Sounding Belonging: Memory, Music and the Church in the Indian Diaspora of KwaZulu-Natal

Abstract:
This paper explores the evolving identity and cultural memory of the South African Indian diaspora, particularly among Christian communities in KwaZulu-Natal, through the lens of music and religious practice. Brought to South Africa over 165 years ago as indentured labourers, many Indians remained after their contracts ended, forming new communities under conditions of racial and political discrimination. With limited ability to maintain traditional practices from India, these communities were compelled to adapt and innovate, especially in the realm of religious expression.
The church emerged as a central institution in this adaptation process—both as a site of worship and as a space for preserving and transforming cultural identity. Music became a powerful medium through which diasporic memory was expressed, adapted, and passed on. This study specifically examines the impact of apartheid policies, such as the Group Areas Act, on music-making practices within Indian Christian communities, highlighting how displacement and segregation influenced the development of unique church-based musical traditions.
By tracing these shifts, the paper highlights the dynamic negotiation between tradition and modernity in the diasporic experience. It underscores the role of the church and music in shaping a sense of belonging, resilience, and transgenerational identity among South Africa's Indian population.

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Introduction

The Indians who were brought as indentured labourers to the province of Natal by the British during the 1860s, upon completion of their period of indenture were given two options: return to India or settle in South Africa (Dhuphelia-Mesthrie 2000). Those who chose to stay and adopt South Africa as their 'motherland' constituted a diaspora community. Like most diasporas, one of their major challenges revolved around the issue of identity construction (Chowdhury 2008). Accordingly, they reflected the traits of migration from their homeland, vocational mobility, cultural and religious consciousness all of which impacted their identity formation and preservation (Roy 2008).

Some of these traits were issues of language, rituals and rites, manners of worship, dress, and cultural practices – music, art, drama. These elements were now re-negotiated in South Africa because many of the institutions that supported their cultural activities (churches, temples, community halls, vernacular schools) did not exist. This process led to the notion of hybridity.

Modes of hybridity (racial, cultural, linguistic and ethnic) were manifested in their music (Chowdhury 2008: 233). Demographics, socio-economic factors, caste structures and

apartheid led to the adaptation and assimilation of western practices as in the case of the subaltern (Spivak 1988: 11). A new Indian South African identity was continually negotiated – a tension which one the one hand was pulling towards the original motherland and on the other hand seeking to integrate into the new motherland – this was their attempt to preserve their cultural and religious identity and consequently achieve upward socio-economic mobility.

Religion which forms the core of culture back in India was the ingredient that would receive attention in the diaspora. Religion practices within the Indian South African community was vital in terms of crafting a new Indian South African identity. This identity was based in part, on the retention and adaptation of religions, additional rituals and caste.

Amongst Christian Indians, the church played an influential role in identity construction in that the mainline churches promoted westernisation of worship practices whilst the maintenance of cultural identity was promoted specifically by the Pentecostal church. The sense of Indianess became manifest in the repertoire and instrumentation in the latters music making that accompanied church services. Whilst the mainline churches opted for hymns performed and accompanied by the organ, the Pentecostal churches integrated authentic Indian percussion, violin playing and singing in the vernacular.

The Indian Pentecostal church music praxis in this study is located in the broader context of apartheid. The Group Areas Act, which relocated Indians to racially designated townships, impacted the performance traditions and demographics of these communities and their religious practices. Firstly, new churches in the newly relocated townships had to be built. These churches still exist in the townships and have not been re-established in their original 'forced removed' areas.

The researcher's engagement with music at the Full Gospel Church spans some twenty-five years. Almost all of his initial music learning occurred autodidactically or by virtue of association with community musicians, most of who mirrored the researcher's condition. The researcher's knowledge and association with the community placed him in an advantageous position in conducting this research in that the respondents trusted him. They were therefore willing to share supplementary information on their church music performance experiences. This also benefitted the study in that access to implict data was available.

