

The Social Identities of Indians in a Changing South Africa.

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Preface

I hereby declare that this whole
thesis, unless noted otherwise,
is my original work.

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Chapter 1

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Study

South Africa has undergone significant political change. The transition to a post-apartheid society is likely to drastically alter and redefine the social identities of Indians in South Africa. The apartheid regime holds enormous responsibility for the manipulation of social identities. In South Africa the apartheid system was a powerful mechanism of social influence. It played an important part in the emergence of emotional consciousness among the various groups in South Africa by stressing similarities within groups and emphasizing differences with other groups.

Under the apartheid regime the people of South Africa were divided by the Population Registration into four racially distinct groups. Apartheid legislation accorded Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Whites different political rights. It was argued that when particular social categories such as race, are accentuated by legislation then people react in terms of these identities (Louw-Potgieter 1990).

With the ongoing political change in South Africa and with the gradual dismantling of apartheid structures race has lost its 'structural and legal meaning' (Carrim 1993). The emergence of democratic, non-racial political structures has generated and is likely to generate major changes. The progress achieved in negotiating a new political dispensation is indeed remarkable. However, in spite of the promising developments in the political arena there remains daunting challenges to the present government. The effects of socio-political change, mass action and violence has had a profound impact on the South African society. There remains, however, much uncertainty about the future. This is particularly evident in the Indian community. The Indian community is concerned about their status in the 'new' South Africa. The transition to a post-apartheid society and the accompanying social dislocation and

uncertainty about the future is likely to alter and transform the social identities of Indian South Africans. According to Chetty (1992), the repealing of discriminatory legislation such as the Population Registration Act "offers us a blank slate on which to reimagine the identities apartheid previously denied its 'others'" (p2).

1.2. Purpose of the Study

This research is concerned with exploring and understanding the social identities of Indian South African under conditions of social change. Social identity is defined as "the individual's knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of group membership" (Tajfel 1972:p31). A social group is understood as "two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves, or, which is the same thing, perceive themselves to be members of the same social category" (Turner 1982:p15). The social identity theory was first elaborated by Tajfel and later developed by Turner. For our purpose the social identity theory will include both Tajfel's social identity theory and the self-categorization theory developed by Turner and his co-workers. The work of Tajfel and Turner has attempted to explain how the individual internalizes the group that he/she is part of in order to develop self-identity, self-esteem and a range of behavioural patterns based on such membership.

Social identity is a situational phenomenon and, depending on the social context, one has a choice of identities to draw on. It is entirely possible for a person to adopt different social identities. We may adopt multiple identities or multiple methods of representing the self and others and the communities we claim as real or fictional kin depending on the context and the message we wish to communicate (Chetty 1992).

It is the purpose of this paper to analyse the effects of socio-

political change on the social identities of the Indian community in South Africa. The transition to a post-apartheid South Africa has ushered in a period of massive changes. Carrim (1993) argues that in a post-apartheid South Africa Indian identity is challenged from two different, opposing sides :

- a national non-racial identity from 'above' ;
- an ethnic, part religious identity from 'below' .

The term Indian will have more than ever significance. More because others treated them as 'Indians' than because they see themselves as Indians, instead of either as Muslim or Hindu, on the one hand, and South African, on the other.

Indians in South Africa have been perceived as a relatively homogeneous and cohesive group. They are often represented as a monolithic unit. Under the apartheid regime they shared a common legal and political status and, in a general sense, the same aspirations and fears. Moreover, they have the same physically distinguishable, and in a broad sense common 'Eastern-Oriental' cultural values (Carrim 1993). Often group loyalty is seen as an important tenet of this sector of the population. This perspective ignores, however, the fragmented nature of the Indian community and fails to consider the group's history of internal divisions and shifting intragroup loyalties.

A determined effort will therefore be made to provide social and political information on the South African society in general and the Indian community in particular, to understand the impact of social change on the social identities of Indian South Africans.

A useful starting point may be a more indepth exposition of the transitional process in South Africa.

Chapter 2

2. The South African Context: The Transitional Process

South Africa has undergone fundamental political change which has resulted in the displacement of the apartheid regime by a new democratic order. The most striking feature of the old order has been the monopolisation of state structures by the ruling White elite and the exclusion of Africans from the polity.

2.1 Segregation and Apartheid

Faced with political and economic challenges to White hegemony in South Africa, the ruling (White) elite sought to perpetuate and restructure relations, organisations and identities in the form of a policy of segregation which divided the people along rigid racial lines. A barrage of discriminatory legal measures was institutionalized to regulate practically every conceivable sphere of inter-racial contact. The whole pattern of every individual's life - from cradle to the grave - was circumscribed by race under the apartheid regime (Tobias 1972).

Racial contact between the various races was restricted by the provision of different schools, residential areas and entertainment centres. This system of racial segregation and apartheid was legitimated by means of an ideology comprising many historical myths surrounding origin, religion, language, nation, volk as well as liberal morality (Foster 1991). Foster (1991) defines ideology as

"a set of significations and representations (meanings) historically and collectively constructed and organised, which is analytically distinct from but closely related to material and institutional social relations, and which assists in the creation, maintenance and change of individuals' social identities, and serves to maintain power relations of domination" (p385).

The people of the nation were identified as members of a particular racial group rather than as individuals with common interests, aspirations and associations (Moodley 1975). Indians were furthered

divided from the White ruling group and the African masses by their distinct culture, religion and language. They found themselves caught between the wealth and privileges of the White ruling minority and the poverty and frustration of the African masses (Marks and Trapido 1987; Carrim 1993).

The South African population were divided into superior and inferior groups defined primarily in terms of their race. This system of White domination and Black subordination was maintained by political and ideological coercion. Since 1652 the social, economic and political status of individual members was determined by racial origin (Slovo 1977). Racial differences were manipulated to prevent the emergence of an unified national identity among Black South Africans (including Africans, Coloureds and Indians). There were no unifying national symbols that Black South Africans could identify with. People of colour could not identify 'Die Stem' as their national anthem, or the South African flag as their flag (Giliomee 1991). All Black group were encouraged to develop a separate identity as nations in being (Ibid).

Individuals from different racial groups were assigned different rights and privileges. This was legitimated by racist ideologies which socialised individuals into accepting the status hierarchy in society. Burman and Reynolds (1986) see socialisation as a powerful mechanism for shaping people's attitudes, social identities and emotional attachments. This is most evident in the Indian community. The apartheid government of South Africa thrust upon Indians a common identity by treating them as a single cultural and political group. This was a powerful incentive for greater unity in the community.

2.2 Changing South Africa - Towards Reform

Since 1989 the South African system has committed itself to a process of social and political reform. Apartheid lost much of its credibility except among extreme White wing groups like the AWB.

Political change, however, has had different implications for Indians. The destruction of apartheid and the freedom from domination and oppression that this brings would benefit the Indian community, but many of them still seemed somewhat uneasy about their future under an African government.

By the late 1980s there was a growing recognition that concessions had to be made to the African masses. The period 1985-1989 witnessed an intensification of mass mobilization. School strikes, rent boycotts, armed attacks and general strikes occurred on a large scale. Strike action began to be mobilized to place pressure on the government to follow an alternative course of action. Indians took an active role in these resistance campaigns. They joined other racial groups to show their opposition to apartheid. Their goal was to remove racially discriminatory structures and to establish a democratic political dispensation.

In 1985 PW Botha, the State President and the leader of the National party, made it clear that he would not submit to pressure. This uncompromising stance had major implications for the economy. It led to the imposition of sanctions, an increasing loss of confidence in the government and as a result, disinvestment. There was a call for the establishment of a non-racial, democracy, based on a one person one vote system and the restructuring of society along majoritarian lines. The government found itself increasingly faced with both internal and external pressure to incorporate Africans into state structures.

When FW de Klerk succeeded PW Botha as the new State President of the Republic of South Africa he pledged his support for significant reforms. The costs of apartheid were proving too high. This prompted tentative moves towards reform. In the opening speech to parliament in 1990 the State President of South Africa announced far reaching changes that his government had decided upon. This ushered in a new era in the history of the country and its people

in favour of Africans. President de Klerk expressed his commitment to establishing a fair and just society. He stressed that the aim of the government was "a totally new and just constitutional dispensation in which every inhabitant would enjoy equal rights, treatment and opportunity in every sphere of endeavour - constitutional, social and economic" (Vorster 1990:pix). Under FW de Klerk rule hundreds of racially discriminatory laws were removed from the statutory books. The most important were the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Land Acts and the Separate Amenities Act which were regarded as the 'pillars of apartheid'. The repeal of racist legislation was a clear indication of the change in the approach and thinking of government. Saxena (1992) argued that this represented the first positive step for which Black people of the country had fought so fiercely.

De Klerk affirmed his commitment to reaching an agreeable political settlement through dialogue and discussion. He announced that "the time had come for South Africa to lift itself out of the doldrums of growing international isolation, economic decline and increasing polarization" (Price 1991:p278). This realization paved the way for negotiations. Negotiations was identified as the single most important instrument for resolving some of the problems created by the apartheid system. Price(1991) argued that negotiations did not represent anything new. What was new was the realization that if an alternative viable solution was to be obtained then the participation of the African National Congress was critical to this process. The participation of the ANC in meaningful discussion was only possible in an environment that encouraged full and free participation. The unbanning of the ANC, PAC and its allies, the lifting of the state of emergency, and the release of Nelson Mandela and other political figures set the scene for meaningful and constructive negotiations that placed South Africa firmly on the path which will eventually lead to a transition to a new political order. This also signalled a gradual shift in the balance of power in favour of Africans.

However, deep divisions still continued to tear the country apart. The violence raging in the townships is just one consequence of this. The encouraging political developments have been somewhat dampened by the outbreak of violence throughout the country since the historic talks between the National Party and the ANC in Groote Schuur on May 2, 1990.

"The violence was arguably the worst in intensity and in cost of life and property yet seen in recent years" (Sarakinsky 1992:p143).

The violence that has been wracking the country is not conducive to economic growth and stability. It has created much uncertainty and unease among sectors of the population. Saxena (1992) observed that in spite of the fact that the violence in Natal is not directed against Indians, the Indian community in particular has been plagued by fear and insecurity about their future.

The violence, however, has not been able to halt the negotiation process and the emergence of a new political order. The process of negotiations culminated in the first democratic elections.

2.3 The New Political Order

In the April 1994 election people of colour were for the first time given meaningful representation in the political structures of the country. They were given the opportunity to vote in a totally democratic election. The ANC emerged as the leading party in the political arena- the party with the largest support base. On May 10, 1994 Nelson Mandela was installed as the first democratically elected President of the Republic of South Africa.

The ANC victory in the 1994 election resulted in the replacement of the old order, representing the White minority, by a government of national unity. This victory also signalled a transition from minority rule to multi-party rule. The ruling party insists that "the government must have the support of the majority, only then will the state embody the aspirations of the people or the nation

and will it truly, so it is claimed, be a nation state as opposed to a state nation" (Grundlingh 1991:p18). The ANC supports the view that South Africa belongs to all those who live in it, both Black and White (Giliomee 1991). This is in sharp contrast to the apartheid regime whose stated objective was to assist the various Black groups "to develop along their own lines, in their own areas, to independent nationhood" (Savage 1975). So the idea of integration, and bridge-building has become the central element in the present government's program.

Not surprisingly, the main concern of the present government is the welfare of the Africans. The government of national unity is concerned with promoting economic growth and redistributing resources more equitably for the purpose of improving the economic situation of those that have been most disadvantaged in the past. The government has put forward a reconstruction and development program for redressing past inequalities and imbalances. It's primary objective is to uplift the living conditions of millions of disadvantaged South Africans.

2.4 The nature of the Transition

I have mentioned in the beginning of this chapter the important role Indians have played in the struggle for political freedom against oppression and racial discrimination. Indians occupy prominent positions in the ANC committee. In the government of national unity Indians have not been sidelined but have been included at all levels of government.

The Indian community in South Africa has also suffered, together with all who are not White, humiliating legal and physical discrimination under the apartheid regime (Arkin et al 1989). The government recognizes this and the important role played by Indians in the struggle for justice, liberty and freedom. The success in establishing a new political order is a credit to all South Africans, if mainly Africans who have struggled long and hard

against racial oppression (Carrim 1993; Saxena 1992). The government has given the Indian community due recognition by allowing them to play a meaningful role in the government of national unity. There are many Indians in ministerial positions in the government. The decisive part played by Indians can also be seen by their involvement in the task of development. Indians are playing a vital role in the drawing up of the reconstruction and development program. These development programs of the government aim at improving the position of all disadvantaged groups, including Indians.

The high representation of Indians in state structures is in deep contrast to East African countries. These African countries have few active Indian politicians who hold prominent offices. After these countries achieved independence they were characterised by strong anti-Indian sentiments. The anti-Indian propaganda in these countries created a climate of fear and insecurity in the Indian community. Indians in South Africa have as yet not become the target of African hostility and antagonism.

Events in other countries however have convinced certain members of the Indian population in South Africa that when there is an African government in power in any country, the common African man turns racist and adopts aggressive posture towards people of other races (Saxena 1992). The expulsion of Indians from Uganda is just one incident that has served to create uncertainty among Indians. Indians in South Africa fear that they too, like Indians elsewhere in Africa, would become victims of anti-Indian feelings and racist legislation.

Ghai (1970) observed that in Kenya the government followed a policy of Africanization, whereby Africans enjoyed preferential treatment in public employment, trade licensing, loans and so on. Their stated aim being to dislodge Indians from their dominant position in trade, commerce and the professions. These policies of the

government have adversely affected the Indian community. In Uganda a similiar trend can be observed. President Obote of Uganda announced the nationalisation of enterprises. This measure negatively affected prominent Indian industrialists and manufacturers and discouraged Indian investment in industry.

As yet there has been no signs of 'creeping socialism' (Ghai 1970) or nationalisation in South Africa. However, the African National Congress alliance with the South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions carries with it the image of the socialist party. This has created much fear that major sectors of the economy would be nationalised. So far the ANC government has not implemented a policy of nationalisation. The threat of nationalisation and socialism combines to create insecurity among the Indian community. Indians in South Africa have strong faith in the free market economy. They believe that nationalisation and socialism will undermine their strong position in the economy.

"They fear that many Indians may be thrown out of their jobs, that the Africans would acquire and occupy their industries, that their business would be confiscated, and that some of them might even be forced to leave the country" (Saxena 1992:p351).

Indians support the ANC governments commitment to provide a more equitable distribution of resources as long as it is not at their expense. The changes introduced by the government have not yet drastically altered the economic position of Indian South Africans. Indians continue to occupy a relatively privileged position in the economy.

At present the Indian population therefore seem a bit more comfortable and relaxed about the present changes in South Africa. This is in part a reaction to the policies and programs of the government. Government programs allow for greater contact and exposure to other racial groups. So far the government of national unity has introduced only moderate changes. These changes have not

been so threatening for minorities, including Indians. The trend towards greater integration is likely to alter and reshape the identities of Indians in South Africa. Their social identities is likely to be strongly influenced by the attitudes of Indians towards the process of change and the evaluation of their status in the 'new' South Africa.

Chapter 3

3. THEORETICAL CONTEXT : The Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory defines social identity as "those aspects of an individual's self-concept based upon their social group or category membership together with their emotional, evaluative and other psychological correlates (Turner et al 1987: p29). In other words, social identity is intimately bound to group belonging. This suggests that one's identity is closely interwoven with group belongingness in the sense that one's self-conception is composed of self-descriptions in terms of the defining characteristics of the group to which one belongs (Hogg and Abrams 1988).

Group membership confers social identity, or a shared representation of who one is and how one should behave (Hogg and Abrams 1988). Indians in South Africa have multiple group affiliations. It might be best, however, to characterise the Indian population as a racial group distinguished by physical criteria which comprises several ethnic groups distinguished by religion, language, customs and other cultural criteria (Carrim 1993). The goal of this dissertation is to assess the usefulness of the social identity theory in understanding the social identities of Indians under conditions of social change. A concerted effort will also be made to establish the extent to which Indian behaviour and experience is linked to subjective feelings of identification with the group. According to social identity theory, "people's concept of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others (whether members of the same group - ingroup - or of different group - outgroup) is largely determined by the groups to which they feel they belong (Hogg and Abrams 1988).

3.1 Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorization Theory

There are two theories of social identity : the original inter-group theory that focuses on social groups need to establish and maintain a positively valued distinctiveness from other groups to provide their members with a positive social identity, and the more

recent self-categorization theory which is based on the idea that shared social identity depersonalizes the individual perceptually and behaviourally. These two theories are united by the belief that group membership and shared perception of group membership produces psychologically distinctive effects in social behaviour (Hogg & Abrams 1988).⁷

The social identity theory was introduced by Tajfel and his co-workers in response to the dissatisfaction with the narrow reductionist theories of social behaviour which paid little attention to the social world and the relationship between the individual and society. Tajfel and others therefore expressed discontent with the individualistic approach. It was argued that

"not only does individualism fail to address the determining function of the social order, but it also neglects the network of relations that occur between individuals as a result of their belonging to a group" (de la Rey 1991:p28).

The social identity theory was therefore articulated to provide a non-reductionist approach to inter-group relations and group processes (Abrams & Hogg 1990). The experimental finding that the mere separation of individuals into groups constitutes a sufficient condition for the emergence of inter-group behaviour provided the foundation stone of social identity theory (de la Rey 1991).

The social identity theory developed by Tajfel was specifically directed at the ^{expand} explanation of inter-group behaviour. At the very heart of social identity theory is the assumption that the individual strives to maintain a positive social identity. According to Tajfel's theory, a positive social identity is derived from favourable social comparisons made between the ingroup and the outgroup. If the group fails to provide a satisfactory social identity then the individual will seek psychological distinctiveness along positively valued dimensions.

In the late 1970s the self-categorization theory was developed by

Turner which shifted the theoretical emphasis to intra-group processes. Turner's self-categorization theory is concerned with group formation and the psychological effects of group membership on social behaviour : "how does some collection of individuals come to define and feel themselves to be a social group and how does shared group membership influence their behaviour" (Abrams & Hogg 1990:p10). Turner (1987) outlines the relationship between self categorization theory and social identity theory :

"the self-categorization theory is also a product of a distinct European tradition of research on social categorization processes and social identity ... In many respects the theory is an attempt to spell out in explicit fashion the assumptions we need to make about psychological group formation to understand the results of social categorization studies on intergroup behaviour ... the concept of social identity itself and the assumption of an 'interpersonal-inter-group continuum.' (pviii).

Turner also highlights two striking differences between social identity theory and self-categorization theory. According to Tajfel's theory, the achievement of a positive ingroup distinctiveness is the outcome of favourable inter-group comparison. Turner (1987) points out, however, that the self-categorization theory makes social identity the social-cognitive basis of group behaviour, the mechanism that makes it possible (and not just that aspect of self derived from group membership). The second difference is that social identity theory conceptualises the interpersonal-intergroup continuum as varying from individual behaviour to group behaviour. Self-categorization theory, on the other hand, assumes different levels of abstraction or inclusiveness at which the self is operating. This means that people may define themselves as individual persons or as members of a social groups.

These differences will become more apparent in the accounts of the social identity theory and self categorization theory.

3.2.Social Identity Theory

The social identity theory focuses upon the process underlying the construction of social identity and in order to understand this one has to look at the concepts of social categorization, social identity, social comparison and psychological distinctiveness.

3.2.1.Categorization

A key first step in social identification is categorization. Each individual orders his social environment into discreet categories. These social categories are relied on to make sense of the social world. Social categorization involves the classification of individuals into groups. We do this because we can't process vast arrays of information so we take shortcuts by categorizing people and situations. According to Hogg and Abrams (1988),

"the cognitive process of categorisation simplifies perception. It is fundamental to the adaptive functioning of the human organism as it serves to structure the potentially infinite variability of stimuli into a more manageable number of distinct categories. Effectively it brings into focus a nebulous world."(p19)

According to social identity theory, the individual has a fundamental need to be worthy. Such self-esteem which is based on social comparison, is grounded in the social categories one belongs to. These social categories define the individual's place in the social world. Gender, occupation, peer groups, ethnicity, race, nationality, and class are just some of the categories used for classification of individuals. The individual identifies him/herself as a member of one group while excluding themselves from other groups. Since we belong to different groups we have multiple identities to draw upon and while it is possible to be a member of conflictual groups, it is not possible if they are mutually exclusive (Hogg & Abrams 1988).

Social identity is founded on an individuals knowledge that he\she belongs to certain groups that hold some affective and evaluative

significance (Hogg & Abrams 1988). Such categories are positioned into a hierarchy of statuses, powers and values relative to one another. Categories (ie groups) cannot exist in isolation: they are relative to other groups and are contrasted with, compared to and evaluated in terms of such other groups. Social categorization is different from some other types of categorization as it is recognised that there is an evaluative and emotional component to this process. Tajfel(1981) maintained that the addition of this evaluative and emotional component results in a greater exaggeration of perceived intra-group similarities and perceived inter-group differences. The evaluative-emotional components of social categorization results in stereotypic perceptions of ingroups and outgroups.

Categorization generates the accentuation effect to reduce the complexities of the social world. Accentuation refers to the process whereby intra-group similarities are emphasised and inter-group differences are exaggerated. Comments like "They are all alike" or "We're are not like them, we're very different" are just some of the application of this principle in the social world (de la Rey 1991). The process of categorization results in an accentuation of group stereotypes and prejudices. Categorization produces the "perception or judgement of all members of a social category or group as sharing characteristics which distinguish them from some other social group" (Hogg and Abrams 1988:p20). Turner argues that the "categorization process creates an accentuation of similarities between self and other ingroups members and among outgroups and a perceived exaggeration of the difference between group" (Hogg and Abrams 1988:p53). Inter-group differences are more emphatically accentuated and intra-group differences are discounted.

3.2.2.Social comparison

People not only categorize other people but also themselves. This leads us to the concept of social comparison. The process of

categorization is achieved by the process of social comparison between the individual's own group and other groups. Social comparison is central to the social identity theory. Social identity theory draws on Festinger's theory of social comparison. Festinger postulated that individuals have a fundamental motive to evaluate themselves. Individuals compare themselves with significant others to evaluate their opinions and abilities and to obtain consensual validation of their views and attitudes (Turner 1991).

