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STAN KAHN: Language and Religion as Factors of Division in the Indian Community. Aspects of the South African case.

INTRODUCTION

Studies of Indians in South Africa have fallen, in the main, into two categories. There have been descriptive works which have stressed the history of the Indian population up to the present time, while on the other hand, there have been works with a strong political flavour. This latter group have focussed on the relationship between the White power elite, and the Indians as a negatively defined minority group. While elements of the latter have not been completely absent in the former group, the focus of this former group has been on less analytical descriptions of the Indian community in South Africa.

An area which has received, relatively, scant attention is the examination of groupings and relationships within the Indian community itself. The most vocal and articulate of Indian writers, in South Africa and abroad, have tended to concentrate on the quality of life which South Africans of Indian origin have had to endure because of their negative power relationship to the White ruling elite. Their writing has analysed this relationship and implicit in it has been the building of a case for, and a calling for a greater degree of freedom in the ability to influence the life chances of not only Indians, but all those groups in this negative power relationship with the White elite. In these writings the Indian population has been regarded and defined, to a larger rather than smaller degree, as a homogeneous group. While differences, or factors of heterogeneity, have been recognised the overall impression given is that these factors have low salience, and may, for the purposes of achieving greater participation by Indians in South African society, be disregarded. The present paper puts this assumption under scrutiny.

What was investigated was the role of language and religion as factors of division within the Indian community of Durban, and the impact of this on the life of Indians. The reasons for such an investigation are multiple.

There is, amongst South African Indians, and in terms of the policy of Separate Development, the emergence of a political elite. As the policy takes greater hold, the greater the power and effect will be, albeit within a restricted area of influence, of this emerging Indian power elite. To identify this group becomes important then for not only the White holders of power, but also for those Indians who are ultimately governed by the system. The characteristics of such an emergent elite are of crucial importance for fully understanding firstly, a set of Indian-White relationships, and secondly the nature of certain inter-Indian relationships.

This paper concerns itself then with relationships within the Indian community, and picks on language and religion as the main characteristics of the groupings.

The 1960 census (R.S.A.; 19606:110) shows us that of the then 237 329 Indians listed as resident in the Durban Metropolitan District, seven and one-half per cent were Christians of various denominations; seventy four and one-half per cent Hindu and fourteen and one-half per cent Muslim.

SOME HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

India

Some 4 000 years ago light skinned Aryan-speakers, originally from Asia, invaded and settled Northern India. Predominantly warriors, their militant religion fused with the ancient local cults of the indigenous inhabitants to make traditional Hinduism. This division, between Aryan north and the Dravidian south, like other racially defined cleavages, is a battle still being fought today. The battle-ground of the twentieth century is the official language of India; whether to make Hindi - the Aryan derivative - the sole official language or not.

India, being a continent rather than a country, has other divisions based on other criteria. There are three distinct physical entities created by the major rivers (vide Goodall and Darby, 1940: 62-3). The north and south are on either side of the Deccan tableland. This central plateau was the prize over many years in many North-South physical confrontations.

In the North East, the Gangetic plain, with extremely fertile soils and abundant waters, the Aryan invaders made their home. With the Himalayas to the north, and forests and desolate stretches of central India to the south, the area around the Ganges, from the mouth in the east to the source in the west, was a unit which lent itself to economic and political consolidation.

The Hindi speaking areas of India today are still the states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Empires based on this Geopolitical area rose and fell, and as they fell the present day states of Gujarat, Assam and West Bengal reasserted their independence, and developed their own cultures and languages. The major "third force", between South and North India was the state of Gujarat, with great wealth which its maritime position ensured. This wealth made it at once powerful, and an attractive prize for its belligerent bellicose neighbours.

The present central Indian states of Maharashtra, Mysore, Andhra Pradesh, and Orrisa were promoted by geographical features of the Deccan. As in the north there were periods of dynastic power, and during those periods authority extended over the others in the group. With the waning of a particular empire, they, like their northern counterparts, became more individually assertive and independent, with concomitant language and cultural development. Because of their bridging position, between North and South, these four states became a passageway for the transmission of cultural units and language between the extremities. Their positions are such that Maharashtra and Orrisa are, culturally and linguistically, nearer the North while Mysore and Andhra are nearer the South.