1. The Arrival of Indian Immigrants

1.1. Background

The arrival of Indians in South Africa has been documented extensively. Indian immigrants arrived predominantly from Calcutta and Madras (now Kolkata and Chennai) as well as other parts of India. The key languages they spoke were Hindi, Tamil, Gujerati, Telegu and Urdu. Languages were coupled with various religious beliefs and rituals (Singh 2008).

The Natal sugar industry was in need of cheap, reliable labour (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000). After negotiations with the British authorities of India and Natal in 1859, 152 184 indentured labourers were imported to the east coast of Natal. A large number were Hindu, approximately 2% were Christian and fewer than 12% were Muslim. Men (62%) and women (25%) were recruited to work on the Natal sugar and tea estates (Freund 1991). These conditions were under indentured contracts, which could either be renewed or allowed workers to return to India (Brain 2010). The estate owners were required to provide food, clothing and residence for these workers. Amongst these estate owners, the working hours and free time provided to indentured workers was inconsistent. Furthermore, the cultural, religious and caste affiliations of these labourers were totally disregarded when their basic accommodation needs were addressed (Swan 1985).

A second wave of Indian immigrants arrived as passenger Indians between 1870 and 1914 (Padayachee and Morrell 1991). Immigration was stopped in 1911 and this affected 'cultural activities, such as dancing, music, religion, language etc.' as contact with India was limited or ceased altogether (Henning 1993: 92). Citizens who remained in South Africa, seeking upward mobility, migrated from the rural areas of the north coast of Natal towards the larger city centres of Durban (Pillay 1991b; Pachai 1971).

1.2. Forced Removals and the Group Areas Act

Indian land ownership (The Asiatic Trading and Occupation of Land (Natal and Transvaal) Act 28 of 1943-'The Pegging Act', the Asiatic Land Tenure Act 28 of 1946) in certain parts of Natal was restricted (Greyling 1979). Land ownership in Natal was classified according to race. This led to the Group Areas Act of 1950 that expropriated Indian land and now re-classified these as 'white' areas. The Group Areas Act was enforced by the apartheid government in 1961, which resulted in forced removals of blacks.

A large number of Indians in Durban were moved from their existing homes, in suburbs of Durban North, Sea View and Bellair (Southward 1991), to purpose-built settlements between 1930 and 1980 (Freund 1993) in the developed townships of Chatsworth (south of Durban) in 1964 and in 1976, to Phoenix (north of Durban) (Oosthuizen 1979b). Indians were being moved from close proximity to city-centre-based churches (Oosthuizen 1975a; Freund 1993) to areas where churches were non-existent. Access to the city centre was difficult and they were therefore forced to start their own churches within these townships (Oosthuizen 1975b).

The relocation created a culturally homogenous group but at the same time led to instability within the Indian community. Socio-economic implications included high travelling costs, reduced disposable income since they now had to pay for these houses.

1.3. The Indian Diaspora and Identity Formation

The term 'diaspora' was initially used to describe the displacement of the Jewish community throughout the world, it presently also includes transnational populations that have migrated to new areas but remain connected to their homelands (Cohen 2008). Many diasporic studies predominantly focus on migration incited by religious and ethnic oppression and overlook socio-economic factors that force 'mobility and voluntary movements' (Roy 2008: 1). Different forms of hybridity (racial, cultural, linguistic and ethnic) also exist in a diasporic space and are manifested in 'music, food and architectural traditions' (Chowdhury 2008: 233).

Identity, a recurrent theme in postcolonial discussion, includes national identity, multi-ethnic identity and displaced identity. Identity is linked to society, ethnicity, native 'language, race ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status, and gender' (Goldschmidt 2003: 216). Carbaugh's view of identity (cited in Goldschmidt 2003:205), 'who I am' depends, to an extent, on 'where I am'. The processes of identity formation and preservation (Chowdhury 2008, McCollum 2004) are key attributes evident in the diaspora. Sen (2006) emphasises that aspects of nationality, race, religion, community and class results in the formation of multi-identitied individuals.