According to the social identity theory, the individual has a fundamental need for self-esteem. An individual's social identity is closely connected to group membership. It is argued that "our sense of who we are stems in large part from our membership of and affiliation to various social groups, which are said to form our social identity" (Abrams and Hogg 1990:p48). This identity is thought to be maintained through evaluation whereby the individual compares his/her group with relevant outgroups. Through social comparison the individual learns the typical or acceptable codes of behaviour and the stereotypical attributes of the ingroup and the outgroup.

The dominant group in society has the material power to impose its version of the nature of society to legitimate and perpetuate the status quo (Hogg and Abrams 1988). If an individual perceives his group as superior then he/she is likely to have a positive self-concept and if the group is perceived as inferior then the person is likely to have a negative self-concept. The notion of social comparison is linked therefore to the fundamental imperative that individuals have for positive social identity. "Through social comparison we learn about ourselves and obtain confidence in the veracity and utility of our beliefs" and "in general there will be a tendency to positively evaluate all stereotypic properties of the ingroup" (Hogg & Abrams 1988:p7). Social identity theory can therefore go some way in explaining discrimination as it generates

a sense of positive self-worth. Individuals have a vested interest in increasing the positive distinctiveness of the ingroup. Tajfel (1978) argues that an individual's satisfaction with his/her group contributes to their positive social identity. This is usually accomplished by favouring the ingroup over the outgroup. Ingroup favouritism and outgroup discrimination confers feelings of self-worth and self-esteem.

Sachdev and Bourhis (1987), however, found that ingroup favouritism and outgroup discrimination was observed for those groups occupying high status and high power positions (Abrams and Hogg 1990). If social comparison confers high status to the ingroup it's members will have a positive social identity. However, if social comparison confers low status on its members the ingroup will have a negative social identity.

3.2.3. Psychological distinctiveness

Low status groups in society have a lower self esteem and, hence, a negative social identity which motivates them to achieve a positive social identity which will free them from the constraints imposed by the 'stigmas of assumed inferiorities' (Tajfel 1978a:p7). Low status groups achieve their sense of positive social identity through assimilation into the high status group. Simpson (1968) argues that

"assimilation is a process in which persons of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds come to interact, free of these constraints, in the life of the larger community. Wherever representatives of different racial and cultural groups live together, some individuals of subordinate status become assimilated. Complete assimilation would mean that no separate social structures based on ethnic or racial concepts remained" (Tajfel 1978a:p14).

Individuals strive to establish a favourable concept of themselves. The social identity theory suggests that if the outcome of social comparison fails to satisfy this requirements efforts will be directed towards creating and maintaining a positive social identity. The acceptance or rejection of the status quo will depend

on the availability of cognitive alternatives to the existing situation. A secure social identity results when there are no conceivable prospects of change in status relations. When the group perceives its situation as relatively stable and unchanging, group members are likely to adopt an individualistic strategy to achieve a favourable social identity (de la Rey 1991). This is accomplished by social mobility. Social mobility refers to the movement of individuals from one status groups to another. The individual can by hardwork and good connections improve their status and move from one group to another. In such a case, however, the ingroup's social position remains unchanged. In cases where the low status group perceives the status hierarchy as just, fair and lawful this lays the basis for the acceptance of their inferior status. A social order that is seen as unstable and illegitimate is a powerful factor motivating the low status group to reject their inferior position in society. In this case collective attempts will be undertaken to alter the status quo. This is accomplished by

- i) social creativity - a strategy adopted by group members to change or modify elements of the situation in order to strengthen the ingroup identity. This occurs when
 - a) the subordinate group adopts new dimensions for comparison or
 - b) the subordinate group redefines negative attributes so that they are invested with positive significance or
 - c) the subordinate group adopts new groups for comparison (groups of equal or lower status.
- ii) social competition - confrontation between subordinate and dominant group occurs in an effort to change their relative social position. This provides the ingroup with a sense of psychological distinctiveness which enhances their social identity. Achieving social legitimization for the low status group poses difficulties. Dominant groups that perceive their situation as legitimate are unlikely to relinquish their superior position which is closely bound to their sense of positive identity. They derive their positive social identity from comparisons with low status group : 'We are what we are because they are not what we are' (Hutnik

1991:p51). Tajfel (1978a) argues that it is therefore imperative to preserve and defend the interests vital to each group in such a way that the self-respect of the other group remains intact.

Categorisation, social comparison and the motivational strategy of positive self enhancement accounts for inter-group behaviour.

3.2.4.Social Identity

One's identity is strongly influenced by group belongingness.

"One's identity or conception of who one is is largely composed of self descriptions in terms of the defining characteristics of the groups to which one belongs" (Hogg & Abrams 1988:p7).

Group membership constitutes an important part of a person's self-concept. The self-concept can be seen as consisting of two separate subsystems : social identity and personal identity. Personal identity includes all that is unique to the individual such as emotions, feelings, thoughts and aspirations. Social identity, in contrast, is derived from group membership, social interaction patterns and social position and status (Breakwell 1986). Tajfel saw social and personal identity as existing along a continuum: with interpersonal behaviour at the personal extreme and inter-group behaviour at the social extreme. Interpersonal relationships are strongly determined by the unique characteristics of each of the two individuals while inter-group behaviour is wholly determined by group membership and group identification.

There are times when a shift in the behavioural continuum is accompanied by either personal identification or group identification. When personal identity is salient, one is aware of the unique features distinguishing oneself from others. On the other hand, if social identities are salient one is made aware of features distinguishing ingroup from the outgroup. Breakwell (1986) however points out that an individual's social and personal identity should not be seen as divorced from each other but rather

as having a mutually contradictory influence upon behaviour. Tajel (1978) predicted that the closer the social situation to the inter-group extreme, the greater the uniformity members of the ingroup will display towards the members of the conflicting group. Conversely, the degree of uniformity in attitudes and behaviour will diminish as the situation changes in favour of the interpersonal extreme.

Turner (1982) maintains that social identity is the sum total of all social identifications used by the individual to describe him\herself. The theory recognizes that under certain conditions social identity is more prominent than personal identity. The former generates a specific form of behaviour - group behaviour. The individual becomes a member of the social group and the group becomes a part of the individual's self-concept or identity (de la Rey 1991). This means that group membership is internalized as part of the individual's self-concept.

The distinction between social identity and personal identity have been criticised by social psychologists. They argue that all identity is basically social and it would be a mistake to assume that there is such a thing as a purely personal identity distinct from the social identity. Even the most personal and unique aspects of the self are influenced by a socially defined set of limitations and possibilities (Campbell 1993).

"Even though each of us takes up socially given recipes for living, and crafts and interprets them in a unique way into what often feels like a completely original sense of self or identity, our identities are still reducibly social in origin"(Ibid p47)

Turner shifts the focus away from inter-group and interpersonal dimensions to intra-group cognitive processes. He puts forward a model of the self as operating at different levels of abstraction in inter-group and interpersonal relations but in both cases 'acting in terms of the self' (Abrams and Hogg 1990).

3.3. The Self-Categorization Theory

The self-categorisation theory grew out of the social identity theory. Self-categorisation theory (Turner 1985, Turner et al 1987) falls within the social identity framework. Turner (1985) points out that self-categorization "grew out of the body of research on social categorization and the related concept of social identity" (p94). Turner et al (1987) indicate that self-categorization can also be known as the social identity theory of the group. This theory shifts the attention away from inter-group behaviour to intra-group cognitive processes. It focuses on the relationship between psychological and social processes.

Social identity theory was specifically directed at explaining inter-group behaviour (ie, ingroup favouritism and outgroup discrimination. It hypothesized that individuals are motivated to establish a positive social identity.

"The self-categorization theory, the current theory, developed later, is focused on the explanation not of a specific kind of group behaviour but of how individuals are able to act as a group at all. The basic hypothesis is a cognitive (or social-cognitive) elaboration of the nature of social identity as a higher order level of abstraction in the perception of self and others (Turner et al 1987:p42)

Turner's theory of self-categorization seeks to explain how a collection of individuals come to define and categorize themselves as a social group and how group membership influences their behaviour. The self-categorization theory focuses singly upon the categorization process.

The fundamental mechanism of the self-categorization theory is the cognitive process of categorization : the cognitive grouping of people into categories. According to Turner (1987), people perceive themselves as belonging to various groups and these groups are arranged hierarchially. This process of categorization and in particular, self-categorization results in perceptual misrepresentation such that similarities among stimuli belonging

to the same category are emphasized while differences among stimuli belonging to different categories are exaggerated. The process of categorization accentuates intra-class similarities and inter-class differences among stimuli belonging to different classes and similarities among stimuli belonging to the same class. Abrams & Hogg (1990) argue that this serves the function of rendering the social world more meaningful.

The self-categorization theory provides a hierarchical model of organisation. According to this theory, self-categorization occurs at various levels of abstraction. Turner et al (1987) identifies basically 3 levels of abstraction :

- the superordinate level of the self as a human being (which defines one's human identity, based on interspecies comparison);
- the intermediate level of ingroup- outgroup comparison (which defines one's social identity, based on inter-group comparison);
- the subordinate level of the self as a unique individual distinct from other ingroup members (which defines one's personal identity, based on interpersonal comparison)

As the person moves from the subordinate level to intermediate level people tend to perceive themselves less in terms of personal differences and more in terms of shared similarities.

Categorization of self and others results in the accentuation of group homogeneity. Ingroup- outgroup comparisons at the intermediate level "accentuates group prototypicality, stereotypicality and normativeness of people" (Abrams & Hogg 1990:p13). The salience of the intermediate level of abstraction leads to stereotypical self-perception in terms of the relevant social group and produces group behaviour.

Once the process of self-categorization has been completed and individuals have identified themselves as members of a particular social category, the scene is then set for referent informational influence to occur (Turner et al 1987). According to Turner (1987),

the process of referent informational influence occurs in three stages.

1. Individuals identify themselves as members of a distinct social category.

2. They learn the stereotypical norms, behaviours and attributes of that social category.

3. Finally, they assign these stereotypes to themselves and as a result their behaviour becomes more normative (Turner et al 1987). Turner maintains that perceived similarity of self to others in attitudes and beliefs, close proximity and social contact are fundamental determinants of intra-group solidarity, interpersonal attraction and mutual acceptance of members. Ingroup- outgroup categorization results in depersonalization.

3.3.1. Depersonalization

Turner cautions that depersonalization occurs

"when people tend to perceive themselves more in terms of shared stereotypes that defines their social category membership (the attributes that define their common social identity) and less in terms of their personal differences and individuality" (Turner 1991:p157).

Depersonalization does not involve the loss of individuality or deindividuation but simply refers to a contextual change in the nature and content of identity. It results in a shift in the level of abstraction from the personal to the social level.

3.3.2. The salience of self categories

The social self-concept depends in meaning on the social context. The social identity is dependent in content, level and meaning on the social context. Turner points out that different reference groups tend to become psychologically important in different contexts. Which social category is salient at a particular time is a function of the relative accessibility of that category based on past learning and the person's current intentions and the fit between stimulus input and category specification (Turner et al

1987).

Turner identifies two interrelated aspects of fit viz metacontrast and normative fit. The metacontrast principle predicts that the category associated with the largest metacontrast ratio (which simultaneously minimizes intra-group differences and maximizes inter-group differences within a given frame of reference) will become salient. The basic level of categorization must take into account the normative content (ie, behaviour must be consistent with group norms and values) and the relationship of social categories to the values, needs and goals of the perceiver (relative accessibility) (Turner 1991). The effect of the salience of ingroup- outgroup categorizations is to accentuate perceived intra-group similarities and inter-group differences. Categories that contain the self become positively evaluated. The process of self-categorization therefore results in the individual becoming ethnocentric (Hutnik 1991).

Self-categorization explains group phenomenon in terms of a shared social identity. Self-categorization theory sees group cohesion as the product of mutually perceived similarity between self and others produced by the formation and salience of shared ingroup membership (Turner et al 1987). Personal interests are transcended and the individual becomes a member of the psychological group. Group membership influence people's behaviour and reactions. Turner (1987) argues that when people perceive themselves and others in terms of their membership of social categories they not only respond in the same way but also expect to respond in the same way. The salience of shared social category membership leads to self stereotyping in terms of the relevant social category and produces group behaviour.

3.3.Critique of Social Identity theory

The social identity theory and the self-categorization theory represents a shift away from the limitations of the previous

individuo-centred approaches, thereby providing a non-individualist theory of intergroup relations (de la Rey 1991). The social identity theory can be commended for its account of the complex and dynamic nature of social relations. It is a relatively open and flexible approach. This is particularly evident in its analysis of variables like perceived legitimacy and relative stability. Social identity theory is able to view social reality in terms of a number of large scale categories and social groups (class, race, sex, nationality, etc) which stand in status relations to one another and these groups are often in competition with one another for resources, power and privileges. This means that the status hierarchy is constantly subject to change. de la Rey (1991) argues that insofar as the analysis of the social order incorporates social change, social identity theory has succeeded in moving away from the earlier theories which tended to see the status hierarchy as relatively fixed.

One of the attractions of the social identity theory is its recognition that society is structured into hierarchially ordered groups. Social identity theory therefore takes cognisance of the fragmented nature of the social order.

The social identity theory however has also been widely criticised. It has several limitations. The social identity theory concentrates almost exclusively on psychological processes underlying group membership, viz the cognitive processes of self-categorisation and the search for positive self-esteem and self-enhancement. Abrams and Hogg (1990) maintain that self-enhancement and self-esteem may not be the only motivational force in inter-group behaviour. The need to maintain and preserve a positive social self-esteem constitutes just one of several motives and consequences of different group behaviour. They suggest that the self-evaluative motive is a more fundamental consideration. Consideration of other motives is crucial. They point out that the search for coherence and meaning may be a more overriding concern.

"Directionality and apparent motivation is explained in terms of a cognitive process seeking to organise information in terms of the most meaningful and thus parsimonious set of self and other categories. The motivation is for maximally meaningful structure and this is satisfied by the categorization process" (Abrams & Hogg 1990:p47).

The search for meaning and a coherent self-conception is a highly motivating force. Meaning may be derived from ingroup favouritism and outgroup discrimination which may in turn enhance self-esteem and self-worth.

Social identity theory focuses on inter-group relations and intra-group processes with "little or no attention to the social context of identity formation, generally reducing 'society' to the arid and decontextualised notion of 'the group'" (Campbell 1993:p51). It fails to realize that group membership cannot be understood in isolation. There is a need to examine the location of the group within the larger social context.

Furthermore, social identity theory has been accused of paying too much attention to the subjective with insufficient focus on objective realities. Group members efforts to establish positive social identities is related to objective realities such as economics and politics (Abrams and Hogg 1990). As a result of social identity theory's concern with subjective variables (ie, perceived status) as an index of differentiation between social groups, the unequal power relations are disregarded (de la Rey 1991).

Another shortcoming of social identity theory is that it fails to take into account the role of ideology. Individual's perception is strongly influenced by the 'dominant set of ideas in society' (de la Rey 1991). Social identity theory needs to focus on the way in which individual identities are constructed in the interests of a particular class, ethnic, racial and national groups.

The social identity theory needs to go beyond the experimental and laboratory settings to take into account objective realities of people within a broader social network. Individual's subjective perception is strongly influenced by power relations and ideology. Social identities therefore should not be considered in isolation from the socio-economic and political context.

Despite the shortcomings of the social identity theory it is a relatively useful tool for understanding the cognitive processes underlying identity formation. It recognizes that society is made up of relatively distinct social categories or groups. Race, class, gender and ethnicity are just some of relevant social categories in the South African context which provides group members with norms, boundaries, purposes, goals and social context. Often vast differences exist between members of these different groups. Members of different groups believe different things, dress in different ways, hold different views, speak different languages, live in different places, and generally behave differently (Hogg and Abrams 1988). The important point is that group membership influences life experiences and individual identity. It follows that the psychological processes associated with social identity are also responsible for producing distinctly 'groupy' behaviour such as group solidarity and cohesiveness, conformity to group norms; and discrimination against outgroups (Ibid). This may be very vivid in the case of Indian South Africans. The social identity theory can provide a useful framework for examining the identities of Indian South Africans. It can explain how, or by means of which process(es), group identification occurs. As a starting point for an empirical investigation of the social identities of Indians, however, it is necessary to locate the individual within the broader social (South African) context.

Chapter 4

4.A Portrait of Indian South Africans

A detailed social, cultural, economic and historical analysis of the social structure is of primary importance in any study of social dynamics. If this does not happen any attempts to apply social psychological generalizations to the situation is bound to be unsuccessful (Tajfel 1978). Since this study is concerned with the social identities of Indians in South Africa it is necessary to examine the structure and the dynamics of the Indian community.

4.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Indians came to South Africa as two distinct socio-economic groups of immigrants. The first group of immigrants were brought as slaves from Bengal and from the coastal regions of Andhra Pradesh and Kerala to establish a half-way house to India in 1652 (Saxena 1992).

The second wave of immigrants were brought to Natal to labour on the sugar plantations along the coastal belt. The system of indenture was later extended to the railways, coal mines, dockyards, and domestic services. Among the indentured labourers there was a higher male population. Of the 17 529 indentured Indians arriving in Natal between 1860 and 1911, about 61% were men, 25% women and 14% children (Arkin et al 1989:p32).

The vast majority of the indentured Indians consisted of Hindi speaking Hindus from Northern and Central India - Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal, Telegu speaking Hindus from the Madras Presidency and Tamilian speaking Hindus from Andhra Pradesh (Maasdorp 1968:p4). Included among the indentured Indians were a small minority of Muslims and Christians. Almost 90% of the indentured Indians were Hindus, 8,5% were Muslims and only 1,4% were Christians (Arkin et al 1989). They had come from low status backgrounds in response to the "glib tongue of recruiting agents who assured them of a better market for their traditional

skills and lured them with tales of gold paved streets and idyllic evenings of bowstrings, drums and dancing" (Meer 1969:p10). These labourers entered systems of indenture under false pretexts of a more prosperous and brighter future.

Although the indentured Indians came from destitute surroundings, it is important to emphasize the point that not all of them were of low caste. The majority of indentured Indians, however, were of low castes: about 60% were Sudrass (workers), 25-30% Vaishyas (artisans), the remaining 10-15% mainly Kshatriyas with a small percentage of Brahmins (priests) (Kuper 1960). The caste composition of the indentured Indians was highly complex. Caste distinctions, however, were difficult to maintain in the new social environment. Interpersonal relationships on board ships and on the estates cut across caste lines. Strict diet restrictions were almost impossible to maintain. In South Africa the caste system among the indentured Indians completely disintegrated.

Under the indenture system Indian workers entered into a contract for a period of three to five years. They received free health care, rations, housing and other facilities. Often, however, conditions under indenture were very harsh and intolerable. Indian labourers were ruthlessly exploited. They suffered gross and unjust treatment. The Coolie Commission of 1872 found that on "many estates there was no medical care, wages were withheld and illegal flogging was common" (Meer 1969:p11). Indentured Indians had few mechanisms of expressing their grievances or altering their situation. It was therefore not surprising that the indentured labourers chose not to renew their contracts.

Upon the expiry of their contracts indentured Indians were faced with three choices : they could remain in South Africa as free Indians, reindenture or receive a free passage back to India. The majority opted to stay in South Africa. They were known as 'free' Indians.

At the termination of their contracts 'free' Indians began to seek more attractive employment opportunities. They began to penetrate a variety of other sectors of the economy. Many Indians left the sugar industry and took to hawking, market gardening, domestic work and fishing. They took advantage of the promising economic conditions to accumulate wealth. Indians proved highly responsive to the economic opportunities in the urban areas. When their contracts had expired, indentured Indians looked to the urban areas for employment. The industrial revolution that was gripping South Africa provided greater employment in the semi-skilled and white collar occupations. The rapid development of the industrial sector led to the movement away from the rural areas to the urban areas. 'Free' Indians were therefore able to experience economic success within a relatively short period of time.

Impressed by the growing success of 'free' Indians in South Africa was another group of Indians - the passenger Indians. This group, consisting mainly of Gujerati Muslims and Hindus, arrived in South Africa in 1870s. They had come from Mauritius and later from the Indian mainland. The Gujerati speaking Muslims and Hindus came from Kathiawar, Surat, Porbandar and Urdu speaking Muslims from Northern India (Maasdorp 1968; Kuper 1960). Shared business interests and regional ties created a sense of common identity among the passenger class.

The passenger Indians constituted only 10% of the total population of immigrants (Kuper 1969). Often the passenger Indians were labelled 'Arabs' because the majority were Muslims. The passenger Indians worked long and hard to separate themselves from the indentured workers whom they regarded with contempt and disdain. The Muslim trader preferred to be seen as 'Arabs' to distance themselves from the 'coolie' labourers who were seen as inferior to them. Initially, contact between the indentured Indians and passenger Indians were limited. These two classes had little in common. The passenger class was identified as part of the

commercial bourgeoisie rather than the working class or the proletarian (Maharaj 1992). The 'Indianness' represented by the indentured labourers metaphorised in the passenger class imagination as "contamination, pollution and corruption" (Chetty 1992:p5).

In South Africa passenger Indians found great opportunities for petty entrepreneurship. They possessed the commercial initiative and resources needed to establish themselves as traders in order to cater for the needs of the indentured Indians. Indentured Indians were offered goods supplied from India. Very soon they began to expand their business interests to distant areas far from the centre of towns where they came into contact with the African market which they began to target. Indian entrepreneurs began to compete actively with the Whites for African trade. Within this period the passenger Indians began to expand their business interests.

Increasingly, the passenger Indians and indentured Indians found themselves forced together in South Africa. Both passenger and indentured Indians were treated as a single cultural and political group. Meer (1969) argues that

"the accumulations of common persecutions, spontaneous welling up of common emotions against such persecutions and the forging of common defensive and offensive weapons, welded them into a community with interests which transcended barriers of religion and culture" (p60).

The economic insecurity on the part of the White South Africans provided the impetus for a number of discriminatory legislative measures. This effectively translated the competition between Whites and Indians in racial terms.

