its interesting because what they do is they say that the focus of the study is the popular right, and its the media yet it is an area of study that given birth to such complex terminology

R That's how they mesmerise it.

Q To obfuscate, so I also challenge that. I say that I'm, going to try not to write in academia because...

R I'm helping a young boy to study mangerila skills, cam you believe it? And I finf that these corses that can go to the tech and to the University for are tailored into a language which mystifies and ...he said to me i need the dictionary to look aat the meaning of the these words all the time..and I said never be without it. And we've being studying this and we've decided that these things are simple terms, simlpe ways of doing things and it's just coverted with that chocolate, you know.

Q Ja, and people say that if you don't write in that academic, language

R You don't make it!!!

Q Your peers don't reward you...and so I have in my paper indicated that Iam very aware of this, I'd like to challenge it, but with a hesitant scholar it is very difficult, but I am aware so if you decide to reward me, then may be i/ve used enough of your academic language, but if you decide not to, you are not going to undermine the quality of my thoughts.

R I taught at the University of Zimbabwe. and I mean if I had any respect for academis, I lost it all there.

Q I think academis has t come up with this language to obfuscate people's real ability to communicate for themselves, otherwise there won't be a role for academia. They see themselves in an advocacy role

R Ja.

Q Okay...I ma going to bear in mind youe caution about how I put this across.

APPENDIX G

A SOUTH INDIAN RITE OF MARRIAGE

CELEBRATING MARRIAGE OUTSIDE MASS

PREPARATION

The Sanctuary must be prepared for the bride and groom and their parents. The groom and his parents are to be seated on one side of the sanctuary and the bride and her parents on the other side. A tall Indian Lamp to be placed in the sanctuary. If unavailable then the Paschal Candle may be used. The sanctuary to be decorated with floral arrangements. An array of Indian clay lamps to be used instead of candles.

On a brass or silver tray flower petals and an Indian incenser is prepared. The bride's mother must provide an Indian prayer lamp made of metal. It could be plain or have a Christian symbol.

At the appointed time the celebrant will proceed to the sanctuary to await the arrival of the bridal couple and the respective families.

The groom and his family will enter the church as a group and proceed to the sanctuary. The bride and her family will follow. The bridal couple with their respective families will make their entrance to the accompaniment of Bhajans or suitable Indian instrumental music.

INTRODUCTORY RITE:

CEL: In the Name of the Father

PEO: Amen

CEL: Dear friends, N.... and N.... have invited us to celebrate with them God's gift of love. Today they will begin a new life together, a life of love and mutual respect. Giving freely of themselves to each other and in so doing giving glory to God.

LIGHTING OF THE LAMP

CEL: I light this lamp which symbolises God's presence amongst us.

PEO: May His light enlighten our mind and heart.

The celebrant then kindles the lamp. He makes a profound bow. He then makes arati [incenses the lamp]. The celebrant hands lighted tapers to the mothers to light the array of clay lamps. During the lighting of the lamps a Bhajan may be sung. When all the lamps have been lit the celebrant makes the following invocations which the people repeat.

CEL: 263
Glory to God the Eternal Light
Glory to God the Light of the world
Glory to God the Light of Life
Glory to God the True Light
Glory to God our inner Light

The bride and groom now join the celebrant at the Lamp. Flower petals are sprinkled before the lamp by the celebrant, bride and groom. While this is being done the celebrant makes these invocations:

CEL: Praise to the Holy One.
PEO: Praise to the Holy One.
CEL: Praise to Him who sanctifies all things.
PEO: Praise to Him who sanctifies all things.
CEL: Praise to Him who gives life.
PEO: We praise you Lord of heaven and earth.
ALL SIT.

LITURGY OF THE WORD

The liturgy of the Word takes place in the usual manner. There may be three readings, the first of them from the Old Testament. After the Gospel the celebrant gives a homily.

BLESSING OF THE BRIDE AND GROOM BY THEIR PARENTS

The bride and groom and their parents approach the centre of the sanctuary. They all bow to the lamp. The bride then turns to her parents and says:

BRIDE: Dear mum and dad I thank you for instilling in me the gift of love. You have by your example shown me the importance of good neighbourliness. Today I am about to begin a new life, please give me your blessing.

She bows low to touch the feet of her parents with her hands to receive their blessing.

PARENTS: N.... our beloved daughter, be blessed by God. May God who is the source of love, grant you his joy and peace.

Her parents then sprinkle some flower petals over her.

The groom turns to his parents and says:

GROOM: Mum and dad I thank you for your love and understanding. You have guided me with your love and kindness, and taught me the ways of God. Please give me your blessing.

He bows low to touch the feet of his parents with his hands to receive their blessing.

PARENTS: N.... may God grant you his blessing and keep you in the palm of his hand.

His parents then sprinkle some petals over him.