When one speaks of the Indian South African, one has to bear in mind that although this was a diaspora community, there were several sub-divisions, sub-categories and sub-cultures that existed within it. These categories can be delineated along religious background (Tamil-speaking, Hindi-speaking), ethnic background (place of origin-North or South India), language diversity and cultural practices, amongst others.

The issue of ethnicity and identity has plagued the Indian immigrants since their arrival in South Africa. The formation of the Indian South African identity was based on demographics, socio-economic factors, caste structures, religion and apartheid (Ebr-Vally 2001, Moodley 1979, Webb 1957, Alexander 1950).

The identity of the Indian South African is therefore different from that of Indians based in other countries. The Indian South African diaspora is a unique community that has developed a 'layered' identity emanating from internal and external factors.

Although the Indian community tried to preserve their cultural and religious identity, the effects of colonisation and western education led to the adaptation and assimilation of western cultural and religious practices (Devroop 2011, Schauffer 1994). This 'new' Indian South African identity was based on the retention and adaptation of religions, traditional rituals and caste. This complex community constructs and re-constructs identity and culture resulting from internal and external group pressure (Flint 2006, Western 1981).

In present day South Africa, Indians are still products of western education and are part of multi-ethnic social circles (Henning 1993). While the traditional dress code is maintained in some cultures, it is unpopular with the youth and westernisation has adversely affected the joint family system in favour of the nucleus patriarchal family

system. The caste system and arranged marriages have also dwindled. However, the 'north' and 'south' Indian heritage, a traditional division between Indians who arrived from the North of India as opposed to those from the South, is still upheld as a result of cultural and religious practices. Thus the Indian South African can be re-classified once again as the 'Oriental-Westernised Indian' according to Henning (1993: 94). Likewise, the processes of identity formation and multiculturalism are simulated within the Church Music praxis and general music performance practice.

1.4. Music and Identity

Gopinath (1995) refers to music as a raw material and unique power capable of reconfiguring identity. The societal preservation of religious ideals and the celebration of religious festivals were significant in maintaining a sense of ethnic and cultural identity. Music has continued to play an integral role in religious rituals (Ramnarine 1996) including church worship. Indian stylistic elements are reflected in the Pentecostal church music and contribute to the uniqueness of this performance style.

In keeping with diasporic practices, the transition from 'musical memory and the preservation of tradition to the musical creativities, new performance spaces and new musical sounds' (Ramnarine 2007: 2) forced Indian Pentecostal church musicians to create their own traditions and forge their own musical identity. This was not a result of population movement but rather cultural interaction in a multicultural society. This new-found hybridity led to politically expressed interpretations of social relations and creative practices (ibid: 7) which emerged in the music styles they performed at church. Furthermore, a large portion of the music repertory of the Indian community and the Pentecostal church served as social commentary and integrated a variety of styles ranging from traditional hymns to American Jazz.

1.5. Assimilation and Adaptation

Westernisation is a common challenge faced by a population that is subservient 'in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office, or in any other way' (Sen 1987: 203). Colonial power and the effects of apartheid forced the Indian indentured labourers and merchant class to engage with the processes of assimilation and adaptation.

Competition for enterprise opportunities with 'white' counterparts during the 1940s encouraged the adaptation and assimilation of Indian culture. Indians were forced to adopt British customs and practices in order to be successful in upward mobility and gain access to superior education and commercial opportunities and a middle class status.

Over and above the adaptation of colonial practices, Indian Christians began practicing a western way of worship. This included British Church Music accompanied by the organ. St. Aidan's Mission Anglican Church (Joseph Royeppen, organist, choirmaster) and St. Anthony's Catholic Church (Gabriel/Lawrence families) followed the British

Church Music repertoire and western romantic music tradition. Church Music performance also included Indian nuances and inflections, particularly in aspects of percussion, violin playing, vernacular singing and street musical processions.