The Natal Indian Congress was mainly concerned with safeguarding the interests of the merchant class even though they phrased extra-parliamentary activities of the organisation in the context of discrimination against Indians in general (Singh and Vawda 1988).

The NIC was established in 1894 because of the threat to withdraw parliamentary franchise from the merchant class. In 1896 a law was passed which took away parliamentary franchise from the passenger Indians who had in the past enjoyed full citizenship rights. Indians in South Africa were assigned a single legal status. Legislation was imposed which placed limits on Indian movement, trading activities, employment opportunities and land ownership. These legal measures successfully controlled every conceivable economic activity of Indians.

Indians, together with the Africans, suffered great injustices, and degradation at the hands of the White regime. The Indian community became victims of oppressive and humiliating laws. Indians, however, did not passively accept the situation. They have at various stages voiced their opposition to the racist policies of the government. The Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal British Indian Association (later renamed the Transvaal Indian Congress) founded by Gandhi articulated Indian aspirations and interests. Swan observed that these organisations worked within the existing social structure, and although they protested against the White regime's racist policies, they protested from a class position rather than a national or racial position (Marks and Trapido 1987). They were first and foremost concerned with safeguarding the privileged economic position of the much wealthier passenger class.

In an atmosphere of increasing tension and hostility, these political organisations resorted to peaceful campaigns, which included recourse to the law, passive resistance and appeals to the Indian government and the United Nations, to expose the injustices and human rights violations in South Africa (Maharaj 1992). These measures, however, were unable to prevent the institutionalization of discriminatory legislation. Indians were often subjected to inhumane and exploitative treatment and regarded as 'intruders' and 'aliens' in the country of their birth.

Discriminatory measures, however, failed to coerce Indians into leaving South Africa. In 1961 the Verwoerd government finally recognised Indians as permanent citizens of South Africa. Verwoerd stated that "Indians are here to stay and the vast majority of them are going to remain here and we must realise that the vast majority of them are South African citizens, and as such they are entitled to the necessary attention and the necessary assistance" (Rhodie 1972:p423). From 1961 the government proceeded to fit Indians into the system of apartheid. A Department of Indian Affairs was created to take responsibility for all matters relating directly to Indians. The Department of Indian Affairs was to preside over various services, such as education, welfare, registration of birth and local government. Despite being given a semblance of political representation in local government Indian position remained virtually unchanged.

The Indian community remains divided along political lines. The biggest crisis politically that appears to have divided the Indian community occurred in 1984 with the establishment of the tri-cameral system of parliament. Interest in 'Indianness' was again revived in 1984 with the introduction of the tri-cameral system of parliament. The tri-cameral system comprised a House of Assembly, a House of Representative and House of Delegates. Indians, Coloureds and Whites were represented in the organs of government while Africans were excluded. For the first time Indians were given the chance to vote but under a White dominated minority government. The arguments for protest politics versus participatory politics have weakened the cohesiveness of the community politically, and this has reduced their collective impact (Arkin et al 1989).

"The most far reaching effect of the 1984 constitution has been the deepening of political cleavages in the Indian segment. Intra-group divisions introduced by the co-optation policy had destroyed lifelong friendships, eroded social customs and atomised formerly cohesive networks. At the same time, inter-group suspicion has been heightened by the co-optation policy, despite its large scale rejection in the Indian and Coloured polls"

(Arkin et al 1989:p96).

There were those Indians who felt strong identification with the Africans. Participation in the apartheid structures of the government was strongly criticised by these Indians who argued that "by participating they would be entrenching apartheid and enhancing the instrument of their oppression" (Arkin et al 1989:p18). This formed the basis for the boycott of the 1984 elections. The UDF (United Democratic Front) was at the forefront of the boycott of the elections. These campaigns were widely supported by religious organisations. Christian organisations and the Islamic Council of South Africa declared their opposition to participation. There were those, however, who feared African nationalism and they advocated "compromise and accommodation with Whites" (Clarke et al 1990:p137). These Indians identified with the apartheid regime, not with the African 'insurgents'.

4.2. Demographic characteristics

Under the apartheid regime, the South African population was divided into four racial groups. In 1993, 1 007 300 of the country's total population was of Indian descent. Of the total population of 39 381 000, more than 29 000 000 are Africans, 5 129 900 are Whites and 3 354 200 are Coloureds (Race Relations Survey 1992\3:p254). Indians constitute less than 3% of the country's population and are therefore a numerical minority.

Today Indians can be found throughout the country. The 1991 population census reveals that 78% of the Indian population is concentrated in Natal, 17% in the Transvaal, 5% in the Cape and a negligible percentage resides in the Orange Free State. Almost four-fifths of the population reside in Natal. In Natal, Indians can be found in the major metropolitan areas. About 36% of Indians in Natal live in Inanda, 26% in Chatsworth, 18% in Durban, 12% in Pietermaritzburg, 5% in Pinetown, 2% in Ladysmith and 1% in Escourt. This reveals a general shift in the Indian community away

from a largely rural based agricultural community to an almost fully urbanised trading and business oriented community. Indians were substantially concentrated in the rural areas during the first few years of their immigration. They slowly drifted to the large towns and cities which offered more attractive economic opportunities. At present Indians constitute the most urbanised racial group in South Africa.

The impact that this grand scale urbanisation has had on their ethnic identities has been profound. This overwhelming urbanisation has in many instances led to the dissipation of ethnic identity as western values and norms have seeped into their lives. Although religion has to some extent perpetuated and maintained an ethnic identity, it has become compartmentalised and has had to co-exist with a western identity resulting in tensions especially visible between the older generation and younger generation. The more traditional values are heavily subscribed to by the older generation while the younger generation has, by and large, been seduced by the values of the western world (Arkin et al 1989).

There has been a shift in the composition of the Indian population in terms of sex as well. In 1904 the masculinity rate was 207,5. Gradually as the number of 'free' Indians rose, the masculinity rate dropped. By 1960 the masculinity rate was 103 and by 1985 it had fallen to 98,6 percent (Ibid :p32). This change in composition has largely been brought about by the normalisation of the communities position in South Africa. Initially when the Indians were brought in as labourers a proportionately higher number of males emigrated in order to service the labour needs of the various industries, and as the indentured Indians became 'free' Indians so their family structure came to resemble that of other communities, and the artificial nature of the high male to female proportion normalised.

4.3.A socio-economic profile

Indians have at times been dismissed as 'separatist' and 'exclusivist'. To Whites this has provided "proof of their unassimilability' and by Africans as racist and discriminatory against the indigenous population" (Moodley 1980). This can be clearly seen in the concern with preserving the distinct group identity.

Indians have established separate religious, cultural and recreational centres in their own areas. This has by and large enabled them to maintain and preserve a distinct group identity.

"Religion, music, customs, traditions and distinctive food tastes formed part of the construction of a womblike structure to act as a bulwark against a hostile environment" (Moodley 1975:p234).

They found solace in their distinct cultural identity. This identity provided them with a sense of security in the oppressive climate created by the state. The increase in racially discriminatory legislation accentuated the racial identity of Indian South Africans. Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido (1987) argue that the salience of 'national' and 'racial' identities for South African state policies and the deliberate manipulation of inter-group differences to prevent solidarity across racial and class lines have created racial consciousness among the minority groups such as the Coloureds and the Indians.

The South African government treated the Indian community as a homogenous entity. In fact, the Indian community of South Africa is probably the most diversified in terms of religion, language, customs, culture and class than any other section of the population (Kuper 1960). Stratification along religious, linguistic, cultural and class divisions has prevented the emergence of a single, unified identity among Indians.

The caste system has been a minor source of division in South

Africa. Caste has had a limited impact on South African Indians. Traditionally social relations in India were regulated by the caste system. In South Africa caste distinctions gradually lost its significance among the indentured class. Caste distinctions were difficult to maintain in the unfamiliar social environment. The reasons for this are manifold : the absence of occupational specialisation, precise ritual roles and inter-caste dependence in the new cultural setting; co-residence and commensality of estates and perhaps most crucial, the inability to recreate local caste hierarchies because of the breadth of the geographical area from which migrants came (Clark et al 1990).

Conditions on the ships and on estates made it almost impossible to maintain precise rituals, and ritual 'pollution', especially for the higher castes was unavoidable (Ibid). The indenture system forced the labourers to abandon ritual exclusivism and caste distinctions. The caste system could not be recreated in a different cultural milieu with different economic, social and religious values. The unequal ratio of males to females also made it virtually impossible to maintain caste endogamy. Had the indentured Indians been accompanied by their families, with sufficient members of the 'right' caste, caste endogamy may well have persisted (Kuper 1960). Under the indentured system, however, the complex system of caste could not be observed. In South Africa the elaborate caste laws on diet and social contact gradually broke down. Furthermore, there were limited opportunities for occupational stratification along caste lines. Occupational specialisation along caste lines has virtually disappeared. Caste names defining occupations have become almost irrelevant. Visible symbols of caste have been almost completely discarded. Although caste regulates limited social activities, its influence in the Indian community cannot be totally ignored.

Caste continues to operate indirectly in the Hindu community, particularly among Gujerati Hindus. Kuper(1960) argues that caste

consciousness among the Gujerati flows from their passenger status and their greater economic freedom. The Gujerati passenger Indians enjoy a higher economic status. They were more fortunate because they were not restricted by a labour contract that forced them to take up employment in unfamiliar settings. Their favourable economic position made it possible for them to adhere to caste prohibitions. They could still afford to maintain contact with friends and relatives in India. These Gujerati traders usually had access to marriage partners of the same caste. Often they went to great lengths to ensure caste endogamy. Sometimes parents sent their daughters to India to marry or imported suitable wives for their sons. In this way they were able to maintain their exclusivism and this strengthened caste influence over the trading class.

Many commentators argue that the caste system could not be maintained in a new social world where it lacked a significant 'structure of power' (Carrim 1993). Kuper(1960) notes that

"caste is a closed social system which cannot be transported into the new society where a small number of Whites were establishing their rule over a vast population of tribal Africans. Coming as labourers, not lords nor even traders, the indentured Indians could not impose (or even maintain) their traditional values and social structure (p20).

The caste system could not survive in South Africa because it lacked a system of out-casteing. In South Africa, colour, not caste, determined access to social and economic privileges. "The ultimate sanction of caste rules is out-casteing. Where the caste is the social world, out-casteing cuts off a man and usually his family from all communion with his fellow men. In South Africa the caste has no power to impose this drastic punishment. In the field of law, the courts of the country have control and through the family, in its widest form, may ostracise a member, his personal relationships are not ended" (Ibid:p38). One can argue, therefore, that the disintegration of the caste system can be seen as part of a large process of adaptation of Indians to the Western world.

It would appear that the language usages of the differing Indian group has also suffered as a consequence of an adopted western style of living. Linguistically, the Indian population of South Africa can be further divided into different groups. The Indian vernacular languages has, however, to a large extent been displaced by English as the home language. Almost 95% of the Indian population have accepted English as their main home language (South African Statistics 1992). The change in language has occurred rapidly over the last forty years as in 1951 only 6,33 percent of the community spoke English at home. By 1970 this figure had risen to almost 32% and in 1980% almost 75% of the Indian population had adopted English as the main medium of communication (Arkin et al 1989). It would appear that the language usages of the differing Indian groups may have suffered as a consequence of an adopted Western urban style of living. It would also appear that this acceptance of English as the main home language of the Indian community has been strongly influenced by the exposure to a Western educational system. This is confirmed by Arkin et al(1989)

"The switch from the vernacular language to English is the result of the use of English as the medium of instruction in schools and the rapid rate of urbanisation" (p34/35)

The provision of vernacular education lies entirely with the community. The Indian vernacular is not included in the school system.

This change in the home language inevitably must have had an effect on the identification of groups with their ethnic profiles, as language is seen as one of the strong ties that communities have with the past and with communities that are separated in time and space. This does not mean that because the Indian community may not speak the various Indian languages in their homes, 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 a 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 language issue is linked to the religious issue as it is usually in religion that the vernacular is used. While it would appear that religion is the only forum left for the utilisation of the different languages one is aware that the urbanisation and concurrent westernisation of this community has affected the level of this usage.

"Since traditionally, religious expression was largely in the vernacular, the loss of proficiency in the traditional language and the secularisation of education in terms of the new governmental approach, contributed to the erosion of traditional, cultural and religious norms and increased the secularisation of the Indian community" (Arkin et al 1989:p150).

The 1980 census reveals that almost 62% of the Indian population subscribed to Hinduism. It is interesting to note that while the Indian community is noticeably divided along religious lines, the Hindu religious grouping can be further divided into different linguistic groups : the Tamil and Telegu speakers of South Indian origin and Gujerati speaking Hindus and Hindi speaking Hindus of Northern Indian sankrit origin. Islam is the next biggest grouping. Only 19% of Indian population follow Islam, and 12% Christianity. The influence of Hinduism is shrinking. According to Clark et al (1990), Hinduism has had a major impact in Natal while Islam is more influential in the Transvaal and the Cape. Religion and language differences continue to separate Indian South Africans.

Class differences continue to be a major source of division in the Indian community. Although considerable changes have taken place in the last few decades in the occupational distribution of passenger and indentured Indians in the economy, common sense impressions are that Tamil speaking Hindus still remain in the lowest income bracket while Muslims and Gujerati Hindus have the highest incomes

and are highly represented in the entrepreneurial and professional class (Carrim 1993).

An examination of the occupational distribution shows that glaring inequalities still persist between the various races with the respect to the relative percentage of each group in the different occupational categories.

Table 4.1.

The occupation distribution of the various race groups : 1991

OCCUPATION	INDIANS %	AFRICANS %	WHITES %	COLOUREDS %
Professional /technical	10	4	19	5
Managerial/ administrative	6	0.4	11	1
Clerical/sales	32	7	33	14
Transport	3	5	2	3
Services	5	19	8	14
Farming	1	11	3	15
Artisans	10	5	12	9
Production	19	25	6	24
Unspecified	13	23	6	15

Note: Figures have been rounded off.

Source: South African Statistics 1992.

Whites invariably occupy the highest positions in the economy. They are followed in the occupational hierarchy by Indians, Coloureds and Africans. The economic position of Indians has been greatly enhanced by the increasing influx of Indian women into the competitive world of commerce and industry. Economic necessity has forced women to enter the labour market. This suggest a general shift in the circumstances of Indian people. The trend is away from communal life, the extended family and family business towards the

nuclear family, stronger emphasis of individualism, including the emancipation of women (Moodley 1975).

At present the economic status of Indians is appreciably higher than that of Coloureds and Africans and closer to that of Whites. This has led to the assumption that Indians are not able to identify with Africans because of their more privileged economic position in society.

The removal of discriminatory legislation and the introduction of affirmative action policies is likely to open up a range of occupational opportunities for Africans that will free them from their lowly occupational status. This is likely to bridge the deep economic gulf that exists between Indians and Africans.

The economic progress of the Indian community is most apparent in the industrial distribution of the Indian working population. Indians have diversified into a number of fields. They can be found in all the major industrial sectors.

Table 4.2.

Employment by Industry of the Economically Active South African population

INDUSTRY	INDIANS %	AFRICANS %	WHITES %	COLOUREDS %
Agriculture	1	12	5	15
Mining	0,4	10	4	1
Manufacturing	27	10	15	17
Electricity	0,3	1	1	1
Construction	3	4	4	6
Commerce	25	9	17	12
Transport	5	3	8	3
Finance	6	1	14	3
Services	14	23	24	20
Unemployed	18	27	7	21

Note: Figures have been rounded off.

Source: South African Statistics 1992

There has been a general shift in Indian employment away from the primary sector towards the secondary and tertiary industries. The highest concentration of Indians can be traced to the manufacturing, commercial and service sectors of the economy. These three sectors account for almost 70% of the economically active Indian population. Manufacturing employs the largest number of Indians. Within the manufacturing sector, however, Indians are concentrated within certain industries : food, textile clothing, furniture and footwear (Population census 1991). The agriculture sector has become a relatively unimportant sector of employment for Indians. The percentage of Indians in this category declined rapidly in absolute and relative terms over the last few decades. The percentage of Indians employed as agricultural workers declined

from 14 to 3 percent over the period 1951 to 1980 (Arkin et al 1989). At present agriculture accounts for only 1% of the working population. Indians are increasingly penetrating sectors of the economy which they were barred from entering. The high unemployment rate remains a matter of great concern. In spite of this the economic progress of Indians is indeed remarkable. Indians have experienced both horizontal and vertical mobility - horizontally because they are now occupying positions which were either inaccessible to, or unexploited by them, and in their various occupations they are rising to new heights (van der Merwe and Groenewald 1976).

The economic progress of the Indian community is reflected quite convincingly in income levels. Income levels provide an important measure of occupational mobility. The income structure highlights the broad inequalities that exists in South African society.

Table 4.3.

Monthly Household Income

INCOME GROUP	INDIANS %	AFRICANS %	WHITES %	COLOUREDS %
1-399	4	36	2	18
400-699	6	22	3	14
700-1199	20	26	6	22
1200-1999	21	9	10	21
2000-2499	11	3	8	7
2500- 3999	24	3	21	10
4000-5999	9	1	24	7
6000+	5	0,2	27	2

Note : Figures have been rounded off.
Source: Race Relations Survey 1992.

The disparities in wealth and income accentuates further the

disparities between the various race groups. Indians in employment occupy a more favourable position than Coloureds and Africans. Whites however constitute the wealthiest sector of the population. The averaged monthly income of Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Whites are R779, R1607, R2476 and R4679 respectively (Race Relations Survey 1992). These statistics show 'the gulf between grinding poverty and massive wealth' (Wilson and Ramphele 1989:p17). In South Africa poverty is confined largely to Africans. Over 80% of the African population live below the poverty datum line (Race Relations Survey 1993). This does not mean that Indians are not totally unaffected by poverty. Indians, however, remain better compensated than both Africans and Coloureds. The income gap is however slowly narrowing. This is a direct result of the advanced educational standards of Indians and the gradual removal of apartheid structures which offer greater opportunities for Indian advancement in the economic sphere.

Education has always played a role in the Indian community. The educational level of the Indian community has also seen an improvement with the improvement in their socio-economic status. Education may be used by an economically disadvantaged group to raise their income and economic status in a group. Education confers greater social prestige on those who had been able to obtain the necessary qualifications for professions such as teaching, law, medicine, engineering and so on. Access to high status jobs, especially for Indians, is highly dependent on technical and professional training. Education is therefore the key to a wide range of employment opportunities. In the face of discriminatory legislation the Indian community was forced to rely heavily on education to raise itself. It has therefore succeeded in making tremendous progress. In 1960 about 38% of the Indian community was illiterate, while 43% had less than a Standard 6 education and 5% had from Standard 7 to Standard 10 education (Arkin et al 1989). By 1992 this had changed markedly.

Table 4.4**Level of Education**

EDUCATION	INDIAN %	AFRICAN %	WHITE %	COLOURED %
none	17	31	11	23
grade 1 - std 1	7	11	5	10
std.2 - std.5	17	26	7	27
std.6 - std.10	53	28	59	37
Degree only	2	0.1	5	0.3
Unspecified	2	2	11	2
Other	2	2	2	1

Source: South African Statistics 1992

Rapid strides have been made in Indian education. School enrollment figures have probably risen due in part to the expansion of secondary school facilities. Indians possess facilities far superior to that of Whites though far inferior to that of Africans. This is most obvious in the range of subjects offered, the buildings and recreational facilities and the qualification of teachers.

The Indian child has been largely exposed to a Western education. This has precipitated large scale social and cultural changes within the Indian community and has made their participation in the social and cultural environment more meaningful (Arkin et al 1989). Exposure to a western style of education may in many instances have led to a dissolution of ethnic identity and the development of a multi-racial consciousness. However, the nature of Indian education must have had an impact on the identification of the group with racial categories. In the past education was administered on the basis of race. This limited contact along racial lines and provided differential access to privileges. This accentuated further the

differences between the various race groups.

Despite the numerous obstacles facing them the Indian community has made some impressive gains in the educational arena. An increasing number of girls are advancing beyond the primary school level. This suggests a shift in the status of females and the undermining of the conservative attitudes towards female education. The increasing educational achievements of the Indian community is also reflected in the number of people with professional qualifications. Rapid advancements in the area of education provides them with greater scope for entrance into influential occupational categories. One can also argue that "Indians as an insecure minority view higher education as a crucial portable asset and the best insurance for a potential crisis" (Moodley 1980:p226).

Indians have experienced both social and economic mobility. Carrim (1993) argues that the remarkable progress made by the Indian community has "taken place mainly in spite of but partly because of apartheid" (p10). The economic achievements of the Indian community is indeed impressive given the the limitations they suffered under a racist government; on the other hand the racist regime offered Indians opportunities that may not have been available in a non-racial, democratic society (Ibid).

4.4.A Political Profile

The political and the economic are two aspects of this community that are not easily separable as the political climate has to a large extent influenced the economic development of the country.

The progress achieved in establishing a democratic political structure is the outcome of ongoing discussion and struggle between the key players. The credit for establishing a new political dispensation, however, does not rest solely with the Africans. Saxena (1993) stresses that "no history of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa can be complete without a description of

the sterling role played by the Indian community in that struggle" (p338).

Both Indians and Africans faced common problems. They established a common front against their oppressors. The Indian congress worked closely with the African National Congress from the time of its inception and consistently declared their support for democratic institutions. In the 1952 passive resistance campaign the ANC, SAIC, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress of Trade Unions formed an alliance to protest their dissatisfaction with discriminatory laws.

"These efforts represented unified articulations of common deprivation and equitable treatment when Black people pooled their resources of Gandhian discipline and political technique with courage and a combined commitment to change social conditions through peaceful means" (Moodley 1975:p220).

Indians and Africans were detained, and imprisoned but they continued to openly declare their support for the Freedom Charter. At this level there was identification with all groups who were not White and had been discriminated against by the government. In 1949, however, the riots were evidence of identification on another level, namely race. In the Durban Riots 50 Indians and 87 Africans were killed (Moodley 1980).