Madras, or Tamilnad, is a linguistic and political entity. Some Tamil propagandists would have it that Tamil is the remnant of the language and culture which once covered all of the sub-continent, before the Aryan conquest. Their economic position, being situated on the east-west trade routes, gave them enormous wealth and power. A fertile agricultural hinterland, and an advantageous physical situation, made Madras a match for the power which the Gangetic based Aryans could muster.

West of Madras, separated by a mountain range which causes the monsoon from the Arabian sea to produce an abundance of rainfall, as well as providing a political and cultural boundary, there lies the Tamil speaking state of Kerala. The Tamil there was always a different dialect to that of Madras, but it was, and is, nevertheless Tamil politically and culturally.

The above regional analysis has dealt in passing with three major language groups in relation to the region in which they are found.

There are two others which concern us for the purposes of the paper. The first is Urdu, a language consisting of mainly Persian vocabulary and Hindi grammatical structure. Urdu came to be used as a *lingua franca* between Muslim invaders and certain non-converted Hindu administrators which the Islamic conquerors were forced to use it to implement their rule in the North Western Punjab state. The above discussion of Urdu brings to the surface another division, that of Hindu-Islam, but that discussion must wait until we have discussed the second minor, but significant language, Telegu.

The four Deccan states each had period of supremacy followed by their subjugation by either one of the other three Deccan states, or the Aryan Hindi north or Dravidian Tamil south. As previously mentioned, during their periods of supremacy their indigenous culture and language flourished. Telugu was such a language; but it became much more than that. During the sixteenth century Hinduism was subjugated to Islam. Islam came like a wave through India, and during this movement in the sixteenth centure, Telugu was the vernacular which carried the Hindu religion through the period of subjugation. It was centred in the present day province of Andhra Pradesh.

Islam came to Indians in the twelfth century. Between 1340 and 1556 its fortunes were mixed, but after 1556 an expansion began which was to take conquering Muslim cavalry down from what is today Afghanistan into the far south, through the Deccan states. Islam was at the same time successful and a failure. It succeeded in maintaining itself and not being overwhelmed, which is more than other invaders of

India had managed, but it failed to convert the bulk of Hindu adherents. As noted, Urdu was developed as a consequence of this failure. The pendulum-like fortunes of Islam and Hindu, as controllers of the destiny of the sub-continent, continued until the advent of the British conquest of India, which started with a small land grant in 1639, in Madras.

Muslim and Hindu rulers were extremely ruthless whenever they took control. They imposed heavy taxes and established lavish courts. A Portugese traveller in India in 1535 noted that peasants paid nine-tenths of production to their lord. While such a figure may be disputed, what cannot be questioned is the fact that heavy taxes must have been levied to support a nobility such as both Muslims and Hindus introduced.

It is against this backdrop that the advent of British rule must be seen. The country was divided and exhausted; the British had leaders of high military calibre, disciplined troops and an advanced technology, strong financial backing and supremacy at sea. But while these were necessary to their success, these factors were not sufficient for colonization. It was because the British were primarily interested in India as a colony that they succeeded. Their motives were economic and not religious or cultural, and as such their interests did not clash with either the Muslim or Hindu cultural entities; the caste system in fact worked to their advantage with the division of labour institionalized and backed by religious authority. Both Muslim and Hindu sectors, while not actually welcoming British rule, preferred it to the rule of the other religious group, as the British allowed them their respective cultural heritages. Thus British "tolerance", which was in fact merely a no nonsense economic approach, helped ensure its success.

This complex geopolitical,cultural and linguistic mosaic, with the introduction of British rule, was the foundation for a system of indenture which influenced the racial make-up of a number of British colonies, Natal amongst them.

Parallel with the mergence of an embryonic migrant labour system in Natal which will be described below had gone the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1834. Mauritius, then a British colony, particularly felt the economic consequences of this declaration (Palmer, 1957: 4). The sugar plantations of Mauritius, dependant on cheap abundant labour, turned to indentured Indians supplied by recruiters already established in India. This system of recruitment and indenture was refined and extended to provide certain safeguards for the labourers by the British Parliament in 1842. The economic and political system which made indenture available as a source of labourers for the British Empire is described by Barrington Moore in his "The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy", (1966: 315 ff). He describes the agricultural system prevailing in India prior to the arrival of the British colonizers. Agricultural surplus was appropriated and consumed by a cadre of moneylenders, landlords and conquerors. The agricultural system consequently suffered a low reinvestment, the result of which was large numbers of under and unemployed rural workers.