PRESENTATION OF BRIDAL COUPLE

BRIDE'S FATHER: N...., N.... is our beloved daughter whom we have loved and cherished. We call on our relatives and friends to witness that we give her to you to be your wife. She has given us much joy. May her love and companionship bring you joy and peace.

264 GROOM'S
FATHER: N.... before God and this assembly we give our son N.... to you. May he be a faithful and loving husband to you.

The parents then join the hands of their children. The celebrant with outstretched hands says:

CEL: May God grant you your wish and give N.... and N.... the grace to give of themselves freely to each other in marriage.

RITE OF MARRIAGE

CEL: N.... and N...., you have listened to the Word of God which reveals the meaning of love and marriage. Your parents have given their consent. In the presence of the Church, I ask you to state your intentions.

N.... and N...., have you come here freely and without reservation to give yourselves to each other in marriage?

COUPLE: We have.

CEL: Will you love, honour and support each other as husband and wife for the rest of your lives?

COUPLE: We will.

CEL: Are you prepared to accept children lovingly from God and be responsible parents by teaching them the Law of Christ and his Church?

COUPLE: We are.

CEL: In order that your love for each other be transformed by God, the source of all life, I ask you to declare your consent before God and the Church.

Do you, N..., declare that as far as you know there is no lawful impediment to your proposed marriage with N..., here present, and that you call all here present to witness that you take N... as your lawful wife?

GROOM: I do.

CEL: Do you N..., declare that as far as you know there is no lawful impediment to your proposed marriage with N..., here present, and that you call all here present to witness that you take N... as your lawful husband?

BRIDE: I do.

CEL: Now join your hands and express the fullness of your intention and promise.

GROOM: N...., is it your wish to be my wife?

BRIDE: Yes, N...., it is my wish to be your wife.
N...., is it your wish to be my husband?

GROOM: Yes, N...., it is my wish to be your husband.

COUPLE: I will love you and be faithful to you in times of joy and in times of trials. I will support you and help you through life's journey all the days of my life. I will go where you go, I will live where you live, your people will be my people.

CEL: You have declared your consent before the Church. May the Lord in his goodness strengthen your consent and fill you both with his blessing.

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What God has joined, let no one divide.

COUPLE: Amen.

BLESSING OF THALI AND RING

CEL: Lord, source of life and love, bless N.... and N...., sanctify their love. May this Thali and ring(s) be a reminder to them of their commitment to a life of love and fidelity.

GROOM: N...., God has chosen us and united us forever in good times and in bad. Let this Thali (and ring) be a sign for us of this sacred union.

The groom then ties the knot (and places ring on finger)

BRIDE: N...., may this ring remind us of our love for each other.

She then places the ring on the groom's finger.

EXCHANGE OF GARLANDS

GROOM: With this garland I pledge my love. I will honour and protect you all the days of my life.

BRIDE: With this garland I promise to love, honour and cherish you all the days of my life.

They exchange garlands. After the exchange of garlands they bow to the lighted lamp and say this prayer.

COUPLE: Loving Father, you gave us our hearts' desire today. We thank you for the gift of love and ask you to become the centre of our lives, the light of our steps, the bond of our love. AMEN.

The celebrant presents the newly weds to the people.

PRAYERS OF THE FAITHFUL

NUPTIAL BLESSING

SIGNING OF REGISTER

PRESENTATION OF LAMP TO BRIDE

The bride's mother gives her the lighted prayer lamp saying:

MOTHER: Today you have been enlightened by God's gift of love.
Keep his light burning brightly in your heart and in your home.

CONCLUDING RITE

CEL: The Lord be with you.

PEO: And also with you.

With outstretched arms the celebrant says:

CEL: May Almighty God, source of love and kindness, bless
you N.... and N.... and all here present. In the Name of
the Father.....

Go now to live in peace and joy.

PEO: Thanks be to God.

APPENDIX.R.1.

TABLE 1: Self Ascriptive responses to pairs of identity categories

Total Number of respondents	St Paul 6	St.John 14
4.1. I consider myself : Black	0	3
Indian	5	9
Neither	1	2
4.2. I consider myself : Indian	1	0
S.African	5	14
Neither	0	0
4.3. I consider myself: Indian South African	5	7
Black South African	0	5
Neither	1	2

APPENDIX R.2.

TABLE 2 : Media preferences among the youth

	St.Paul's	St.John's
Male	2	6
Female	9	7
Buy a newspaper daily	5	10
Buy the Southern Cross(SC)	0	4
Read the SC regularly	0	0
Talk about articles in SC	0	0
Share SC	0	0
Read other Christian Papers	1	0
Read Christian Magazines	1	5
Read The Daily News	9	11
Read The Mercury	8	3
Read The Weekly Mail	2	4
Read The Sunday Tribune	8	8
Read The Sunday Times	10	9
Read the New Nation	0	0
Own/access to a radio and TV	11	13
Listen to Christian radio or TV	0	0