The racial and class differences between Indians and Africans became most apparent in the Durban Riots. Africans believed that all Indians were rich and all enjoyed privileges and opportunities that were denied to them. One can argue, therefore, that "the hatred exhibited was partly due to the frustration and partly due to the fact that the privileges enjoyed by the Indians were not shared by Africans" (Ibid). This aroused much ill feelings. Maharaj (1992) pointed out that what remained obscured, however, was the fact that the majority of Indians were in a similar situation as Africans. A sizeable proportion of the Indian population were virtually poverty stricken. Moreover, most Indians were

concentrated in the working class, in semi-skilled and unskilled employment. This class of Indians did not have the advantages of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois. Their wages were low and they had to support a large number of dependents. There was very little difference in the economic situation of Indians and Africans.

In the past both African and Indian organisations did little to encourage positive race relations. The shock of the 1949 riots led to the realisation that the Indian community, as the smallest of the oppressed minorities, was in a vulnerable situation and could not hope to gain rights by themselves and that their strength lay in cooperating closely with other disadvantaged groups (Meer 1969). This reflected a transition from narrow sectarian politics of the affluent Indian merchant class to taking up the concerns of the Indian working class to broad nationalistic politics which incorporated a wider section of the population across class and racial lines in the struggle for liberation (Carrim 1993; Singh and Vawda 1988). Dr Naidoo, a member of the national executive committee of the NIC, neatly summarized this involvement of the Indian community in national politics at a meeting held in Bolton Hall on 25 June 1971. He stressed that

"we meet today as Indians. We are resigned to this by the realities of power and circumstances. The problem faced is a national one and not restricted to the Indian or the Coloured, but to the whole Black race that must overcome the legacy of bigotry and injustice" (Singh and Vawda 1988:p7).

When the ANC was banned in 1960 many Indians joined the military wing of the ANC and participated in the armed struggle against the South African state. Arrests, detentions, arbitrary police action and repression became the order of the day. All Black activists were faced with immediate retaliation for the slightest 'act of defiance or overt opposition' (Ginwala 1985). This participation of Indians in the struggle against the unjust and racist state should not be seen as an 'act of obligation' (Saxena 1992). Indians were concerned with securing full citizenship rights for all South

Africans including themselves as well. Their central concern, however, was with getting the best deal for Indians. This is neatly captured in the NIC pamphlet of 1986.

"Mandela's Release

How will it affect us?

In this time of violence, anger and pain in our country we must talk about the future of the Indian people.

'Do we go along with Mandela and majority of Africans or do we hide behind a falling Apartheid government?' (Singh and Vawda 1988:p13).

Leaders of the various political organisations had shown great interest in cooperating with other oppressed groups but among the masses there was a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty about their future in South Africa. They found themselves alienated from the African population. These people lacked an "inherent non-racial consciousness" (Carrim 1987:p7). A sizeable proportion of Indians therefore aligned themselves with the regime their leaders had fought so vehemently to destroy. Others felt that their class interests would best be served by the National Party. The National Party showed its strong commitment to the free market economy while the African National Congress has declared its intention of nationalising selective industries in order to ensure a more equitable distribution of the wealth of the country (Saxena 1992). This is seen as threatening the social and economic position of certain sectors of the Indian population.

By playing on the fears of the Indians the National Party was able to win considerable support for itself. The violence of 1949 and 1985 continued to impact on contemporary race relations. These events cultivated the image of Africans as ruthlessly antagonistic and hostile towards the Indian community (Moodley 1980). By evoking images of the events of 1949 and 1985 some political parties were able to create much fear and mistrust of the Africans.

The pre-election period was characterised by great uncertainty among Indians about their future under a Black majority government.

This uncertainty could be most clearly seen in the failure of the NIC and the TIC to merge with the ANC. Reports indicated that the NIC and the TIC opted to retain their separate identities (Saxena 1992). There remains the fear that the cultural, religious and economic interests of Indians may be endangered in a non-racial democracy.

The Indian population of South Africa is highly diverse and complex. On the one hand, Indians have been identified as part of Black South Africa, and on the other, as a separate community. Indian South Africans remained divided by linguistic, religious, cultural, class and political affiliations. These affiliations may in all probability prevent the emergence of a broad South Africanism. Bagwandeem (1989), however, maintains that the cultural diversity of Indians should be seen as a step towards helping to establish a new South African nation in the post-apartheid society (Arkin et al 1989). This study was therefore undertaken to investigate the effects of rapid social change on the social identity of Indians.

Chapter 5

5. Aims and Procedure

5.1 Aims of the Study

Social identity is important to an individual to create emotional and social stability (Abrams and Hogg 1990). The transitional process in South Africa and the accompanying social stress and uncertainty about the future is likely to have a considerable influence on the social identities of Indians. According to Abrams and Hogg (1990), the emergence of democratic political institutions is likely to generate enormous changes, including the redefining of national boundaries, the creation of new conflicts and the disintegration of old alliances.

The study aims to investigate and explore the impact of social change on the social identity of Indian South Africans. A basic assumption is that the social identities of Indians have been largely shaped and influenced by a 'lifetime of apartheid' (Jocelyn 1994). The apartheid system holds enormous responsibility for the social manipulation of emotional and group consciousness. The apartheid regime was a powerful mechanism of social influence. Under the apartheid regime a collective identity was thrust upon Indians by a racist minority that used physical criteria as a means of distinction. It was argued that when particular social categories such as race, are accentuated by legislation then people react in terms of these identities (Foster and Louw-Potgieter 1991).

With the ongoing political change in South Africa and with the gradual destruction of discriminatory structures race has lost its 'structural and legal meaning' (Carrim 1993). The emergence of democratic, non-racial political structures signals the heralds the beginning of enormous changes that is likely to reshape and alter the social identities of Indians in South Africa.

It is the purpose of this paper to analyse the effects of socio-

political change on the social identities of the Indian community in South Africa. This study is concerned with examining the attitude of Indians towards the process of change and their evaluation of their status in South Africa. Attention will also be directed at looking at what Indians perceive to be their new social identity in a post-apartheid South Africa. Do Indians perceive themselves in ethnic, racial, class or national terms?

Particular emphasis is also placed on examining the relationship between individual's behaviour and his/her membership of certain social categories. According to social identity theory, identity and group belongingness is strongly interwoven. This dissertation is concerned with assessing the usefulness of the social identity theory in understanding the social identities of Indians under conditions of social change. A determined effort will also be made to establish the extent to which individual behaviour and attitude is linked to subjective feelings of identification with the group. These issues will be explored in depth using the survey research method.

5.2. Methodology

This section deals with the methods and procedures involved in gathering and integrating data. The research sample and the research process will also be described. General limitations of the study will also be examined. This is important because they might have influenced the results of the study.

5.2.1. The Sampling Method

The overall goal of sampling is to select a subset of a population with a distribution of characteristics that matches the population (Rosenberg and Daly 1993). According to Rosenberg (1993), sometimes the population about which we intend to generalize from a set of survey results is so enormous or inaccessible that sampling a random subset of a list of the entire population is not a realistic option. A non-probability sampling technique may, therefore, be

used to select the sample. "Non-probability sampling covers a variety of procedures, including the use of volunteers and the purposive choice of elements for the sample on the ground that they are representative of the population" (Kalton 1983:p7). The weakness of this method is that each element in the population has a non-zero probability of being included in the sample.

Quota sampling method was used to select the sample. Quota sampling is a form of nonprobability sampling. It includes elements of both proportional stratified sampling and accidental sampling (Rosenberg and Daly 1993).

"With quota sampling, as with proportional stratified sampling, we match the representation of subjects included in the survey sample to the strata in the population. But unlike proportional stratified sampling, the sampling of subjects is haphazard rather than random" (Rosenberg and Daly 1993:p118).

In quota sampling, the groups are defined, and the sizes specified and the individuals who fit these descriptions are selected to fill the quotas wherever they can be found (Baker 1993). This method does ensure that the overall sample should have the same characteristics as the population.

5.2.2. Sample Characteristics

In accordance with the specific aims of the research project, strict criteria were used in the selection of the sample. Potential respondents were limited to 120 Indian people (who regarded themselves and/or were regarded as Indian) belonging to the three main religious denominations (60 Hindus, 30 Muslims and 30 Christians), of the age group 18 to 64 years, residing in the Pietermaritzburg area. Once these quota sizes have been determined and groups defined then individuals who fitted these descriptions were selected to fill in the quotas.

A mixture of purposive and availability was used to fill in the quotas. The dimensions of the effective sample are described in the

following tables.

The sample population was taken from the predominantly Indian townships of Pietermaritzburg : Northdale, Bombay Heights, Orient Heights, Copesville, Mountain Rise, Raisethorpe.

Table 5.1

AREA OF RESIDENCE OF ALL SUBJECTS

AREA OF RESIDENCE	RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION		
	HINDU	MUSLIM	CHRISTIAN
BOMBAY HEIGHTS	13%	13%	23%
ORIENT HEIGHTS	8%	7%	13%
MOUNTAIN RISE	15%	40%	3%
NORTHDALE	40%	13%	40%
RAISETHORPE	20%	27%	-
OTHER	3%	-	20%

Note: Figures have been rounded off.

The research sample consisted of 120 people : 60 Hindus, 30 Christians and 30 Muslims. The stratification of the sample population according to sex and religious group is as follows :

Hindu males	30 (50%)
Hindu females	30 (50%)
Muslim males	18 (60%)
Muslim females	12 (40%)
Christian males	16 (53%)
Christian females	14 (47%)

The male : female ratio is fairly balanced. Males however constitute 53% of the sample population.

Table 5.2

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE POPULATION

YEARS	HINDU	MUSLIM	CHRISTIAN
18-34	52%	60%	53%
35-49	33%	33%	23%
50-65	15%	7%	23%

Note : Figures have been rounded off.

The educational background of the subjects is quite impressive. Educational levels are closely related to socio-economic status.

Table 5.3

Level of Education

Level of Education	Frequency expressed as a %
Less than std 6	4%
Std 6 - Std 7	7%
Std 8 - Std 10	41%
Post secondary School	24%
University Qualification	24%

Almost 90% of the respondents had std 8 and more. Education levels indicates the occupational mobility of society and is related to income (Lotter and du Plessis 1974).

Income Structure

Education facilitates entry into higher paid occupations. The difference in income is reflected in the Table

Table 5.4

Monthly Income

Income	Frequency as a %
Less than R1000	2%
R1000-R1499	16%
R1500-R1999	12%
R2000-R2499	16%
R2500-R2999	11%
R3000-R3999	11%
R4000-R4999	6%
R5000-R5999	8%
R6000-R6999	8%
ABOVE R7000	13%

Note: Figures have been rounded off.

The sample covers the three main income categories: low, middle and high brackets. Those respondents in the high income bracket constitute the entrepreneurial and managerial class while those in the lower income bracket form part of the working class. This ensures the sample population has basically the same characteristics as the population under study. This allows one to make inferences to a wider population of the quota.

5.2.3. Pretesting

Prior to the investigation a preliminary study was conducted to familiarize the researcher with the research instrument and to refine the research instrument. This is known as pretesting. Pretesting involves giving a draft of the instrument to a small group of people (Dane 1990). Pretesting is not exactly the same as a pilot study, however, because you are not trying to make a test run of the entire research procedure; you are only trying to test

the measures you will use (Ibid). Pilot work usually involves people from the population under study. Pretesting involves interviewing people from the population under study. In this case, six people from the Indian community were interviewed. Two Hindus, two Muslims and two Christians were included in the pilot study. Open-ended interviews, based on the questionnaire schedule, was used to explore the meaning of words and phrases employed by the researcher. Each respondent had to explain what he/she thought the question was asking, whether items were easily comprehensible and whether he/she would be willing to provide the necessary information.

The pretest revealed invaluable information. It identified problems with the interview method and interview schedule. The researcher was able to pinpoint items or concepts that were not clearly understood and needed clarification and at the same time the range of answers given to questions (Fowler and Mangione 1990). Minor alterations were made to those questions that were not properly understood so that they were made more accessible to the population of interest. Some questions that were not entirely relevant were excluded from the questionnaire. This ensured that the questionnaire tapped the information that was required.

5.2.4. Research techniques employed in the study

The pretest convinced the researcher that the interview schedule was the most useful method for obtaining data for the study.

METHOD

5.2.4. Qualitative and Quantative Research

The reason why the interview technique was preferred above the questionnaire was an issue of quality of information versus the quantity of information obtained from the various techniques (Richardson et al 1965). Generally, qualitative researchers tend to favour a research design which is relatively open and flexible. It gives the researcher the opportunity to explore new avenues of inquiry as they emerge. Design flexibility ensures that the

researcher does not get trapped in rigid structures that reduces responsiveness.

Qualitative research allows for personal contact with the people under study. This method yields data of a richer and greater depth. Researchers are therefore provided with a deeper understanding of the participant's feelings and experience. Qualitative research, however, makes comparison difficult since responses are neither uniform nor standardized. As a result, qualitative research is seen as unreliable while quantitative research is seen as yielding more valid data.

{ "Quantitative measures are succinct, parsimonious, standardized and easily presented in a shorter space" }
(Patton 1990:p24)

When quotations are the raw data of qualitative research, analysis will be difficult since responses are neither uniform nor standardized. In qualitative research the researcher may find that the data becomes oppressive. Quantitative research, on the other hand, yields precise and accurate information. This information, however, is limited to the questions being asked. Quantitative methods of obtaining data are seen as narrow minded and rigid (Mintzberg 1979). Qualitative research allows for greater spontaneity in respondents. Coley (1981) argued that qualitative research is useful for understanding the ways in which people interact with their social structure, and the meaning they assign to their own life experiences. This is essentially what the present research is about. How the social world shapes people's identities.

5.2.5. The Interview

An interview is often described as a "conversation with a purpose" (Fowler and Mangione 1990). This is because interviews are relatively informal and involves personal interaction. It is seen as a process of social interaction that yields valuable information. Benny Hughes (1956) defines an interview as

"a relationship between two people where both parties

behave as though they are of equal status. For its duration, whether or not this is actually so, and where, also, both behave as though their encounter had meaning only in relation to a good many other such encounters" (Black and Chapman 1979:p363).

The interview is basically concerned with gathering data. The primary focus of an interview is to discover what is in and on someone's mind (Patton 1990). The task for the interviewer is to gain access to the world of the person being interviewed. The main advantage of the interview is that it involves direct interaction between the interviewer and the respondent. Often interviews are seen as the most valid method of data gathering device. This is because the researcher has direct and personal contact with the respondent. They have seen and talked to the respondent, have recorded a written set of responses made at the time and there cannot have been too many misunderstandings (Oppenheim 1992).

It also allows researchers to examine select issues indepth. The interview technique is able to elicit a wide range of responses. The interview method is relatively open and flexible. The interviewer provides the subject with few guidelines. Interviewees are given substantial freedom to express their opinions concerning issues which the researcher assumed to be important (Merton et al 1956). The subjects are given the chance to convey their perceptions and experiences in a context important to them.

The interview method gives the respondents the chance to express their thoughts and feelings with a greater depth and spontaneity. Interviewers also have the opportunity to clarify ambiguous issues and cases of inconsistencies or to probe when insufficient information is provided (Richardson et al 1965). The interviewer is also able to pose additional questions to follow up on issues which perhaps had been not anticipated and therefore not included in the questionnaire (Knell 1981). It enables the researcher to explore important, unexpected issues that have not been originally considered. This makes the interview method a more flexible and

versatile data gathering device.

Another advantage of the interview method is that it is likely to have a higher response rate. This may be because the researcher can provide a more clear and convincing explanation of the purpose of the study. This may have more benefits than a covering letter. It will be more accessible to less well-educated respondents; assist those with reading difficulties; provide standardized explanations to questions that may arise; and prevent misunderstandings (Oppenheim 1992).

It also allows researchers to examine select issues in greater detail. The interview technique is able to elicit a wide range of responses. Within the context of a questionnaire, the presence of an interviewer generally minimizes the number of 'don't knows' or 'no answers' (Babbie 1992). The interview method is relatively open and flexible. Interviewees are given substantial freedom to express their opinions concerning issues which the researcher assumed to be important (Merton et al 1956). They are given the chance to convey their perceptions and experiences in a context important to them.

The use of the interview method also has disadvantages. Oppenheim (1992) argues that the disadvantages of using interviews are to some extent a reflection of the advantages. The interview method may be more expensive than the mailed questionnaires, depending on the sample size. The larger the sample the higher the costs of the interviewing operation. The data collection process in this case is likely to be time consuming. The coding of open-ended questions may add to the costs of interviewing. The costs of interviewing should not be measured only in financial terms but also in time.

5.2.6. The Research Process

Before discussing the actual interview the interview setting will be examined. Richardson et al (1965) argues that the interview setting is important because it may affect the validity of an

interview. All the interviews were carried out in an informal setting over a three month period from August to October in the Pietermaritzburg area.

All the interviews were carried out individually by the present author. This reduces interviewer effects and ensured greater standardization. Fowler and Mangione (1990) found that different interviewers asked different questions which in turn affected the results that were obtained. The reliability and validity of the research depends on the skill, competence and rigor of the researcher.

"The inquirer is himself the instrument, changes resulting from fatigue, shifts in knowledge, and cooptation, as well as variation resulting from differences in training, skill, and experience among different 'instruments' easily occur" (Patton 1990:p14)

The use of only one interviewer meant that the possibility of misunderstanding and misinterpretation was minimal. It also ensured that different questions were not assigned varying importance.

All the interviews took place at the subject's house after working hours. Most of the interview took place during the weekends, although a number of interviews did take place on weekdays, after working hours. Usually interviews were arranged for the convenience of the subject so that the distractions of work and family demands were minimized. This provided a more relaxed and comfortable environment that allowed for freedom of expression and the concentration that was needed for a project of this kind. The average interview lasted about forty five minutes.

A total of 120 people were interviewed to discover particular aspects of their identifications and disidentifications. The initial aim of the research was to put the subject at ease. The researcher knew from personal experience that the average Indian is reluctant to provide information on sensitive and personal issues.

For this reason a concerted effort was made to establish rapport and a relationship of trust with the subject. The researcher briefly outlined the primary objectives of the study. Subjects were provided with a clear and simple explanation of the purpose of the study. Subjects were also assured that their responses would be kept strictly confidential and at no time would their names appear on the research report. This gave them the assurance that there would be no negative comeback on them. Subjects were informed that their responses would be recorded but they could at any stage read what had been recorded. This is because

"qualitative methods are highly personal and interpersonal, because naturalistic inquiry takes the researcher into the real world where people live and work, and because in-depth interviewing opens up what is inside people- qualitative inquiry may be more intrusive and involve greater reactivity than surveys, tests and other quantitative approaches" (Patton 1990:p356).

Subjects were required to respond verbally to the questions. The structured format was adopted. The questions were read exactly as worded in the questionnaire. Subjects were asked basically the same questions (see appendix 1). There was uniformity in the framing of questions. This ensured that basically the same information is obtained from the range of subjects interviewed. The main objective of this type of interviewing is to reduce interviewer effects by having a standardized set of questions. This also limited the number of issues to be examined. The interview is highly focused, thus ensuring more productive utilisation of interviewee time. Furthermore, it ensures that irrelevant digressions are kept to a minimum. This method also makes data analysis less time consuming and more effective. It is possible to correlate each respondent's answer to the same question rather efficiently and to group questions and answers that are similar.

The interview began with structured background questions. These structured questions were used to obtain general information about the subject. The interview method, however, gave the researcher

greater flexibility in probing and clarifying certain points raised by the interviewee. Moreover, this method allowed the researcher to explore certain issues in greater detail.

Subjects were encouraged to freely express their feelings. If the response to the question was incomplete or inadequate then responses were probed for clarification and elaboration (Fowler and Mangione 1990). Questions were often repeated or clarified to prevent misunderstanding. Fowler and Mangione (1990) argue

"the interviewer should not provide any personal information that might imply any particular values or preferences with respect to topics to be covered in the interview, nor should the interviewer provide any feedback to respondents, positive or negative, with respect to specific content of the answers they provide" (p33)

For this reason the researcher adopted a detached, non-judgemental approach to the discussion. The researcher did not show approval or disapproval of what occurred. She did not give any indication that her feelings were affected by the responses provided. At the same time she displayed a capacity for empathy, of being able to understand and consider the feelings, attitudes and emotions of the interviewee (Merton et al 1956). The interviewer therefore adopted at all times a friendly yet neutral attitude.

Sometimes follow up questions were used after the interviewee had given a response to the main question. Some non-directive probes were used. For example, 'could you tell me a little more, please?' or 'Could you tell me why that was?' or 'Are there any additional points you would like to raise?' (Oppenheim 1992). This information is likely to add to the richness and depth of the insights already gained. This technique is more likely to generate a more complete picture of the racial, ethnic and national identities of Indians in a post apartheid South Africa.

The subject's verbatim responses were recorded. The exact words

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*

used by the respondent was noted. This ensures standardization in recording. According to Fowler and Mangione (1990), the key to standardized recording is no interview judgements, no interviewer summaries, no interviewer effects on what is recorded. The complete responses of subjects were recorded to prevent the omission of relevant data and the distortion of responses. Richardson et al (1965) maintains that this method of recording responses ensures minimal distortion of subject's view. Recording the verbatim responses of interviewees ensures more accurate and complete answers. This may however have inhibited the spontaneity of responses.

5.2.7. Problems encountered during the research process

Interviewing can be interesting and highly gratifying. It can yield valuable insights. At times, however, it can be highly frustrating and tedious. Some people can be very impolite and ill-mannered. Some respondents refused to participate, stating that they were far too busy and did not have the time to spare. Failure to keep appointments was another problem encountered. Others felt the research was highly sensitive and personal. They therefore were unwilling to participate in the research. According to DeLamater (1982), some topics may be regarded as sensitive and anxiety arousing. Specific topics which fall under these categories are income, sexual behaviour, political and religious views, physical and mental health, and illegal or deviant behaviour (Ibid). He adds that when questions are asked on these topics respondents may refuse to participate. This could explain the respondent unwillingness to participate in the research. Faced with difficulties with a obtaining a suitable sample size the researcher had to rely on those interviewed to recommend possible candidates for interviewing. One can argue that the sample is biased in terms of accepting only willing and available participants as respondents. In spite of these obstacles the researcher did succeed in establishing strong and firm friendships with some of the respondents. This helped to provide some useful insights and

explanations that contributed to a more indepth understanding of the social identities of Indians in South Africa.