In contrast to the mainline churches, the Bethesda movement (Full Gospel church affiliated to the Pentecostal movement) emphasised the retention of Indian identity and warned that westernisation would dispossess the Indians of their identity and cultural heritage (Oosthuizen 1975b: 210).

2. Indian Education

The early education of the immigrants was achieved through the community and missionary participation (Singh 2005; Brain 1983). During 1869-1899, the curriculum was determined by occupational opportunities and the nature of western commercialism (Maharaj 1979). The curriculum was limited and offered only Arithmetic, Reading and Writing. The ramifications and implications of the National Education Policy Act No. 39 of 1967 stipulated that the education system was Christian-based and English and Afrikaans were compulsory language subjects, with English being the preferred medium of instruction (Oosthuizen 1979a).

Western elements were also present in the state education system in that no vernacular government schools were available; such schools were constructed by the Indian community. Churches faced a similar problem in that no formalised Christian education was presented. However, within state schooling, the education system was predominantly western prior to the formation of the democratic state in 1994. Westernisation was also enforced in state schools that previously had enrolled only White children. Indian children were accepted for enrolment provided that they 'adhered to Western standards and wore western dress' (Henning 1993: 159).

2.1. Music in School

Music study was introduced at church schools in the 1940s. The key instruments taught were the piano and organ. Music study was also included in the school curriculum but not as a registered examinable subject (Nair 2012). Students were required to sing English folk songs in the school choir. By contrast, the community schools' repertoire consisted of cultural music in which Indian culture was promoted through singing, dancing and performance.

South African music education during the apartheid era was influenced by ethnic division and segregation and fulfilled political purposes. Cultural musical traditions and demographics determined the type of music being taught at government schools (Jacobs 2010).

Basic music education did, however, take place within the secondary government schooling system.[1] This took the form of Western classical music and a large volume of this research has already been covered by scholars such as Melveen Jackson (1999;1988), Jay Pillay (1994) and Sally-Anne Goodall (1991b; 1988a; 1988b). One of the significant findings noted in these studies is that Western Classical music in the apartheid era was the only available music education option. Instrumental study at these provincial government schools was limited to the recorder and conducted mainly in groups (Goodall 1988a: 14). In 1987, the study of Indian music imposed by the state in Indian school education functioned as a political mechanism to enhance segregation and promote Indianisation (Pillay 1994).

Western music study was offered mainly in church schools which were part of the Roman Catholic and Anglican denominations. Indian township schools offered general music study which included some cultural music, singing and elementary group recorder tuition. However, this was perceived as a tool for segregation, separate development and Indianisation.

2.2. General Music Study

The first formal music teaching facility was opened in 1866 in Durban central (Jackson 1970). Private tuition in piano and voice was offered, followed by graded examinations undertaken through the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (1883) and the Trinity College of Music (1889).

Informal instrumental teaching was catered for by the community, church and secular bands. These bands served as training grounds for developing musicians. Musicians in the community avidly hosted regular band rehearsals, dance bands, etc. (Devroop and Walton 2007: 3; Veeran 1996: 88; Pillay 1994: 283).
The Indian orchestra (Veeran 1996) contributed to the music learning.[2] The musicians were not only imitating the orchestral music of Indian films but also adapting it for their bands. The extended family, community and orchestras served as the informal learning environment. Informal music lessons 'meant closely observing and listening to other musicians' (Veeran 1999: 220).