Chapter 6

6.Results and Discussion

The results show that although group markers (language, religion etc) that signal belonging may change over time, the process of self-ascription and identification need not necessarily undergo a similiar change (Hutnik 1991). The group may become behaviourally assimilated but still retain a strong sense of ingroup identification. This means that the individual may be fully incorporated into the broader society while maintaining a sense of personal identification with the ethnic or racial group.

6.1.Ethnic attitudes and identity

Common cultural traditions, beliefs and symbols serve to create a strong sense of ethnic identity which separates the group from other social groups. Religion is an important component of the ethnic group. Brand (1966) observes that religion has immediate consequences for the solidarity of the groups. Religion is seen as the most durable stabilising force in the Indian community (Pillay et al 1989).

Indians in South Africa, however, belong to a variety of religious group, including Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and Confuscian. However, Hinduism has had the strongest impact on the this community. The influence of Hinduism is however declining while that of Christianity is deepening. Thirty percent of the Christian respondents are converts from Hinduism. They are mainly adherants of the Pentecostal, Anglician, and Roman Catholic churches. Meer (1969) argued that the caste system had debilitating effects on the less privileged members of the Hindu group and made them more susceptible to Christianity. This group therefore adopted individualistic strategies to improve their socio-economic standing in the community and achieve a more satisfactory social identity. The majority of these Indians are of Hindu origin - their parents subscribed to Hinduism - but have now the adopted the Christian faith.

In South Africa Hindus, Muslims and Christians have separate places of worship. In order to preserve and maintain their distinct cultural identity they built separate religious institutions and organisations. Prominent members of the Indian community played an important role in promoting religious and educational development. Educational and social upliftment was seen as an extension of religious commitment (Pillay et al 1989). These institutions, however, served to enhance cultural similarities and differences between the various religious groups. They incorporated and accepted only one religion while excluding others. The self-categorization theory asserts that once individuals have identified themselves as members of a particular social group the process of referent informational influence occurs which ensures greater conformity to group norms, opinions and attitudes. Among Hindus, however, there is a trend towards greater individualism. This can be most clearly seen in the attendance figures at religious meetings (see appendix 2 : figure 4).

Respondents were questioned on their attendance at religious meetings. They were asked if they attended religious meetings and, if yes, how often. Answers were required in terms of five categories: at least once a day, at least once a week, at least twice a week, at least once a month, and at least once a year.

The attendance figures at these meetings could be seen as an indication of religious involvement. Only 67% of all Hindu respondents attended such meetings. Among Hindus, Gujerati speaking Hindu showed the highest level of religious commitment. Almost 80% of all Gujerati Hindus attended religious meetings. Muslims, however, had the highest attendance figures.

Table 6.1

Attendance at Religious meetings

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION	FREQUENCY EXPRESSED AS %
HINDU	67%
MUSLIM	100%
CHRISTIAN	93%

It is important to note that although Hindi, Tamil and Telegu speaking Hindus may not attend religious meeting regularly this does not mean that their religious commitment is waning.

Table 6.2

Level of Religious Commitment

LEVEL OF COMMITMENT	HINDU	MUSLIM	CHRISTIAN
VERY COMMITTED	8%	43%	47%
COMMITTED	43%	50%	43%
AWARE	37%	7%	10%
NOT REALLY INTERESTED	12%	-	-
NOT AT ALL INTERESTED	-	-	-

Respondents were asked to rate their level of religious commitment. Level of religious commitment among the three main religious denomination can be seen in Table 6.2. Some Hindus vehemently stressed their strong commitment to their religion, stating that they prefer to meditate and pray in their homes. Fifty one percent of the Hindu respondents were committed to their religion. Hindus do participate in religious activities but only on auspicious occasions. Most of the respondents only visited the temple on special festivals. This suggest that home based religious involvement is much more common among Hindus.

Religious meetings are most widely attended by Muslims and Christians. Christians and Muslims showed the highest level of

religious commitment. While 43% of the Muslims respondents expressed strong religious commitment, only 33% of them attended religious meetings at least once a day. This meant that a small minority of Muslim men offer all their prayers in the mosque. These meetings have the highest attendance rate on Fridays. Almost 90% of the male population attended religious meeting on this day. Religious involvement among Muslim men is relatively high. Only 10% of the females respondents stated they were very committed to their religion. Meer (1969) observes that "women do not enter the mosque for the purpose of praying due to the prevailing tradition in terms of which men and women pray separately" (p191). Sixty three percent of all Christian respondents (both men and women) attended devotional meetings on Wednesday and Sunday. The majority of the Christians attended religious meetings at least twice a week. This suggests greater communal religious involvement among Christians. According to Narroll (1964), the realization of common cultural values in overt unity in cultural forms creates a strong sense of ethnic identity.

According to Mynhart and du Toit (1990), the most self-evident factor that brings group behaviour into play is culture. Cultural activities are aimed at cultivating a positive identification with the ingroup (Foster and Louw-Potgieter 1991). Hence, behaviour towards others will be group based. Group membership places constraints on interpersonal interaction. The establishment of separate religious institutions and cultural organisations have limited interpersonal contact between the different religious groups in the Indian community. These organisations have not only served to sharpen religious differences but also linguistic differences between the various groups. Social and recreational activities are largely confined to members of the same religious groups. Wilder (1984) argues that sometimes the mere awareness of the existence of other groups or anticipated outgroups leads to group oriented and discriminatory behaviour (Foster and Louw-Potgieter 1991).

Most respondents indicated that the majority of their friends were of the same religious group as they were. Religion serves as a point of shared interests and association. Membership in these religious institutions results in the accentuation of similarities between self and other ingroup members. According to social identity theory, the categorization process generates stereotypical perceptions of all members of the social group as having certain common characteristics that distinguishes them from members of other social groups. In this case the categorisation process produces accentuation on those perceptual dimensions that are regarded as relevant to the ingroup such as religion and participation in the religious activities. Ingroup members are seen as sharing certain characteristics. This, however, does not mean that there is no social contact between members of the various religious groups. This can be seen in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3

Level of Inter-Religious Social Contact

RELIGIOUS GROUP	FREQUENCY EXPRESSED AS A %
HINDU	98%
MUSLIM	93%
CHRISTIAN	93%

The different religious groups are not completely socially isolated from outgroup members (see appendix 2 : figure 3). Almost 90% of all respondents stated that they had friends of other religious groups. Seventy five percent of the respondents had contact with people of another religious group at least once a day. Social mixing across the religious divide does take place. The different groups have maintained friendship contacts across the ethnic divide. They have developed strong friendships with other linguistic and religious groups. This can be seen in appendix 2 : figure 3.

Interpersonal relationship between the different religious groups has generally been positive. Respondents showed no overt hostility or antagonism towards other religious groups. In South African political clashes, any conflict over religious differences is rare. Saxena (1992) points out that "so far there has been no Muslim - Hindu riot in South Africa" (p339). Frustrations, comparison and other sources of emotional arousal are identified as contributors of social unrest (Berkowitz 1972). Meer (1969) points out that Indians were widely dispersed throughout India but in South Africa they found themselves confined to comparatively restricted geographical areas. This forced upon them a single identity. In South Africa greater opportunities existed for contact and, therefore, comparisons. Muslims and Hindus have a greater opportunity to compare themselves with different religious denominations of the same race group. Comparison between two vastly unequal groups usually generates frustration, hostility and aggressiveness. In South Africa, however, Muslims and Hindus occupy a substantially equal status. Both Muslims and Hindus are treated as a single cultural group. Moreover, under the apartheid regime they occupied a similar legal status. This forged a common identity among Indians that transcended narrow sectarian and ethnic barriers and ensured greater tolerance of inter-religious differences. One should not assume, however, that the Indian community in South Africa constitutes a fairly integrated whole. Religious beliefs and rituals still serve to divide this sector of the population. This is particularly apparent in the area of marriage.

Marriage between people of different religious denominations has evoked much disapproval. Most of the respondents expressed disapproval of inter-religious marriages. Christian and Muslims in particular have expressed the strongest disapproval of inter-religious marriages (see appendix 2 : figure 2). Christians and Muslim seem particularly concerned with maintaining the group identity. They are of the opinion that they would only accept

marriage partners who are willing to adopt their religion.

Among the Hindus, Hindi and Gujerati speaking people were against these marriages. Twenty percent of Hindi speaking Hindus and 27% of Gujerati Hindus have less tolerance of violations of religious norms. Inter-religious marriages arouses much disapproval. This is most clearly illustrated in the reponses to the question "would you mind having a person of a different religion as your child's husband/wife?".

Table 6.4.

Would you mind having a person of a different religious group as your child's husband/wife?

RELIGIOUS GROUP	YES	NO
HINDU	38%	62%
MUSLIM	63%	37%
CHRISTIAN	63%	37%

Although most Hindu respondents were not totally disapproving of inter-religious marriages, there were some who expressed the fear that "these types of marriages will create divisions within the household". These respondents believed that this type of marriage will be "fraught with difficulties" as it may result in the conversion to and adoption of a different religion. For this reason these Hindus were against marriage with Muslims. They claimed that Muslims would demand that their marriage partner accept Islam. The fear of a loss of group identity may sometimes result in a rejection of outgroup members as potential marriage partners for their children. These marriages were viewed with scepticism. It was felt that "they would not work because of a clash of religious beliefs, practices and customs". This suggests an awareness of the similiarities of self and other ingroup members and differences between ingroup and outgroup members.

Tamil and Telegu Hindus showed little awareness of inter-group differences and intra-group similarities. They were less disapproving of inter-religious marriages. Seventy nine percent of Telegu Hindus and 33% of Tamil Hindus were in favour of marriage across the religious divide. Almost 40% of the Hindu respondents felt that other factors are sometimes more important. They placed more emphasis on individual characteristics. "When choosing a marriage partner an individual's character and personality is more important than religion". This may be a result of Western influence over Indian traditions and behavioural patterns. The secularisation of the Indian community has also signalled a change in language usage and group identification.

Language is an important distinguishing feature of the Indian community. Our speech styles and language varieties are indicative of the social groups to which we belong (Foster and Louw-Potgieter 1990). It can become a powerful symbol of ethnic identity (Hogg and Abrams 1988). The evidence shows, however, the linguistic assimilation of Indians to English.

English is the main medium of communication. However, language assimilation varies between the various linguistic groups. The vernacular continues to be used to a greater extent by Gujerati speaking Hindus and Muslims - the descendants of the trading class of Indians who continue to occupy a relatively more privileged financial position than the descendants of the indentured Indians. Urdu and Gujerati speaking Muslims and Gujerati Hindus are highly represented in the higher income categories. Almost 50% of Urdu and Gujerati speaking Muslim respondents fall in the high income bracket. They tend to monopolise business and managerial positions. Sixty percent of the Gujerati speaking Hindus are managers and proprietors of small business. They occupy relatively affluent positions in the economy. Their more favourable economic position in the early years of immigration made it possible for them to resist complete assimilation into the dominant group in society.

The indentured Indians, however, were less resistant to change. Their unfavourable economic position compelled them to adjust to the unfamiliar social world they found themselves in. Maasdorp (1968) argued that for the indentured labourers, "adjustment to local conditions has been a urgent priority, and one of the chief agents in this process has been the adoption of English" (p42).

The passenger Indians have to a greater extent resisted language assimilation. A large number of Gujerati Hindus and Muslims continue to use the vernacular. For these people English is not the only medium of communication. Although most of the descendants of the passenger Indian are able to converse quite fluently in English they continue to use the vernacular at home. Fifty eight percent of the Muslim respondents are bilingual in their own language (either Urdu or Gujerati) and the outgroup language (English). It follows from the social identity theory that members of a low status group may adopt individualistic strategies to achieve some sort of change so as to gain a more favourable social identity. The adoption of the languages of the outgroup makes them better equipped to fit in with the demands of the dominant society. This does not mean that they have abandoned the ingroup languages altogether. They continue to speak the Indian languages in the company of close friends and relatives.

Muslim respondents have a better command of the vernacular. Most of the Muslim respondents attended Madressa where they are taught the fundamental principles of Islamic theology. They were also given lessons in Arabic and in some cases Urdu. Determined efforts were made to retain their ethnic identity. Virtually all Muslims could speak one Indian dialect. Some Muslims and Gujerati Hindus were also quite familiar with Hindi. About 57% of the Muslims are also able to speak two or more Indian dialects. They are able to speak, read and write Urdu and Arabic. Gujerati and Urdu are the two most commonly spoken languages in Muslim homes. Seventy three percent of Gujerati Hindus and 57% of the Muslims speak Gujerati. Seventeen

percent could speak both Urdu and Gujerati. This must have had a strong impact on the identification of the group with their ethnic identity. Language serves as a unifying factor that binds the different groups together and serves to distinguish them from other sectors of the population. This does not mean that they are isolated from other linguistic groups.

Thirty percent of the Muslim respondents are also keen to learn other languages. Most of the respondents were eager to learn Zulu and other African languages (Tswana and Xhosa) to enable them to communicate with other South Africans. They felt that these African languages should be taught in schools because they facilitate greater understanding and contact between people of different linguistic and racial groups. Others were much more aware of the economic benefits that fluency in these languages would bring. They felt that fluency in the African languages would lead to greater job prospects. They maintained that affirmative action programs are largely aimed at Zulu or Xhosa speakers. This suggests a greater appreciation of the social and economic rewards that fluency in and usage of the African language brings.

Hindus also have some rudimentary understanding of the African languages, particularly Zulu. Twenty seven percent stated that they were able to speak and understand Zulu. Christians are also able to communicate in and understand Zulu. Twenty percent of the Christian respondents were quite fluent in Zulu. Zulu appears to be the most common African language among Indians. This is indeed impressive as the African languages were excluded from the school curriculum. This suggests that Indians in South Africa are more familiar with the South African languages than languages of other Indian groups. The interest in other South African languages is indicative of the broader trend among Indians to be fully incorporated into the dominant society.

The adoption of English as the common language has led to a

reduction in Indian people's sense of group solidarity and cohesiveness. This is because Indian people in South Africa are now able to communicate with other racial and national groups. A sizeable portion of the sample population have adopted English as the main language and are also able to speak Afrikaans. This is largely because English and Afrikaans were the only two languages that had official recognition. Under the apartheid South Africa only English and Afrikaans were recognised as the official languages of the country. Indians in South Africa were forced to learn Afrikaans in schools. English however remained the primary medium of instruction in Indian schools. This resulted in the displacement of the Indian languages by English and Afrikaans in schools. As a result, some respondents are most familiar with only these two languages. English and Afrikaans is the most commonly known by the younger generation. Sixty three percent of the younger respondents are able to read, write and speak Afrikaans.

When one examines the language usage of the different age groups one is immediately struck by the generational differences with respect to language assimilation. This is because only a small percentage of the younger generation received any vernacular training.

Table 6.5

Level of Attendance at Vernacular School

AGE GROUP	FREQUENCY EXPRESSED AS A %
18-34	31%
35-49	32%
50-65	50%

In our sample only 34% in the 18 to 34 age group could speak an Indian dialect. Among the younger generation of the Muslim sample population there were only 44% who were able to speak any of the

Indian languages. The comparative figure for Hindus is 8%. This has meant that Indian youth are unable to communicate with some of the older generation in the vernacular because of a lack of knowledge of the Indian languages. This is understandable in the light of the fact that greater emphasis was placed on the learning of English and Afrikaans in the educational system. English was the primary medium of instruction. In the 1960s, however, Afrikaans became a compulsory second language in schools.

The adoption of English, however, as the common language among the younger generation may imply disidentification with the ingroup and identification with the outgroup (Sachdev and Bourhis 1990). Moreover, it points to a greater trend towards cultural and social integration into the South African society. Other factors leading to language assimilation of Indians may be the desire for higher social prestige and brighter economic prospects. English is a high prestige international language and is universally recognised as the language for trade and commerce (Foster and Louw-Potgieter 19910). English is accorded a relatively high status in South Africa. A basic assumption of the social identity theory is that perceived status determines whether group membership contributes positively or negatively to an individual's self-concept.

Ramphal (1989) points out that education in English has brought about enormous changes in linguistic patterns. English is preferred as the main medium of communication because it maybe seen as the "bearer of the new powerful and sophisticated culture" and the key to high status and well-respected occupations (Ibid:p78). This has meant that it is to the group's advantage to be able to communicate in it. Failure to do so may result in negative social and economic sanctions. The person may for this reason have a negative social identity. According to Tajfel (1978), "the knowledge of membership of various social groups and the value attached to them by us is defined as our social identity and forms part of the self-concept" (Giles 1978:p385). In this case, the group may adopt an

individualistic strategy to achieve a favourable social identity. This is achieved by social mobility from a low status group to a high status group. This is linguistically reflected in the sub-groups adoption of the dominant groups language (English) as the chief agent of communication. In South Africa the Indian languages have been largely replaced by English. English has become the lingua franca. South Africa has 11 official languages but none of the Indian languages are given any recognition. This is indicative of the relatively low status of the Indian languages in South Africa.

While identification with linguistic and religious ingroups tends to be strong amongst Indians, culturally, the trend is towards acceptance and adoption of Western concepts and modes of living (McCrystal 1967). They tend to be favourably disposed toward the culture and lifestyle of the broader society. According to Giles (1978), a group may change their speech styles to be similar to the dominant group. Indians have adopted English as the main language to facilitate greater integration into the South African society.

Hindi, Tamil and Telegu speaking Hindus and Christians in South Africa have a relatively poor command of the vernacular. This is a direct result of the poor attendance at vernacular school (see appendix 2 : figure 1).

Table 6.6.

Level of attendance at vernacular school

RELIGIOUS GROUP	FREQUENCY EXPRESSED AS A %
HINDU	20%
MUSLIM	57%
CHRISTIAN	17%

Note : Figures have been rounded off.

Eighty percent of Hindus and 83% of the Christians had not attended vernacular school. Cooppan's observation that "except for a

significant number of Muslims and Hindu Gujarati the rest do not really possess an effective command of an Indian language" is also true for Indians in Pietermaritzburg (Maasdorp 1968:p44). Few Hindus have received vernacular education. Only 20% of Hindi and Telegu speaking Hindus and 27% of Tamil speaking Hindus had some vernacular training. Sixty percent of all Gujarati respondents attended vernacular school. The respondents cited many reasons for the poor attendance at vernacular school. Many respondents pointed out that there was very few opportunities to obtain training in the vernacular since only a limited number of schools offer Indian languages as a school subject. Some respondents explained that they were too few teachers available to provide the necessary instructions. Others maintained that it was difficult to obtain vernacular training because the classes were held after school hours. This meant great inconvenience for the students. A few respondents did also feel that the costs of vernacular education were too high. Others were simply not interested in learning the Indian dialect. It is for this reason that the vernacular education has proved unpopular among Tamils, Telegus and Hindustani people.

Sachdev and Bourhis (1990) stress that it is not language usage and proficiency that is closely related to identity but those languages may be an important aspect of group identity despite not being spoken by most group members. This is most clearly reflected in the attitudes of respondents to their linguistic background. Sixty three percent of the respondent stated that they were aware of their linguistic background while 29% said they were very proud of it. This shows that ethnic identification among Hindus remain strong inspite of their linguistic assimilation to English.

One should not assume that because fluency in the vernacular is fast disappearing they do not identify strongly with that language. This can be seen most clearly in the attitudes towards inter-linguistic marriages. Responses to inter-linguistic marriages were collapsed into three categories : approve, neither approve nor

disapprove and disapprove.

Table 6.7.

Attitude towards inter-linguistic marriage

RELIGIOUS GROUP	FREQUENCY EXPRESSED AS A %		
	Attitude towards inter-linguistic marriage		
	APPROVE	NEITHER APPROVE NOR DISAPPROVE	DISAPPROVE
HINDU	45%	43%	12%
MUSLIM	30%	23%	47%
CHRISTIAN	50%	43%	7%

Inter-linguistic marriages aroused little disapproval. Among Hindus, Telegus expressed the strongest dissatisfaction with this kind of marriages. Forty percent of these respondents were against these marriages. This suggests that they still have strong feelings about maintaining their distinct ethnic identity.

Hindi speaking Hindus are not particularly opposed to inter-linguistic marriages. They felt that other factors need to be taken into consideration, such as level of education, occupation and income, when choosing a marriage partner. This manifests itself in the tendency among younger, more educated Hindi speaking females to desire marriage partners who are financially independent. This is consistent with Ramphal (1989) observations. According to Ramphal (1989), there is a tendency among the younger generation to marry out of language, religion and caste boundaries as long as the potential marriage partner has the desired personal and educational qualifications and offer prospects of financial security. This suggests that the younger generation of Indians, by and large, are now moving towards greater individualism in respect of certain activities and in certain sectors of their lives (Ramphal 1989). Interpersonal relationship in this case is strongly influenced by

the unique characteristics of each of the two individuals.

Individual needs may sometimes be subordinate to the group among certain sectors of the Hindu community. This is particularly true for Gujerati Hindus. Twenty percent of Gujerati Hindus were disapproving of marriage between people of different linguistic groups. Among certain Gujerati Hindus caste considerations continues to be significant in the choice of marriage partners. One respondent stated that the prospective marriage partner's "caste background also has to be scrutinised". This suggests that certain Gujeratis are less tolerant of inter-caste relations and that caste considerations continue to influence interpersonal relations. However, 53% of Gujerati speaking Hindus expressed their approval with inter-linguistic marriages.

Almost 50% of Muslims respondents expressed disapproval of marriages between people of different language groups. This is also reflected in their responses to the question "would you mind a person of another language group as your child's husband/wife?". They would disapprove of their child marrying outside the linguistic group. Christians, on the other, are relatively indifferent about the language issue. They felt language holds little relevance when choosing a marriage partner. They felt that religion is a more important factor.

Marriage between Tamil and Telegu speaking Hindus and Hindi speaking Hindus is frowned upon by these linguistic groups. This is probably because these different language groups emphasis different religious rituals and practices. Pillay et al (1989) points out that there are differences in the form of ceremony, festivals and the language used in prayer. Marriage between Tamil and Telegu speaking Hindus arouses little disapproval. Tamil and Telegu speaking respondents maintained that they would not object to having people of South Indian origin as their child's husband/wife. They tend to categorize others on the basis of similiarities and

differences to the self. Social comparison reveals common characteristics between these social groups. Both Tamils and Telegus share regional ties. Moreover, they share common cultural and religious practices. This serves to bind the community together and also creates a strong sense of group belongingness which encourages fairly close contact.

Social contact is most common among people of the same language group. This is indicative of group consciousness and group identification. This does not mean that there is no close social contact between people of different language group. Ninety five percent of the respondents had friends of another linguistic group. Social mixing, however, occurs mainly among people residing in the same neighbourhood, or involved in the same economic, social, cultural or recreational activities. This has meant that social contact tends to be limited to specific religious and linguistic groups in South Africa. The distinct physical and cultural features of Indians distinguished them from other racial groups in South Africa.

6.2. Racial Categorization

In South Africa under the apartheid regime the population was organised on the basis of racial categories. The categorization of the population along racial lines had the effect of accentuating perceived inter-group differences. This is seen as responsible for the emergence of stereotypical and prejudicial behaviour and attitudes. "The categorization of people on racial lines had the effect of strengthening prejudices; not only did it produce segregation and exclusiveness, but it also produced stereotypes so that the behaviour of a few offending members served to condemn the entire community, the traits of a few being ascribed to all" (Ghai and Ghai 1970:p4). This served to foster a sense of common identity within the Indian population.

A policy of segregation evolved that limited every conceivable

level of interaction between the various races. Racial contact was kept to a minimum. There was little opportunity for members of the different racial groups to interact on the basis of equality. The various racial groups had their separate religious institutions, their own schools, their own residential areas and recreational centres. The categorization process in South Africa had the effect of accentuating racial differences between the different social groups.

With the removal of compulsory segregation the opportunities for social mixing has increased. The abolition of and reduction in racially segregated schools and other social services provides more opportunities for contact in a great many sphere. Respondents were questioned about the frequency of social contact with persons of different racial groups. The study shows that there is greater contact between people of different race groups, especially among the younger generation. The age group 50 to 64 years are more socially isolated.

Ninety percent of the respondents have contact with people of different race groups at least once a day. Among the Hindu religious group, over 90% of the Hindi speakers claimed to have friends of other groups, compared to 80% of Tamils, 73% of Telegus and 86% of Gujeratis. It was clear, however, that most of the respondents were unable to distinguish between casual business acquaintances and close friends.

The most contact occurs at the workplace. One can argue that different racial groups are forced into close proximity by economic forces beyond their control. Contact outside the work environment does occur but is limited. This suggests that social cooperation between the various race groups is minimal. Little informal interaction takes place with the outgroup. Almost 98% of the sample maintained that they had friends of different racial groups. However, when questioned closely they revealed that more often than

not those people they considered to be friends were mere business acquaintances.

Respondents were asked to rate their happiness on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = very happy 2 = happy 3 = neither happy nor unhappy 4 = unhappy 5 = very unhappy). Respondents were asked if they would be happy to have a person of a different race as a co-worker, guest, tenant, landlord, spouse, child's spouse.

The study shows that Indian people are happy to have Africans, Coloureds and Whites as co-workers and guests in their house. The group tends to associate more freely with outgroup members. This points to a change in the attitudes of Indian people towards other race groups and suggests a more favourable attitude towards other groups. It also signals an improvement in the interpersonal relationship with people of other race groups.

The removal of racially segregated areas is likely to drastically alter the existing residential pattern. There is likely to be greater racial residential integration. Respondents were asked if they would mind having a person of another race group as their neighbour. It was found that most of the respondents were in favour of racial integration.

Table 6.8.

Would you mind having a person of a different race group as your neighbour

	MIND	DON'T MIND
AFRICAN PERSON	21%	79%
COLOURED PERSON	20%	80%
WHITE PERSON	17%	83%
AFRICAN LAWYER	18%	82%
COLOURED LAWYER	18%	82%
WHITE LAWYER	16%	84%

The majority of respondents stated that they would not mind having people of different race group as their neighbour "providing they live up to being good, minding their own business, being polite, not provoking problems". They did not mind having people of other races in close proximity with them as long they shared the same values and attitudes. This suggests the emergence of more favourable inter-racial relationship and a consequent reduction in outgroup discrimination. However, not all respondents held the same attitudes.

Some of the members of the older generation opposed integration with outgroups. They were particularly opposed to African neighbours. These respondents feared for their personal safety and belongings. Others felt that inter-racial neighbourhoods will result in an increase in noise levels and violence. They expressed the fear that the violence in the African townships may spread to their area. Twenty one percent of the respondents felt that they would mind having an African person as their neighbour. Twenty two percent of the Hindu respondents were against residential integration with Africans. There appears to be greater ingroup identification among the Hindus. Hindu respondents are disapproving

of inter-racial neighbourhoods because they feel that "people of different race groups will not be able to appreciate the significance of our customs and traditions and it will make us easy targets of ridicule and mockery". These respondents fear that their religious customs and rituals may be jeopardized in a more open, non-racial society. Racial integration poses a threat to their group identity. They therefore use religious affiliation and rituals as a means of distinguishing themselves from the outgroup. As a result there is an exaggeration of perceived intra-group similarities and inter-group differences. Christians are less disapproving of racial integration with Africans, Coloureds and Whites with whom they share a common religion.

The more highly educated respondents showed a greater willingness to mix with people of different races. The higher the level of education the greater the readiness to approach people of another racial group. The lower the education the lower the degree of readiness to approach other race groups. The more highly educated people have had greater exposure to other race groups and more regular contact with them. They belong to non-racial organisations which encourages the development of closer friendship and contact across the racial divide. This may have influenced their readiness to be close to people of other racial groups. This suggests that social contact on the basis of equality leads to a change in social attitudes for the better and encourages more favourable race relations.

Social contact between people of vastly unequal statuses leads to outgroup discrimination. In South Africa Whites hold higher economic and social positions in the status hierarchy. Whites monopolise professional and white collar occupations while Africans are highly concentrated in lowly paid blue collar occupations. Indians find themselves sandwiched in an intermediate position between White privileges and African poverty (Carrim 1993). For race relations to improve it is imperative to obtain a situation of

equal status in South Africa (Pettigrew 1986). The measure of equal status contact that occurred in the educational sphere has led to a reduction in outgroup discrimination and ingroup favouritism.

A number of interesting patterns can be observed in the responses. Firstly, while the vast majority of Indians would not mind having people of other racial groups as co-workers, neighbours and guests, they would mind having having a person of another race as their husband/wife or their child's husband/wife.

It should be born in mind that Indians are highly selective in their acceptance of the South African culture and way of life. Ramphal (1989) observes that Indians have not rejected their culture whole-heartedly and indiscriminately. This is most visible in the area of marriage. There is a tendency to favour ingroup members over the outgroup when chosing marriage partners. Indians are less tolerant of marriage outside the racial group. This can be seen in the responses to the question : Would you mind having an African/ White/ Coloured person as your husband/ wife?

Table 6.9
Level of Disapproval

RACIAL GROUP	UNHAPPY	VERY UNHAPPY
AFRICAN	13%	44%
COLOURED	10%	34%
WHITE	12%	32%

Fifty seven percent of the sample population were against marriages with Africans, 44% with Coloureds and Whites respectively. They have a greater readiness to be close to be people of their own racial group. They would prefer that inter-racial marriage is prohibited. One respondent stated that "these marriages should be banned". This indicates that Indians resist

complete integration with other race groups. This could also be seen as an indication that a section of the Indian community tend to be more accepting of inter-racial relationships on a public level but are less accepting of more intimate relationships.

Marriage outside the racial group does in some cases arouse antagonism and hostility. Respondents indicated that if they had married outside their racial group they would be subject to ridicule and mockery from friends, family and the broader community. This is an example of social control being exercised and it points to the importance of the principle of racial endogamy among the Indian community. The majority of respondents are strongly opposed to inter-racial marriages. Brand (1966) maintained that "inter-marriage could be seen as the most intimate form of out-group contact" (p32). The rejection of this type of marriages suggests a rejection of complete integration into the dominant society. It also communicates an awareness of inter-group differences. The differentiation of the ingroup from the outgroup results in the ingroup being perceived as superior. This could explain the strong disapproval of marriages between Indians and Africans.

According to social identity theory, the individual has a fundamental need to see themselves in a positive way, both objectively and relatively (Johnston and Hewstone 1990). At a group level, members of a high status group enhance their self-esteem through comparison with less powerful groups. This self-esteem is grounded in the social categories to which one belongs. Thus, one's membership of a social category is intergal to the process of identity formation. Inter-group contact between the ingroup and outgroup allows for the comparison between groups and the enhancement of one's social identity (Ibid). This occurs when the ingroup differentiates itself from the outgroup on positively valued dimensions. This means that those characteristics are highlighted that reflect favourably upon the ingroup. This could

explain why Indians perceive themselves as superior to Africans. Racial categorization resulted in the accentuation of group stereotypes and prejudices. These is most evident in the respondents attitude Indian marriage to Africans.

Fifty seven percent of all respondents were very unhappy with this type of marriage. The majority of respondents strongly disapproved of marriage with Africans. This is consistent with Kogila Moodley's (1980) observations. She observes that there were virtually no marriages between Africans and Indians even though there were no legal proscriptions against marriage between the three Black groups (between Indians, Coloured and Africans). In the past outgroup marriage meant social exclusion and isolation from the community. Those who did not conform to group norms faced punishment. This has meant that ingroup membership faced direct pressure to conform to group norms. The group exercises enormous social control over the behaviour of it's members. This may be because inter-racial marriages are seen as threatening the identity of the racial group. In an attempt to maintain a distance from other social groups the Indian community formed a closed group which prohibited ingroup marriage to other race groups.

Christians, however, were more willing to marry outside the boundaries of the racial group. There is much less disapproval on the side of Christians against such liasons than there is in other groups. The rules of endogamy in this community are less severe. This could also suggest more liberal racial attitudes among Christians than other groups. This could be because they share the same religious beliefs with other racial groups.

Thirty seven percent of the Hindus respondents voiced their disapproval of inter-racial marriage. They showed less willingness to marriage outside the ingroup. Those who were accepting of inter-racial marriage showed a greater willingness to marry Whites and Coloureds. It furthermore appeared that the younger and highly

educated Indians showed a greater willingness to accept other racial groups as prospective marriage partners. Thirty four percent maintained that these marriages should be encouraged. They tend to respond more positively to other racial groups. This may be because they had more exposure to Western values and more contact with outgroups. This may have contributed to a change in their attitudes.

There is less resentment against Whites and Coloureds. Indians and Coloureds shared a similiar status under the apartheid regime. They found themselves occupying an intermediate position between the African masses and White ruling elite. This could explain the more favourable attitudes towards Coloureds.

Indian marriage to Whites also arouses less disapproval. Forty four percent of all respondents were against these marriages. This is probably because of the way South African society has been structured. Ideology was employed to justify the process of domination and oppression in South Africa (Foster and Louw-Potgieter 1991). Ideology is a powerful socialisation mechanism that influences attitudes, behaviour and perceptions. Racist ideology created negative representations of African people in South Africa (Ibid). Whites were perceived as being superior while Africans were depicted as inferior. They were seen as both different and lower on the scale of human progress (Foster and Louw-Potgieter 1991). Racist ideology was closely linked with ideas of "separate nations", "cultural pluralism" and "minority group protection" and "first and third worlds" (Ibid). The structure of South African society meant that contact with Whites was more prestigious than contact with Africans (Moodley 1980). Social identity theory needs to pay attention to the way in which human consciousness is manipulated in the interest of a certain class, gender, ethnic or racial group (Campbell 1993). This could account for the more accepting attitudes to Whites. Indians showed more favourable attitudes towards Whites. There is little resistance to

Indian marriages to Whites and greater acceptance of Whites than Africans. This is could be attributed to the more privileged position Whites hold in South Africa. Whites occupy the highest social and economic positions in the status hierarchy.

6.3. Changing perceptions?

The social identities of Indians are continually changing to suit the requirements of the differing social situation they find themselves in. This can be clearly seen in the attitudes towards race relations in Pietermaritzburg.

Table 6.10

Attitude towards Race Relations

RELIGIOUS GROUP	IMPROVED	DETERIORATED	NOT CHANGED
HINDU	42%	18%	40%
MUSLIM	43%	23%	33%
CHRISTIAN	63%	3%	33%

Note : Figures have been rounded off.

An overwhelming proportion of respondents have noted a change in race relations in Pietermaritzburg since the April 1994 elections. Forty two percent of Hindu and 43% of Muslim respondents felt that race relations have changed for the better. These respondents argued that there was greater interaction between the different race groups not only at the workplace but in a social context. This is neatly summarized by one respondent: "the changes that transpired after the April elections with regards to race relations in sport and other extra-curricular activities have been positive and one can see the light at the end of the tunnel and things can only get better". Respondents reported greater interaction with Whites. In the past racial contact was dictated by economic necessity. There is a general feeling that the social barriers between Indians and Whites are gradually being dismantled. Whites

are now more willing to associate with other races. This is making a positive contribution to race relations. Some respondents stated that after the elections they expected Indians to become the target of African's wrath. There had heard rumours that Africans would takeover Indian houses and Indian businesses would be appropriated. This had created much fear and anxiety among Indians but these predictions failed to materialize after the elections.

Almost 40% of the respondents could see no visible changes in race relations. The situation has neither improved nor deteriorated. About 15% of the respondents, however, insisted that the situation has deteriorated. They argued that the level of intimidation has increased, especially at the workplace. They also point to the increased crime rate. They argue that most of the crimes committed against Indians are by Africans. This is seen as contributing to a deterioration in race relations. This could be regarded as an indication of the hostility and antagonism towards the outgroup (Africans). According to Tajfel, the mere division of individuals into group is sufficient to produce inter-group discrimination in favour of the ingroup. He added that the social group to which the individual belongs holds some evaluative and emotional component. This social group's perception of the outgroup is characterised by negative evaluations. According to social identity theory, the evaluative and emotional components results in stereotypical perceptions of the outgroups. This is reflected in the attitudes towards outgroup members.

The Indian community clearly has ambivalent attitudes towards certain outgroup members. There are some ingroup members who feel that President Mandela is making their future more secure. Thirty nine percent of the sample population stated that under Mandela's rule their future is more secure. These respondents expressed confidence in Mandela. This is reflected in the following descriptions:

"Some of his promises have been fulfilled. We cannot expect change overnight. Give him some time and he will prove to us that he will stand by his words?"

"He is a man of vision. He epitomises the spirit of true democracy and freedom and is a symbol of harmony and reconciliation"

"Peace in the country was brought by the President. Peace is security. President Mandela is dedicated to the peace accord and since he and so many Indians have been so bitterly oppressed over the years, his attitudes towards other racial groups and his commitment to maintaining peace is highly commendable"

President Mandela clearly has the support of certain ingroup members. Throughout the literature on social identity theory, self-categorization as a group member is regarded as strongly related to group belongingness. However, one can see from the above that where group membership is based on highly visible characteristics (ie, race), it might well be that an individual shares these characteristics, but does not identify him/herself as a group member (Louw-potgieter 1988). This could explain their identification with outgroups. Not all outgroup members are automatically accepted by ingroup members. They may experience strong group identification with the ingroup on certain matters. There was a general feeling among the respondents that "although the policies of the ANC government are intended to make the future secure, Mandela's pre-election campaigns have raised expectations beyond what the government can meet and it is the party's supporters who are making the future unsure by their unreasonable demands. If the Blacks (Africans) continue to expect everything for nothing then the country is heading for doom".

Some ingroup members felt that President Mandela was making their future less secure. Thirteen percent of the respondent felt that their future was less secure under President Mandela's rule.

Table 6.11

Concern about the future

RELIGIOUS GROUP	MORE SECURE	LESS SECURE	UNSURE
HINDU	25%	10%	65%
MUSLIM	37%	10%	53%
CHRISTIAN	23%	20%	57%

Note: Figures have been rounded off.

Those who felt that President Mandela was making their future less secure went so far as to question President Mandela's ability to rule.

"He doesn't know what he is up to"

"All his promises have not been fulfilled nor is he making any decisions in this direction. He is more interested in enjoying the position, status and power that he holds than working towards a better and secure South Africa for all and not only for Blacks (Africans)"

"I have no faith in someone who does not have any experience in being President".

These comments could be seen as providing support for Tajfel's theory of social identity. According to Tajfel (1978), some people may be discriminating against certain outgroup members because they feel that the outgroup threatens their interests and way of life. Others are less discriminating against outgroup members because they feel relatively secure about their position. Certain sections of the Indian population may feel that the African population threatens their relatively privileged position. Indians in South Africa hold a relatively more privileged social and economic

position than Africans. For the more educated elite the new government is not a serious threat.

There is a general feeling among the more highly educated sector of the population that under President Mandela leadership Indians can relax because he does not pose a threat to their social and economic position. Almost 20% with post secondary and university qualifications feel that Mandela is making their future more secure. They believe that he is concerned with uplifting the living conditions and quality of life of all South Africans, including Indians. They therefore feel that Mandela offers them greater protection and more economic opportunities. These people are more aware of the economic benefits that a non-racial, democratic government can bring. Hence, they are particularly impressed with the reception South Africa is receiving from the international community. This is clearly illustrated in the following statements.

"The scrapping of apartheid has meant greater foreign investment. Many barriers imposed by the international community have been eliminated. South Africa is now a part of the international community"

"Education is given top priority in South Africa. The educational opportunities for Indians and other non-White groups is likely to improve under Mandela's government"

"He has given us more protection and better working conditions"

This suggests that Indians are to some extent concerned with protecting their economic interest. These respondents feel that the economic interests will best be served by the present government. They feel that President Mandela will free them from the isolation they suffered under the previous government. This reflects the general concern Indians have with improving their economic status.

Concern with their economic interests has also led to the loss of support for President Mandela among certain sections of the Indian population. Fifty nine percent of the respondents felt unsure. Thirty five percent of the respondents who fall in these categories expressed their dissatisfaction with affirmative action policies. Indians feel that the affirmative action policies, by targetting certain sectors of the population, accentuates inter-group differences. Indians see these policies as discriminating against them as it constitutes apartheid in reverse. One respondent argued that "affirmative action policies are aimed at improving the position of Blacks (Africans) and is therefore apartheid in reverse". Another stated that "apartheid still exists but now in a different way. All privileges are now for Africans". One respondent asserted with some bitterness that "there are job opportunities for Blacks (Africans) only. I am now suffering twice - first, under a White government and now under a Black government". This reflects the concern with their class interests and their fear that under a Black government African interests are protected at the expense of the Indians. One respondent stated that "opportunities for employment in most cases are open to either Whites or Blacks, what happens to Indians for we are in-between". A similiar point was made by another respondent who noted that "there seems to be just Black and White in South Africa. We Indians have very little or no recognition". There is a general feeling that Africans no longer constitute a disadvantaged group. They have the political power, therefore, they are the advantaged group. They feel that Indian economic interest is being sacrificed.

The violence that is raging through the country has also created much insecurity among Indians. The violence and the strikes combine to have a negative impact on the economy. Strikes have also been slatered as having a negative impact on the economy. Indians fear that their economic and social position is threatened by these episodes.

Some respondents do recognize that it may be too soon to dismiss the government. These respondents maintained that "it is still very soon to criticize or accept what has been done. It was a long road to freedom and the government deserves more time to prove their worth". They have adopted a 'wait and see' attitude. They are unwilling to commit themselves as yet. One respondent was quite adamant that "we should let time take its course and definitely everything will work out. But right now as he is in government for such a short time it is hard to say if he will do what he has promised".

They also felt that it was too soon to comment on the changes introduced by the government. They therefore preferred to remain neutral. They were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with the changes introduced by the ANC government. Forty seven percent of all respondents felt it was too soon to decide. They felt that they will only be certain after a few years where they stand. They were adamant that "country is going through many changes and needs time to settle down" and "the results at the end of each year and at the end of five years will enable us to comment on the policies. Now it may just be ideologies and the reality and results are important". It was for this reason that they felt that the policies followed by the government were neither good nor bad. These respondents pointed out that it was "too early to tell. One has to assess social, economic and political results". One respondent questioned the importance of the policies of the government to him. He felt that "he had nothing to lose or gain".

Some respondents are concerned with maintaining the 'purity of the racial group'. They felt that the policies of the government directly threatened the position of Indians in South Africa. These respondents rated the policies of the government as bad. This is evident in the following illustrations :

"My future seems threatened. There may be no opportunities for Indians in the future".

"He has yet to prove that Asians stand to benefit".

"Never did anything for Indians so far".

"There has not been much, if any, change beneficial to the social, academic or in general, status of Indians"

This reflects a concern with protecting ingroup (Indian) interests and indicates ingroup favouritism.

A broad South Africanism is emerging among the more educated sector of the Indian population. Twenty one percent of the respondents that fell in the more educated categories praised the changes introduced by the government. They have rejected racial categorization and are less concerned with narrow sectarian and racial interests. They believe that there should be little emphasis on racial differences. There is a feeling that all the racial groups are citizens of South Africa and therefore should not be discriminated against. Hence, they are happy with a government that is committed to freedom, justice and liberty for all South Africans. The changes introduced have therefore won widespread acclaim from various quarters. Respondents noted that:

"the present government has brought about lots of improvements in South Africa"

"Seems to be making the right noises".

"There is stability and growth. Racial tensions are gradually disappearing".

"It's good to know that those in power are sincerely concerned about man's basic rights and necessities like education, employment, and equal opportunities".

They expressed confidence in the government's ability to follow sound policies that would improve the position of all South Africans. The status quo under the old order was perceived as illegitimate because it was contrary to the principles of justice and equity. They perceived the present government as more

legitimate and they are, therefore, more accepting of the status hierarchy. According to them, genuine attempts have been made to address past wrongs. Many respondent also made positive references to the Reconstruction and Development Program proposed by the government of National unity. They feel that this program is also directed at Indians and will also provide greater scope and opportunities for Indians. The inclusion of Indians at all levels of government guarantees a better deal for them (Indians). They are therefore satisfied with the changes introduced by the present government. Thirty eight percent of all respondents were satisfied with the changes implemented by the government. Respondents were asked to comment on the changes introduced by the ANC government. Responses were classified into 3 main categories : satisfied, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied and dissatisfied.