Some musicians opted for autodidactic methods or 'pick up' (Green 2002: 5) information by active listening, attending concerts, peer interaction and imitating community musicians. This informal music learning practice also entailed repertoire to be chosen by the individual, copying and performing recordings by ear (memorised),

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[1] Music training for student teachers was introduced at Sastri College (Durban) in 1934. Music as a subject at school was perceived as being too difficult; this perception combined with teacher incompetence created administrative problems up until 1960. In 1966, the Department of Indian Affairs took charge of the primary and secondary education of Indian pupils. The subsequent appointment of E.W. Albertyn led to a structured music theory syllabus. The recorder was introduced (1968) as an extra-mural activity for Standard 3 (Grade 5) pupils. Music as a matriculation subject was introduced in 1974. The Springfield College of Education and the University of Durban-Westville offered music-teaching qualifications in the early 1970s (Goodall 1998: 14).
[2] The term orchestra, as denoted by Veeran and the practicing musicians themselves, was not the western construct, but referred to an ensemble or combo.

self-directed learning, integrating the processes of listening, performing, improvising and composing (Green 2008; Feichas 2010). This learning process was facilitated by the church band and apprenticeship with church musicians served as training grounds for the acquisition of basic music skills. Many of these musicians involved in the Indian orchestras also performed in church and formed similar orchestras in these churches, for example, Peter Jack and his Kashi Orchestra in Bethesda Temple.

2.3. Music Education of Church Musicians

Black[3] musicians in South Africa have been marginalised by being denied or hampered access to tertiary institutions due to several factors - financial constraints, lack of access, equipment, transportation, resources, etc. Segregation and denial of access resulted in these 'unskilled' church musicians receiving snippets of music information passed down by self-taught church musicians over the years. As a result, these churches developed an identity based on their access to other types of music, congregation and the knowledge and skills acquired by the musicians at the church.

From a music aural and performance based perspective these church musicians attain a publically acceptable level of performance to function as church musicians. However, this is fragmented knowledge and skills aqcuistion results in several gaps in their competencies. The latter renders them inadequate in meeting the admission entrance requirments into a university music learning programme. The university entrance admission criteria sets other prerequisites that cannot be supplemented through the non-formal, informal or school interventions.

Even if the admission requirements are met, contemporary Gospel music does not feature in the formal higher education curriculum; students are forced to substitute Jazz studies for Gospel music study. South African university music departments are still grappling with embracing the new educational reforms of the country (Devroop 2013) and appear biased to preparing musicians to perform in predominantly White churches that conform to a more standardized 'western' praxis. They do not meet the performance practice needs of Indian Church Music.

3. The Pentecostal Movement

The Pentecostal movement commenced in the USA and was later introduced to South Africa in 1908. The largest affiliates to the movement are the AFM, AOG and FGC churches. The movement was popular amongst the economically dispossessed community due to its theological flexibility and disregard for caste distinction (Vadivelu 1990). Pentecostal churches served a surrogate role for the disjointed Indian community as a consequence of their relocation from the city to designated townships. The movement was appealing to the Hindu community as it provided links to India in the

[3] The term 'black' in South Africa is used in this research for the following racial groups: Indian, Coloured and African.

form of language usage and helped bridge the gap between Indian and British culture and practices.

The twice-displaced Indian community faced 'widespread economic deprivation and social disorganisation' (Pillay 1987: 41). This resulted in isolation and estrangement from customs, international integration and disjointed family and communal structures. Consequently, English replaced customary home languages.
Pentecostalism provided a surrogate role by serving as an alternate community and facilitated socio-economic empowerment. The rejection of caste classification freed the lower castes from its previous negative conceptions and associations. This usually occurred after baptism or conversion, where converts opted for biblical or English surnames (Pillay 1991b; 1987).

3.1. The Bethesda Church Movement

The Bethesda church, which is part of the Full Gospel Church movement, catered mainly for the proselytisation of the Indian immigrant community. It comprised of the largest number of Indian members and provided a surrogate community for the twice-displaced Indian immigrants. The chairperson, J.F.Rowlands, promoted Indian cultural identity through music performances and encouraged music development within the community by the introduction of Indian orchestras and broadcasting music performances.