Table 6.12

Feelings about the changes introduced by the present government

RELIGIOUS GROUP	SATISFIED	NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DISSATISFIED	DIS-SATISFIED
HINDU	40%	43%	17%
MUSLIM	40%	43%	17%
CHRISTIAN	30%	57%	13%

While the changes introduced by the ANC government have been praised, it has also become the target of criticism and resentment by some Indians who complain that the government is indecisive and unable to implement sound policies. Sixteen percent of the respondents rate the policies of the government as bad. These respondents have little faith in the government's ability to curb or put an end to the violence in the country. The high crime and violence rate has created much insecurity among the Indian population. The inability of the government to curb the violence

has weakened its support base. Many people feel that the situation is rapidly getting out of control. One respondent argued that "the lack of control the government has over the people is disturbing. The government has allowed the country to deteriorate into a slum. The strikes, illegal occupation of land, poor law enforcement and a lenient judicial system tends to promote lawlessness". This suggests that the certain sectors of the population have little faith in the government to drastically reverse the current situation.

This has created much uncertainty about their future in South Africa. It has resulted in some Indians questioning their future status in South Africa.

Table 6.13

How do you feel about living in South Africa?

RELIGIOUS GROUP	OPTIMISTIC	PESSIMISTIC	DON'T KNOW
HINDU	50%	13%	37%
MUSLIM	50%	17%	33%
CHRISTIAN	57%	7%	37%

Note: Figures have been rounded off.

Thirteen percent of the respondents felt pessimistic about the future. This is most clear in some of the comments made by respondents.

"South Africa is a very uncertain country to live in".

"I don't know what the future holds and this makes me very uncertain".

The future appears very threatening for some people. The violence and high crime rate contributes to the uncertainty and fear. Respondents pointed out that there is "so much more bloodshed now than ever and this creates excessive insecurity". One respondent

stated rather angrily that "it is well and good making policies that makes South Africa a better place to live in. However, it is still the man in the street that is suffering, being mugged, shot at, mainly by Blacks (Africans). This means that our wives and children are no longer safe". The responsibility for the high crime rate is attributed to Africans. Africans are seen as the main perpetrators of crime. For this reason they are discriminated against by the ingroup (Indians).

They feel that the status quo favourable to Indians has been increasingly threatened by the social and economic mobility of Africans. When respondents were asked "how do you feel about living in South Africa?". Thirty six percent said they did not know how they felt. This was because they felt uncertain about their status under a new government. One respondent made it quite clear that "if domination of one race group over the other reaches extreme proportions then living in South Africa would be questionable". This suggests that Indian still fear that they too, like Indians living in other parts of Africa, will become targets of racial hostility and antagonism. Some Indians, however, are confident that South Africa's acceptance by the international community will ensure that this will not happen. According to one respondent, "the United Kingdom and the United States of America will ensure the survival of Indians in South Africa".

Fifty two percent of the respondent declared their optimism. These respondents are proud of being South Africans and they feel that they have a right to live in this country. They feel a strong attachment to the host society. They can hardly envisage a life outside South Africa. South Africa is their home. They stress that "we are South Africans - born and brought up here". They anticipate a bright future for South Africa. This is reflected in the following descriptions.

"I am a South African and I believe that my country will sort out

its problems in the near future and go from strength to strength therefore I don't mind living in South Africa".

"There will be a brighter future for all. It's only a matter of time before things take a turn for the better".

They believe that South Africa has greater potential to become a leading nation in the world.

"South Africa has the capabilities to be one of the top countries in the world".

"The country has an incredibly diverse history and cultural identity which we all need to draw on".

"Given the opportunities in the country things can only get better".

They see the present government as more legitimate and more democratic. This is because the majority of the people have a greater share in South Africa. Moreover, the ANC government is more concerned with the protection of human rights and values. There is a feeling that "things could only get better with the abolition of apartheid". These peoples are supporters of the African National Congress. They are concerned with redressing past imbalances.

Almost 38% of the respondents indicated that they had supported the ANC in the April elections. Forty seven percent of the Muslim respondents said that they had voted for the ANC. The sample, however, were overwhelming supportive of the National Party. The National Party was the most popular party (see appendix 2 : figure 5). Forty eighty percent of the respondents supported the National Party. The other minor parties that won votes were the Minority Front, the Democratic Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The Minority Front had the support of almost 1% of the respondents. These respondents were mainly Hindu. These Hindus felt that this organisation could promote and safeguard the interests of Indians in a post-apartheid South Africa. This is indicative of the greater degree of ingroup identification among Hindus.

The vast majority of Hindus, however, are against an exclusively Indian organisation. These organisation are rejected by Muslims who argued that it is not really representative and is only concerned with limited issues and interests. This points to an awareness of ethnic differences between the various groups. The majority of Muslim preferred ethnic labels yet what is surprising is the lack of support for exclusively ethnic political organisations. There is little support among Muslims for the African Muslim Party or other Muslim parties. This suggests that Muslims may be opposed to sectarian organisations and they see assimilation as the more suitable alternative. They favoured cooperation with other non-racial political organisations. The most support for religious political parties came from Christians who felt that these parties could best serve the interests of the religious denominations. Support for the African Christian Democratic Party was very strong among the Christian sample population. Almost 30% of the Christian used religion as means of distinguishing themselves from other Indians.

Fifty eight percent of the respondents stressed that they were South Africans first and foremost.

Table 6.1

Primary Level of Identification

RELIGIOUS GROUP	ETHNIC IDENTITY	RACIAL IDENTITY	NATIONAL IDENTITY
HINDU	7%	25%	68%
MUSLIM	33%	20%	47%
CHRISTIAN	30%	13%	57%

Eighty percent of Tamil and Telegu speaking Hindus and 53% of Hindi and Gujerati speaking Hindus saw themselves as South Africans. These people favour a non-racial policy with equal citizenship rights. One can argue that these people "would prefer to preserve

their cultural heritage voluntarily and according to their own segmented loyalties rather than being humped together into an individual racial category dictated by apartheid" (Moodley 1989:p101).

Twenty percent felt that they are Indian South Africans. Twenty two percent of Hindus, 20% of Muslims and 13% of Christians used race as a category for distinguishing themselves. These respondents stated that "Indian sounds more apt because of our links with the East in general". They do not use the term 'Black South African' to describe themselves. They prefer to be know as 'Indians'. This label serves to distinguish them from the other Black groups. Indians tend to see themselves as a distinct racial group. This is indicative of the group consciousness that still persists among Indians.

The apartheid regime prevented the emergence of a broad non-racialism among the subordinate racial groups by emphasising inter-group differences. There are some Indians who still prefer to maintain these distinctions in order to distance themselves from other racial groups by emphasising their links with their country of origin.

Some Indians do maintain links with their country of origin. The common cultural origin of Indians served to create a sense of solidarity within the community. This may be because Indians in South Africa have "a nostagic and emotional attachment to India because they know their forefathers had come from there, that their religious places are all located in India and that the languages they speak are Indian languages" (p339).

Indians have maintained their links with India. Some of the wealthier members of the Hindu community have maintained regular contact with India. They have visited relatives in India or have visited for business reasons. There have been less opportunities,

however, for the less wealthy members to visit but this does not mean that they have severed ties with India. This can be seen by their reaction to the Indian cricket team.

Support for the Indian cricket team was relatively strong among Indian South Africans. Thirty seven percent of all respondents supported the Indian cricket team.

Table 6.15

Support for the Indian and Pakistani cricket team

RELIGIOUS GROUP	FREQUENCY EXPRESSED AS A %	
	INDIA	PAKISTAN
HINDU	40%	25%
MUSLIM	40%	43%
CHRISTIAN	23%	20%

Support for the Indian and Pakistani team is relatively strong among Hindus and Muslims. Thus, one can argue that the support received by these team could be seen as an indication that the Indian community's "claim to South African citizenship is merely a matter of expediency while their true allegiance remains with their home country" (Brand 1966:p84).

Forty percent of the Hindu and Muslim respondents sided with the Indian team. This suggests that both Hindus and Muslims feel a strong affinity with the Indian team. This is in direct contrast to the arguments of Pillay et al (1989). Pillay et al (1989) argue that Muslims in South Africa have to a large extent allowed cultural continuity with India to be replaced by cultural continuity with Muslim countries. A large proportion of the Muslim respondents did, however, declare their support for Pakistan. One can argue that Indians still feel a strong attachment to their home country. This is consistent with Abrams' and Hoggs' (1990) arguments. They argue that social identity becomes salient when one

of the social categories is prominent. For example, the support of Muslims for the team of their own nationality (or country of origin) is explicable in terms of the desire to experience their (national) social identity positively (Abrams and Hogg 1990).

Ethnic identification is strong among Muslim South Africans. When Muslim respondents were asked: 'If you had the choose between being called Hindu/ Muslim/Christian, Indian South African or South African which would you prefer? ', 33% of them stated that they preferred to be known as Muslims. Abrams and Hogg (1990) asserted that a sense of involvement, interest and pride can be derived from one's knowledge of sharing a social category membership with others, even without necessarily having intimate "personal relationships with, knowing or having any material personal interest in their outcomes" (p3).

Support for the Pakistani team was relatively weak among the Hindus. Only 25% backed Pakistan. These respondents indicated that they did not support South Africa because the team was not representative of all races. One respondent stated that she would rather support any other team than South Africa. They therefore perceive the status quo regarding race relations as illegitimate. This could be seen as an indication of their support for a non-racial society.

The majority of Indians South Africans would prefer to remain in South Africa. Eighty percent of the respondents preferred to remain in South Africa. Fifteen percent of the Hindu respondents and 23% of Muslim respondents felt that if the situation in South Africa deteriorated then they may consider moving to India. Hindu respondents, however, did not feel such a strong attachment to Pakistan. Only 3% of the Hindu respondents would rather live in Pakistan. This is in sharp contrast to the 17% Muslim respondents who openly declared their preference for Pakistan. Sixty three percent of the Muslim respondents wanted to remain in South Africa.

Although ethnic and racial identification remains strong among Indian South Africans the majority of respondents would prefer to remain in South Africa. They have a strong emotional and cultural attachment to India. However, one thing is certain : Indians would prefer to remain in South Africa. They do not see India or Pakistan as a country to live in. Rather they see themselves as part and parcel of South Africa's future.

Conclusion

The emergence of a post-apartheid society has and is likely to generate enormous changes in the social identities of Indians. The social identity of Indians has been strongly influenced by the process of change underway in the country.

The study aim to investigate the social identities of a sample of Indian with a view of initiating a study of the social identity of the wider Indian community. The study has not been able to make definite statements about the social identities of Indians in South Africa. The study does indicate, however, that Indian identity is strongly influenced by their (Indian) attitude towards the process of change and their evaluation of their status in South Africa.

Indians in general are uneasy about their future in South Africa. They are concerned that in a more open, non-racial society the socio-economic and cultural interests of Indians will be jeopardized. The policies of the present government are seen as directly threatening their social and economic position. The violence, high crime rate and affirmative action policies all serve to create much uncertainty about their status in the country. They do favour equality with Africans but they fear the loss of social and economic status that it implies for them personally. This has heightened class and racial differences in a post-apartheid society.

The study found that the class interests of Indians often coincides with their racial identity. Indians are very concerned that they may become targets of hostility and antagonism and suffer the same disadvantages that Indians elsewhere in Africa had to face once their country gained independence. The fear and anxieties that accompanies social change may also explain the salience of ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity provides a sense of security in an uncertain period

of changes. The coincidence and convergence of religion and language serves to create awareness among those communities that are separated in time and space. This has by and large enabled them to maintain a distinct ethnic identity. The distinct ethnic identity of Indians in South Africa has been largely maintained by strong institutional structures which served to maintain ethnic awareness. These institutions cultivate a strong group consciousness which leads to positive identification with the group.

Individual behaviour and attitudes is linked to subjective feelings of identification with the group. The study supports the arguments of Hogg and Abrams. They argue that people's self-concept of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others is strongly determined by the groups to which they feel they belong. According to social identity theory, an individual's social identity is influenced by group membership, social interaction pattern, social pattern and status (Breakwell 1986).

There is a, however, a trend towards greater individualism in the Indian community. This has resulted in a decline in communal worship. As a result, home based religious involvement is now quite common. In the area of marriage individual characteristics of prospective marriage partners are now seen as more important than language, religion or caste considerations. This may be a direct result of the Western influence over Indian traditions and customs.

Exposure to a Western mode of living has in many instances led to the dissolution of ethnic and racial identity and the emergence of a multi-racialism. The language assimilation of Indians to English has had an effect on their identification with the group. The language assimilation of the Indian community has provided conditions favourable for interaction with other national and racial groups. The younger generation, in particular, have a relatively poor command of the Indian languages. The language

assimilation of the Indian community can be seen as a part of wider process of adaptation to the Western world. The adoption of English as the common language among the younger generation points to a greater acceptance of the Western mode of living which has facilitated greater social and cultural integration into South African society.

The push towards a broad non-racial South Africanism, however, is likely to come with the younger and more educated who favour racial integration. They show a greater willingness to transcend narrow ethnic and racial group identities in favour of a broad multi-racialism. Moreover, they are more willing to associate with other race groups on a social basis. At present, social mixing, however, is confined to people residing in the same neighbourhood, or involved in the same economic, social, cultural and recreational activities.

The apartheid system holds enormous responsibilities for strengthening racial consciousness and identification by the social manipulation of group consciousness. The apartheid system created awareness of inter-group differences by emphasizing similarities between ingroup members and differences with outgroups. The eradication of racially discriminatory legislation has and is likely to drastically alter the pattern of South African society. There is likely to be greater exposure to and contact with other racial groups. This does not mean that Indians will completely abandon their cultural and ethnic identity indiscriminately. The study shows that although the group may become fully integrated into the South African society it may still retain varying degrees of personal identification with the group.

The social identities of Indians in South Africa are not static but in a state of flux. Indians South Africans have a multiplicity of group affiliations which may be emphasized or minimized depending on the situation. Different reference groups become psychologically

important in different contexts (Turner et al 1987). Individual identity is strongly influenced by group belonging.

APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. SEX

1. MALE	2. FEMALE
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2. MARITAL STATUS

1. SINGLE	2. MARRIED	3. WIDOW	4. DIVORCED	5. SEPARATED
-----------	------------	----------	-------------	--------------

3. WHICH DO YOU FIT INTO?

1. HINDUSTANI	2. TAMIL	3. TELEGU	4. GUJERATI	5. MUSLIM	6. NONE
7. DON'T KNOW					

4. WHICH AGE GROUP DO YOU FALL INTO?

1. 18-34	2. 35-49	3. 50-65
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5. WHICH INCOME WOULD YOU PLACE YOUR FAMILY IN?

1. LESS THAN R1000	2. R1000 TO R1499	3. R1500 TO R1999	4. R2000 TO R2499	5. R2500 TO R2999	6. R3000 TO R3999
7. R4000 TO R4999	8. R5000 TO R5999	9. R6000 TO R6999	10. ABOVE R7000		

6. WHICH EDUCATIONAL GROUP DO YOU FIT IN?

1. BELOW STD 6	2. STD 6 TO STD 8	3. STD 8 TO STD 10	4. POST SECONDARY SCHOOL	5. UNIVERSITY QUALIFICATION
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7. PLEASE PROVIDE A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF YOUR JOB? _____

8. IN WHICH AREA OF PIETERMARITZBURG DO YOU LIVE IN?

1. CENTRAL	2. BOMBAY HEIGHTS	3. ORIENT HEIGHTS	4. MOUNTAIN RISE	5. NORTHDALE
6. RAISETHORPE	7. COPEVILLE			

9. WHICH RELIGION DO YOU BELONG TO

1. HINDUISM	2. ISLAM	3. CHRISTIANITY	4. OTHER	5. NONE
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10a. DO YOU ATTEND RELIGIOUS MEETINGS?

1. YES	2. NO
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b) IF YES, HOW OFTEN?

1. AT LEAST ONCE A DAY	2. AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK	3. AT LEAST TWICE A WEEK	4. AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH	5. AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR
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11. HOW WOULD YOU RATE YOUR COMMITMENT TO YOUR RELIGION?

1. VERY COMMITTED	2. COMMITTED	3. AWARE	4. NOT REALLY INTERESTED	5. NOT AT ALL INTERESTED
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12. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT INTER-RELIGIOUS MARRIAGES WITHIN THE INDIAN COMMUNITY - HINDU, MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE	2. APPROVE	3. NEITHER APPROVE NOR DISAPPROVE	4. DISAPPROVE	5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
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13. WHAT DO YOUR FRIENDS THINK ABOUT INTER-RELIGIOUS MARRIAGES IN THE INDIAN COMMUNITY - HINDU, MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE	2. APPROVE	3. NEITHER APPROVE NOR DISAPPROVE	4. DISAPPROVE	5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
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14. WOULD YOU MIND HAVING A PERSON OF A DIFFERENT RELIGION AS YOUR CHILD'S HUSBAND/WIFE?

1. YES	2. NO
--------	-------

15a. DO YOU HAVE FRIENDS OF OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS?

1. YES	2. NO
--------	-------

b) HOW OFTEN DO YOU COME INTO CONTACT WITH THEM?

1. AT LEAST ONCE A DAY	2. AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK	3. AT LEAST TWICE A WEEK	4. AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH	5. AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR
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16. WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK AT HOME?

1. ENGLISH	2. AFRIKAANS	3. TAMIL	4. TELEGU	5. HINDI	6. URDU
7. GUJERATI	8. OTHER				

17a) WHAT OTHER LANGUAGES DO YOU SPEAK?

1. ENGLISH	2. AFRIKAANS	3. TAMIL	4. TELEGU	5. HINDI	6. URDU
7. GUJERATI	8. ZULU	9. OTHER			

b) WHAT OTHER LANGUAGES WOULD YOU LIKE TO LEARN AND WHY?

18. DID YOU ATTEND VERNACULAR SCHOOL?

1. YES	2. NO
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b) IF YES, HOW OFTEN?

1. AT LEAST ONCE A DAY	2. AT LEAST TWICE A WEEK	3. AT LEAST THRICE A WEEK	4. ONCE A MONTH
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19. HOW WOULD YOU RATE YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT YOUR LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND?

1. VERY PROUD	2. PROUD	3. AWARE	4. NOT REALLY INTERESTED	5. NOT AT ALL INTERESTED
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20a WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT INTER-LINGISTIC MARRIAGES WITHIN THE INDIAN COMMUNITY?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE	2. APPROVE	3. NEITHER APPROVE NOR DISAPPROVE	4. DISAPPROVE	5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
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b) WHAT DO YOUR FRIENDS THINK ABOUT INTER-LINGUISTIC MARRIAGES WITHIN THE INDIAN COMMUNITY?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE	2. APPROVE	3. NEITHER APPROVE NOR DISAPPROVE	4. DISAPPROVE	5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
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21. WOULD YOU MIND HAVING A PERSON OF A DIFFERENT LANGUAGE GROUP AS YOUR CHILD'S HUSBAND/WIFE?

1. YES	2. NO
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22a. DO YOU HAVE FRIENDS OF A DIFFERENT LANGUAGE GROUP?

1. YES	2. NO
--------	-------

b) IF YES, HOW OFTEN ARE YOU LIKELY TO COME INTO CONTACT WITH THEM?

1. AT LEAST ONCE A DAY	2. AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK	3. AT LEAST TWICE A WEEK	4. AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH	5. AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR
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23a. DO YOU HAVE FRIENDS OF DIFFERENT RACE GROUPS?

1. YES	2. NO
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b. IF YES, HOW OFTEN ARE YOU LIKELY TO COME INTO CONTACT WITH THEM?

1. AT LEAST ONCE A DAY	2. AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK	3. AT LEAST TWICE A WEEK	4. AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH	5. AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR
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24. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT INTER-RACIAL MARRIAGES IN THE INDIAN COMMUNITY- BETWEEN INDIANS, WHITES, COLOURED AND AFRICANS?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE	2. APPROVE	3. NEITHER APPROVE NOR DISAPPROVE	4. DISAPPROVE	5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
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b. WHAT DO YOUR FRIENDS THINK ABOUT INTER-RACIAL MARRIAGES WITHIN THE INDIAN COMMUNITY?

1. STRONGLY APPROVE	2. APPROVE	3. NEITHER APPROVE NOR DISAPPROVE	4. DISAPPROVE	5. STRONGLY DISAPPROVE
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25a. ON A SCALE OF 1 TO 5 (1 = VERY UNHAPPY 2 = UNHAPPY 3 = NEITHER HAPPY NOR UNHAPPY 4 = UNHAPPY 5 = VERY UNHAPPY) HOW WOULD YOU RATE YOUR HAPPINESS IN THIS SITUATION

I BELIEVE I WOULD BE HAPPY TO HAVE AN AFRICAN PERSON

- a. WORK WITH ME 1 2 3 4 5
- b. AS A GUEST IN MY HOUSE 1 2 3 4 5
- c. AS A TENANT IN MY HOUSE 1 2 3 4 5
- d. AS MY LANDLORD 1 2 3 4 5
- e. AS MY CHILD'S HUSBAND/WIFE 1 2 3 4 5
- f. AS MY HUSBAND/WIFE 1 2 3 4 5

I BELIEVE I WOULD BE HAPPY TO HAVE A COLOURED PERSON

- a. WORK WITH ME 1 2 3 4 5
- b. AS A GUEST IN MY HOUSE 1 2 3 4 5
- c. AS A TENANT IN MY HOUSE 1 2 3 4 5
- d. AS MY LANDLORD 1 2 3 4 5
- e. AS MY CHILD'S HUSBAND/WIFE 1 2 3 4 5
- f. AS MY HUSBAND/WIFE 1 2 3 4 5

I BELIEVE I WOULD BE HAPPY TO HAVE A WHITE PERSON

- a. WORK WITH ME 1 2 3 4 5
- b. AS A GUEST IN MY HOUS 1 2 3 4 5
- c. AS A TENANT IN MY HOUSE 1 2 3 4 5
- d. AS MY LANDLORD 1 2 3 4 5
- e. AS MY CHILD'S HUSBAND/WIFE 1 2 3 4 5
- f. AS MY HUSBAN/WIFE 1 2 3 4 5

26. WOULD YOU MIND HAVING THE FOLLOWING AS NEIGHBOURS?

	MIND	DON'T MIND
AFRICAN PERSON		
COLOURED PERSON		
WHITE PERSON		
AFRICAN LAWYER		
COLOURED LAWYER		
WHITE LAWYER		

27. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT RACE RELATIONS IN PIETERM¹RITZBURG? WOULD YOU SAY THAT SINCE THE APRIL 1994 ELECTIONS THEY HAVE

1. IMPROVED	2. DETERIORATED	3. NOT CHANGED
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28. DO YOU THINK THAT PRESIDENT MANDELA IS MAKING YOUR FUTURE

1. MORE SECURE	2. LESS SECURE	3. UNSURE
----------------	----------------	-----------

REASONS _____

29. WHAT DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE CHANGES INTRODUCED BY THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT?

1. VERY SATISFIED	2. SATISFIED	3. NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DISSATISFIED	4. DISSATISFIED
5. VERY DISSATISFIED			

30. HOW WOULD YOU RATE THE POLICIES OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT?

1. VERY GOOD	2. GOOD	3. NEITHER GOOD NOR BAD	4. BAD	5. VERY BAD
--------------	---------	-------------------------	--------	-------------

31. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT LIVING IN SOUTH AFRICA?

1. OPTIMISTIC	2. PESSIMISTIC	3. DON'T KNOW
---------------	----------------	---------------

REASONS _____

32a. HAVE YOU BEEN TO

i) INDIA

1. YES	2. NO
--------	-------

ii) PAKISTAN

1. YES	2. NO
--------	-------

iii) MECCA

1. YES	2. NO
--------	-------

b. UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES? _____

33a. WOULD YOU RATHER LIVE IN INDIA?

1. YES	2. NO
--------	-------

b. WOULD YOU RATHER LIVE IN PAKISTAN?

1. YES	2. NO
--------	-------

34a. WHEN THE INDIAN CRICKET TEAM PLAYED SOUTH AFRICA WHO DID YOU SUPPORT?

1. INDIA	2. SOUTH AFRICA	3. NONE
----------	-----------------	---------

b. WHEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN TEAM PLAYED PAKISTAN WHO DID YOU SUPPORT?

1. INDIA	2. SOUTH AFRICA	3. NONE
----------	-----------------	---------

35a. DID YOU VOTE IN THE APRIL ELECTIONS?

1. YES	2. NO
--------	-------

b. I WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF YOU WOULD INDICATE YOUR POLITICAL ALIGNMENT?

1.IFP	2.NP	3.DP	4.ANC	5.MF	6.AMP	7.OTHER:SPECIFY
-------	------	------	-------	------	-------	-----------------

36. IF YOU HAD TO CHOOSE BETWEEN BEING CALLED HINDU/MUSLIM AND CHRISTIAN, INDIAN SOUTH AFRICAN OR SOUTH AFRICAN WHICH WOULD YOU CHOSE? _____

Appendix 2

**Figure 1 : Level of attendance
at vernacular school**

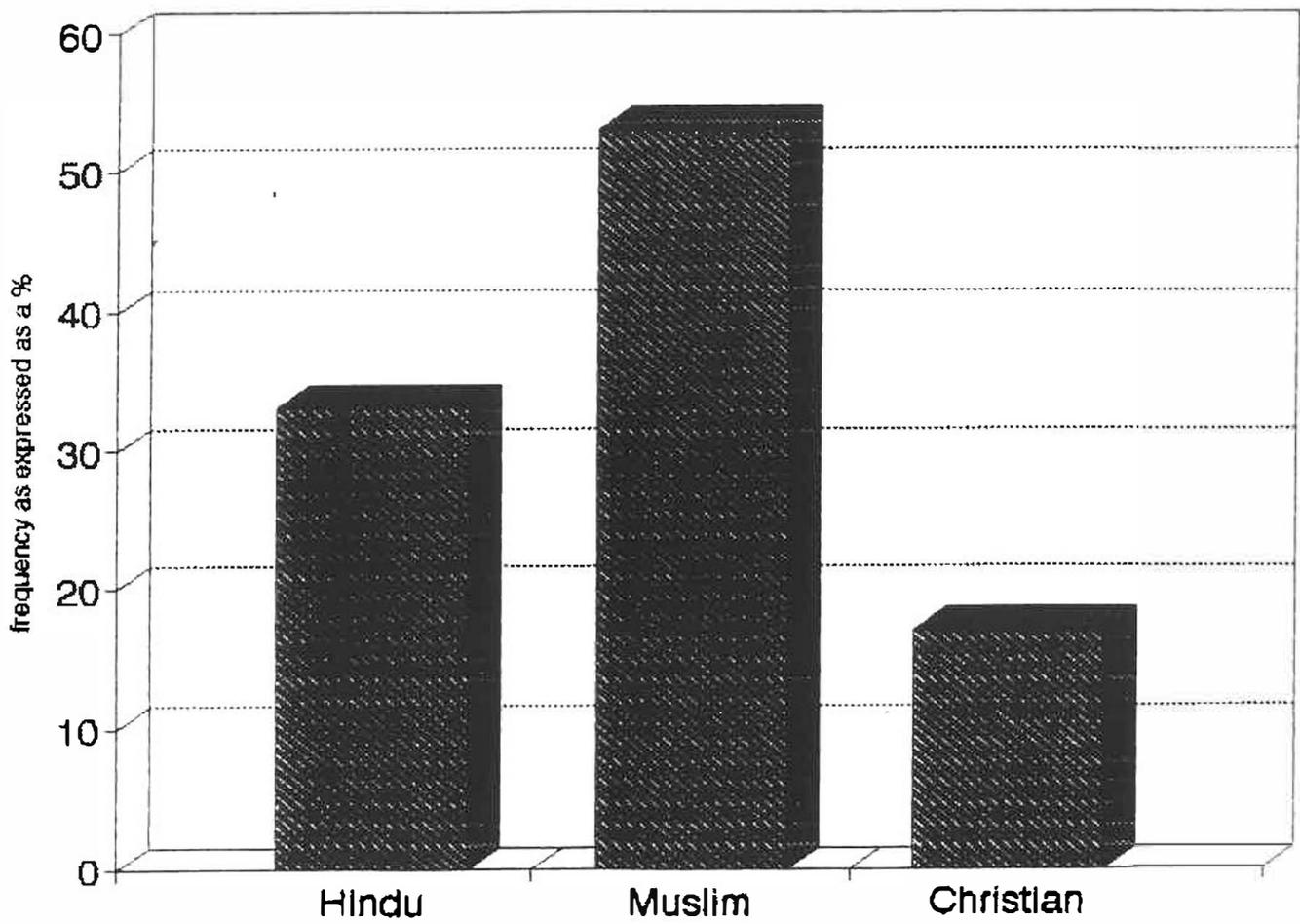


Figure 2 : Attitudes towards inter-religious marriages

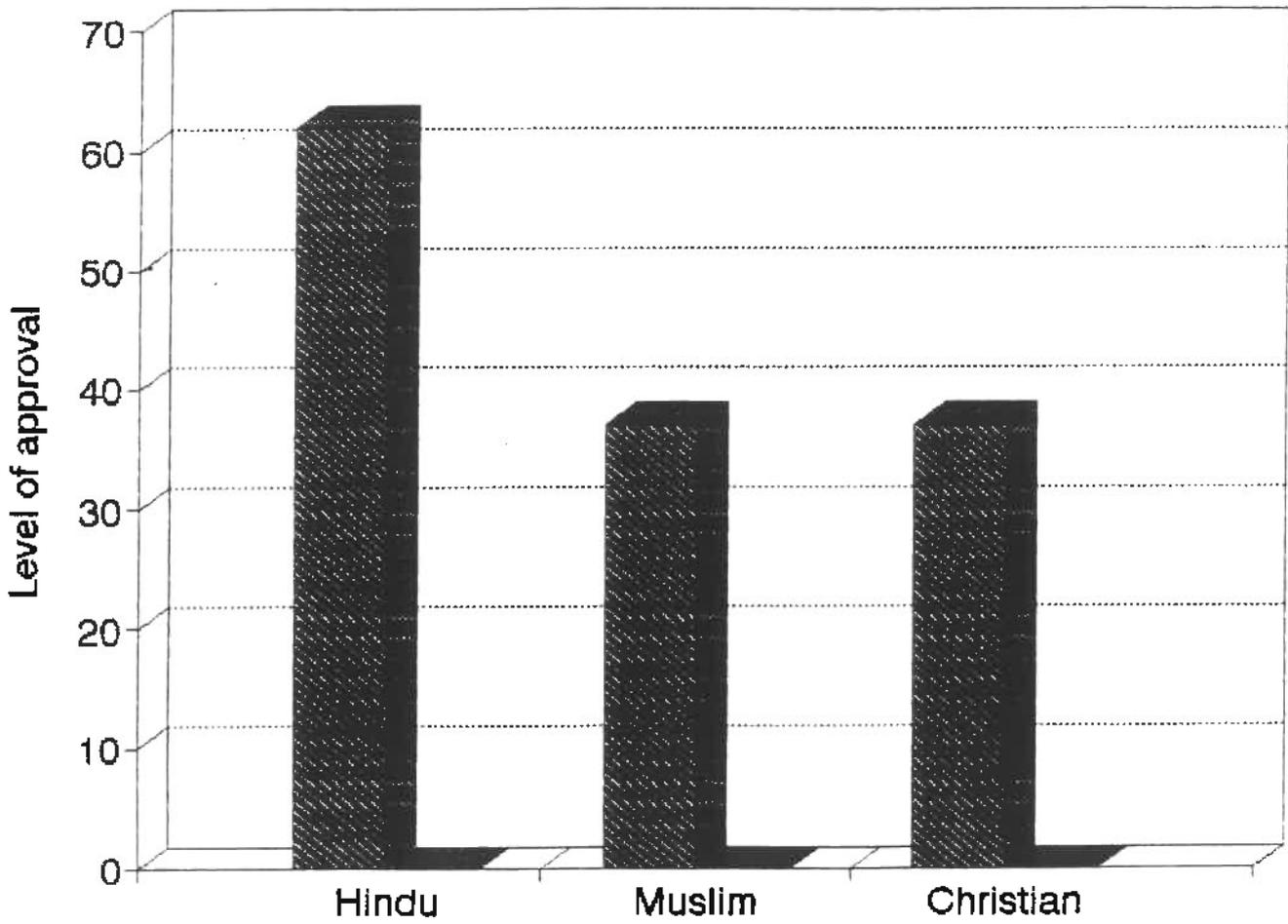


Figure 3 : Contact with other religious groups

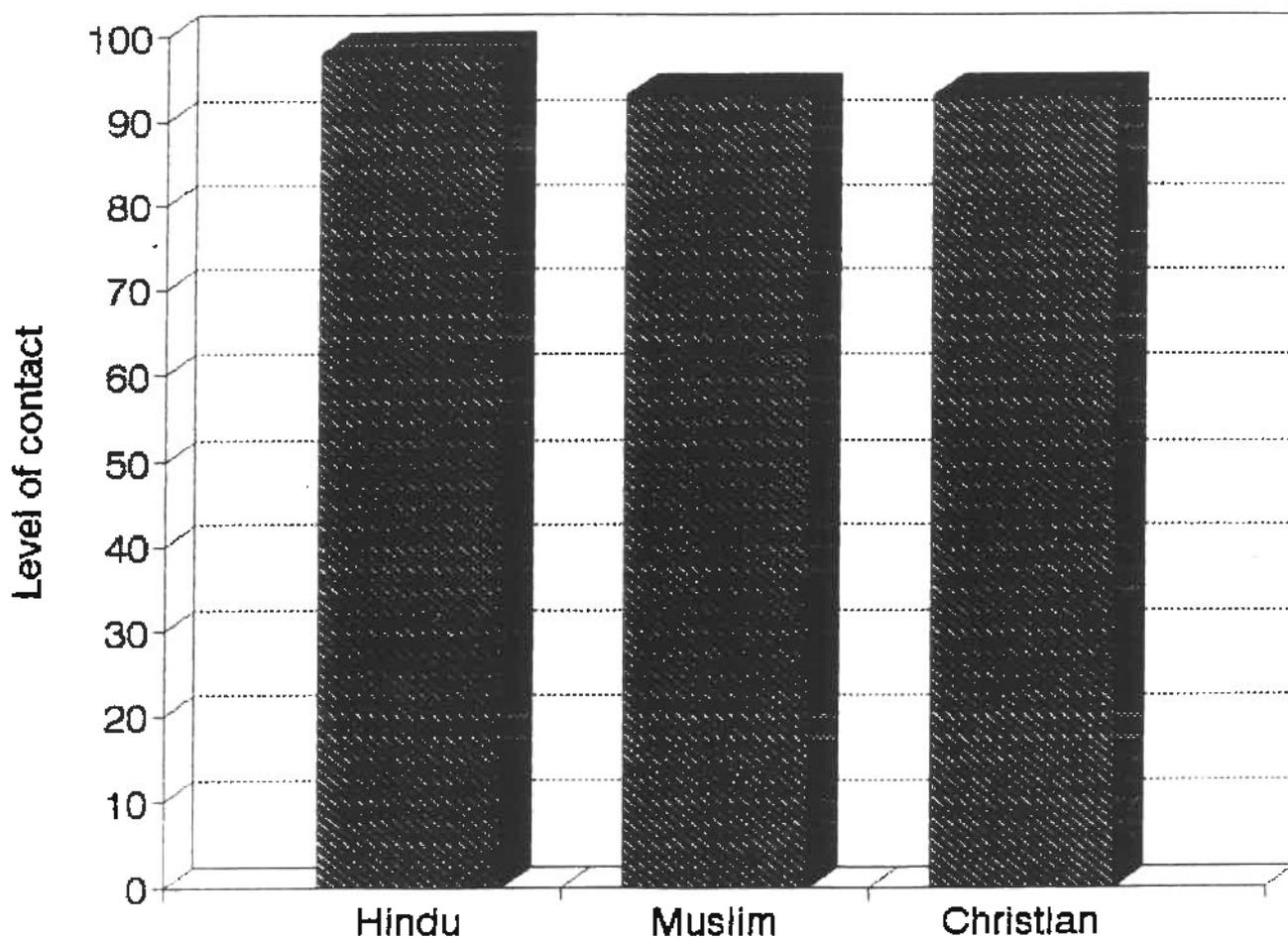


Figure 4 : Attendance at religious meetings

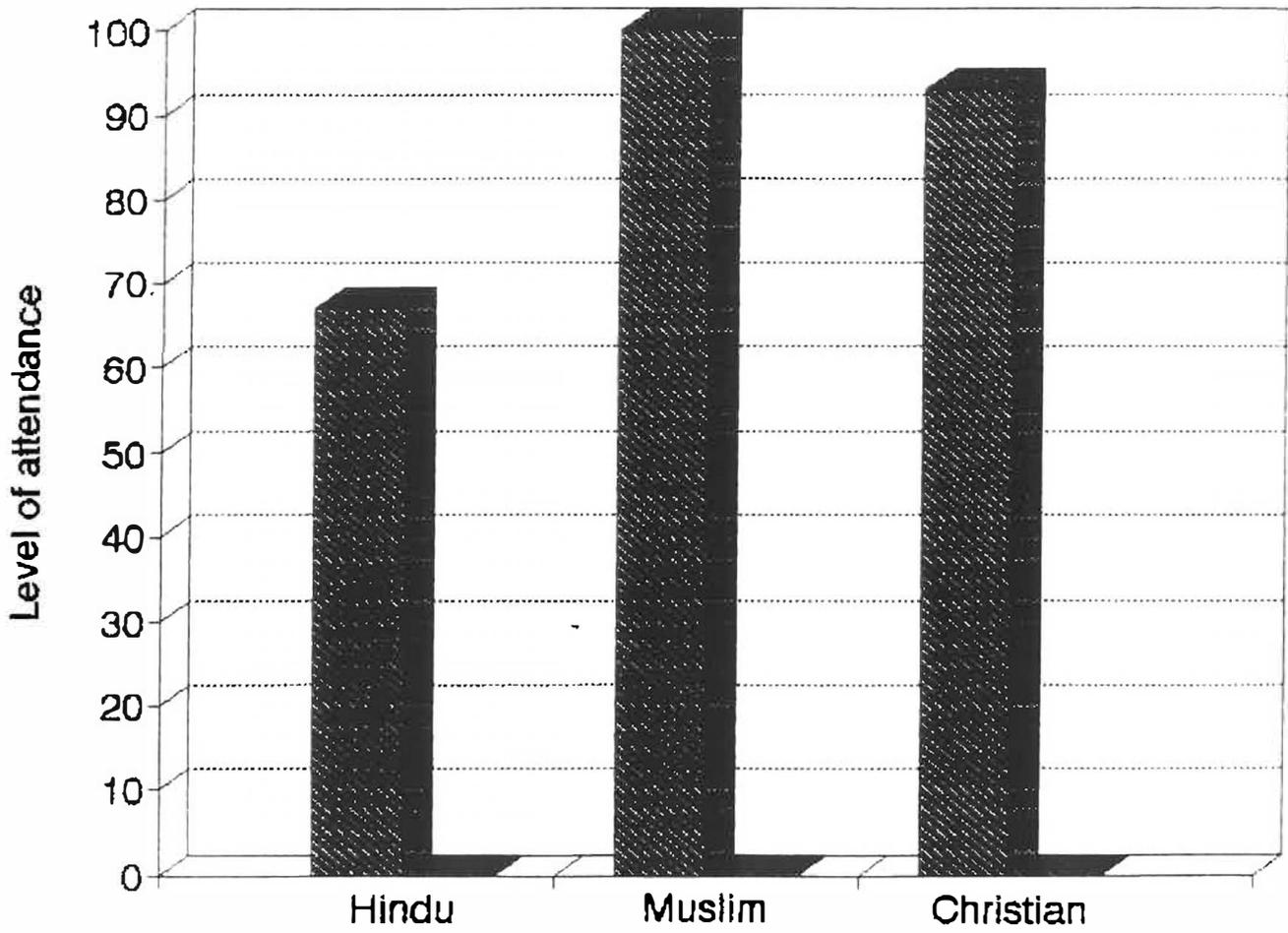
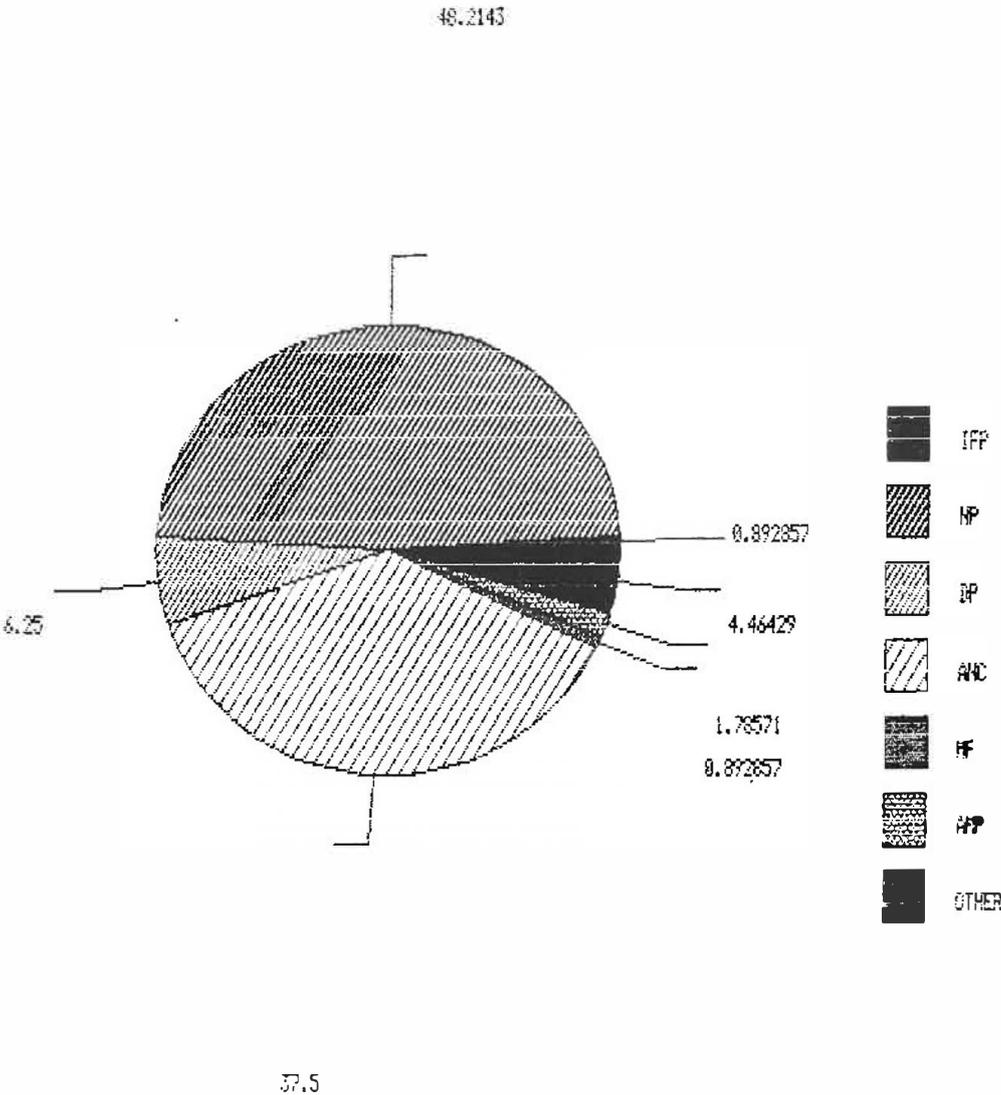


Figure 5 : Political Affiliation



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