The Church Music repertoire consisted of hymns and choruses from the Alexander and Redemption Songs books.[4] The hymns[5] used in the repertoire that were performed in the Anglican and Methodist churches during the eighteenth century formed the basis of the church service, the style of music and the repertoire of the congregations in these Full Gospel churches. Performances in vernacular languages, orchestras, choirs, singspiration and musical sermons were an important aspect of this church movement. The Kashi Orchestra, led by Peter Jack, along with choral singers, performed vernacular repertoire (during Christmas and Easter) which was broadcast by the South African Broadcast Corporation (SABC) studios in Durban (1940s-1960s).

Given the isolation of worship practices from other race groups in South Africa (a legacy of apartheid), much of the Church Music practice in the Pentecostal churches in Durban became indigenised and developed a uniqueness to Durban and its surrounding areas. The music performed in the Pentecostal church in the Durban area comprised a variety of styles interwoven into the repertoire. The repertoire and service format resembled more the Black-American model than the mainline European church. However, a typical church service repertoire and format included both European and Black-American Gospel models to varying degrees. For example, European hymns were combined with underlying Black-American Gospel rhythmic and harmonic elements.

[4] These books are hymnals; the mainline churches use variations.
[5] Muwowo (cited in Malembe 2005) describes the repertoire as being mono-rhythmic, comprising of vertical 4-part harmony, fixed accents and without repetition.

The music performance practice in the Pentecostal movement, the Full Gospel Church (Bethesda), involved a small combo (Piano, Guitar, Electric Bass, Drums and Vocals) performing church music. 'The church (Bethesda), fondly called the Jazz band church in 1931, also established their own "oriental"[6] orchestra in 1942, which performed works from Pentecostal hymnody in an "Indian" style' (Jackson 1991: 177). Jackson (1999), notes that the music performed at church contains elements of Rhythm and Blues (R'n'B), Jazz, contemporary music (Swing, big band era), Ballroom Dance music and commercial music rather than the Indian cultural music practices.[7]

The Indians also embraced music that was partly rooted in the Indian cultural tradition which consisted of Indian Classical, Folk, Orchestral, Bollywood and devotional music and also incorporated the musical styles of R'n'B, Jazz, contemporary music, Ballroom Dance music and commercial music.

The denominational divisions (Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Methodists and Baptists) were also reflected in the church service structure. A Pentecostal church (Bethesda) service format is provided by Oosthuizen (1975a):

> The opening prayer, hymn, prayer, hymn, testimony, chorus, hymn (offering), prayer, chorus and worship hymn, sermon, hymn, healing and exorcism session, closing prayer, benediction.

In the early and mid 1980s, Praise and Worship[8] teams manifested themselves in many (Bethesda) churches. The use of piano and electric organ instruments in the previous era (1936-1980) was replaced by orchestral bands.[9] Teams of singers combined with these bands to lead praise and worship in the church. Popular spiritual songs superseded traditional hymn-singing (Nair and Naidoo 2010: 113). The main role of the team was to indicate structure, pace and mood. The repertoire was closely related to the format and thematic underpinning of the sermon. The Praise and Worship team

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[6] Jackson's use of the word oriental refers to Middle Eastern and not eastern as in the Indian sub-continent, which is implied in her study.

[7] Indian cultural music refers to the folk music performance practice of the Hindu language groups: Hindi, Tamil, Telegu, Gujerati and some sectors of the Muslim group. The styles include Natchania, Terukuttu and Chutney. Chutney (a spicy condiment comprising of a mixture of many ingredients) is an Indian musical genre used as a form of expression. It combines of folk music, devotional songs, film music and contemporary styles dependent on demographic influences (Ramnarine 1996). In Durban, it is sung in the Hindi language incorporating slang and pidgin English. The lyrics explore themes of eroticism and provoke established authority. The instrumentation includes portable harmonium, electric guitar and Indian percussion. A typical chutney group comprises instrumentalists and dance troupes (Jackson 1991).

[8] It refers to bands performing Contemporary Christian Music. The Praise and Worship team consists of a group of singers with a lead singer (worship leader) accompanied by a rhythm section, made up of electric keyboard, bass guitar, electric guitar, drums and percussion.

[9] The Orchestral band tradition was popular from 1930 to 1970. The repertoire was based on Indian film music which served as an expressive medium for Indian South Africans in Durban. The term 'orchestra' in this context refers to a small jazz ensemble consisting of a rhythm section, a few woodwinds (saxophone, clarinet and trumpet) and vocalists. These orchestras featured extensively in the Bethesda Church (Kashi Orchestra), as documented by Daniel (1998) and Oosthuizen (1975b). Other similar orchestras (The Golden Lily Orchestra, The Top Spots) also performed at Hindu weddings and various community events (Veeran 1999).

consisted of electric bass, electric guitar, keyboard, drums and a lead singer. This music ensemble, hereafter referred to as the combo, served to accompany the lead singer and congregation and also provided interludes during the church service.

The music performed at the beginning of the church service comprised up-tempo (M.M. ♩= 160) tunes (praise-exegetical[10] format) followed by slower ballad (worship) tunes. The lead singer provided vocal accompaniment and conducted the congregation during each song. The accompaniment of the last worship song faded to a single instrument (piano/keyboard) providing musical and thematic links for the impending sermon to be delivered, usually by the pastor (James 2007).

These church bands became an apprentice body that was utilised by aspiring amateur musicians to gain professional musician status. The church also serves as a bridging programme for aspiring musicians to gain and admission into formal studies at tertiary institutions. This is achieved by the type of learning that takes place in the church, namely that of mentorship, aural and autodidactic learning

According to Daniel, professionals, non-professional and amateur musicians co-exist musically. Many churches have several bands and prospective musicians are auditioned for a position in the 'main'[11] band. Bands perform for subsidiary church meetings which serve as the training ground for music development.

Conclusion

The Indian immigrant diasporic community was confronted with the major challenge of identity construction. The new Indian South African identity was continually negotiated in order to preserve their cultural and religious uniqueness. Urbanisation propagated assimilation and adaptation of their cultural identity and traditions for purposes of survival. Aspects of Indian identity was reflected in their music making. The effects of westernisation and life in a homogenous community were reflected in the music styles, repertoire and instrumentation. The Indian identity was later subsumed under the 'Indianess' category.

Religion within the Indian South African community was vital in terms of crafting a new Indian South African identity. However, in a country that had modelled itself on Christian national education and values, certain aspects of its teaching were used as 'religious weapons' to discriminate against people. Some Christian denominations provided education whilst advancing notions of colonisation.

Besides being discriminated along racial lines, Indians were further discriminated along religious lines by being Christian and Pentecostal. This extended to the Pentecostal

[10] The song compilation has a pre-determined thematic arrangement. This theme is explained during the performance of these songs.

[11] The 'main' band refers to the church band that performs for the Sunday morning worship service, conferences, visiting international guest speakers etc.

church music, it was criticised as being inferior due to its constant morphing and inclusion of secular music stylistic adaptations and elements.

The ramification of forced removals was the disruption of any kind of music making opportunities and resulted invariably in the creation of alternative modes of music, music education and practice (Subramony 1993). However, the synergy between music, religion and identity together with the Pentecostal church contributed to the stability of the Indian community. The Pentecostal church provided a surrogate community, promoted the preservation of Indian culture and facilitated informal music learning. It was an important conduit to soften the blows of human suffering and the effects of apartheid by embracing and creating programmes within the church to provide mobility. It was vital in the construction of a unique music identity based on the repertoire, music styles, instrumentation and new religious practices that took place within the church.

The Pentecostal church showed least resistance towards embracing new ideas and new forms of practices. It also provided a basis through which the formation of identity within the Indian diaspora community could be mapped. It is evident that, within these churches, traditional practices were observed. However these practices were morphed with contemporary practices reflected in the forms of the music, the evolving repertoire and the practices within the repertoire i.e. the use of the vernacular, worship. As a result this gave birth to previously non-based church programmes which were now accommodated by the church, to embrace these new aspects of hybridity that were emerging.

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