The caste system allocated these individuals to low status roles with a religious rationale which predisposed them to becoming poorly paid rural labourers, ideally suited to being available for export. The British had also introduced into their colonies the products of their industrial revolution. These included large quantitities of cheap machine-make textiles, particularly cotton cloths. The production of such materials had been the basis of a substantial urban cottage industry in India. With the advent of these cheap textiles there were large numbers of urban under and unemployed workers too. It was the Indians of these categories who were to form the bulk of the plantation workers in Natal.

Natal

The 1850s saw Natal, a coastal subtropical strip, and a more temperate midland belt, under control of the British. In 1843 Britain had taken control of this area from the Boers. This British control was in line with expansion of its control by degrees, up the Eastern

seaboard of South Africa. It was the coastal subtropical strip which "necessitated" the importation of Indian indentured labourers.

The colony of Natal had a large indigenous population of Africans engaged primarily in subsistence agriculture. Not being part of the cash economy in which the White colonizers were engaged, they, to a large extent, continued with their kraal based economic and social systems. This system was radically altered in 1849 with the imposition by the colonial administration of a hut tax, payable in cash. This was instituted, with no apologies made, to compel the Africans to come out of their tribal economy and word for the Whites in order to earn the cash with which to pay the tax. The nature of the relationship, and the level of skills which the Blacks could contribute made for a situation in which Whites became accustomed to heavy and unskilled work being done by Blacks.

The British Government controlled a sizeable proportion of India by 1836. Effective control was also exercised over Natal by that date. This has prompted Palmer (*op. cit.*) to say:

> The coming of the Indians to Natal was no spontaneous uncontrolled movement ... It was part of an elaborate system organized and controlled by the governments of Great Britain and India. The Indian Government was, of course, entirely conducted by the British at this time; it was, however, a separate government with a delegated yet very considerable authority.

Such then was the canvas upon which Indian indenture to Natal was painted.

On November 16th, 1860, the first ship bearing Indians arrived in Durban. Meer (1969: 10) states that there were 342 persons aboard, mainly South Indian Hindus, with a small number of Muslims and Christians. This is an area in which Tamil is the predominant language. Later in the same month a second shipload of Indians arrived, this time from Calcutta. Meer (*op. cit.*) says these were recruited mainly from South and East India. The language, caste, and religious affiliations are commented on by Thompson (1938: 20).

> From Madras the majority were defined as Malabars (Tamil-speaking low caste coolies) and Gentoos (the Telegu-speaking equivalent); with a sprinkling of the writer-caste Vellelahs, of both Mudliar and Pillai branches; and about one per cent Rajputs, higher caste military people. Amongst the overwhelming numbers of Hindoos of one caste or another there were about twelve per cent Mohommedans and five per cent Christians.

Between 1860 and 1866 some four thousand indentured Indians arrived in Natal. Ships lists provide the only record of the numbers of Indian immigrants, and these were often poorly compiled. The place of origin, and even number of labourers on each ship was frequently wrongly stated by recruiting agents in India who were more concerned with the six shillings per head they received per recruit, then with the amount or quality of labour these recruits could deliver to their eventual masters.

An economic recession struck in 1866 and the indenture was stopped. When the economic climate improved the tap was once more turned open and between 1874 and 1885 some thirty five thousand Indians entered Natal (Thompson, 1937: 69). He goes on to say:

> Whereas the Indians were about one-third as numerous as Europeans in Natal in 1872, they had nearly overhauled the Europeans numerically in 1885. And whereas all the Indians in Natal had recently been emancipated from their indentures in 1872, a new generation was growing up that did not know the indenture shackles in 1885.

The original indenture contracts stated that there had to be a percentage of females included in each group. There was a set wage to be paid, and upon completion of the indenture period the emancipated individuals could choose either to return to India, or receive a grant of land equivalent in value to the return passage to India. The vast majority of emancipees chose the latter alternative. The upshot of the above mentioned two factors; viz. the presence of females and advantageous settlement conditions, led to a large and ever burgeoning free Indian population. These people were given grants of land on the North and South coast where they cultivated their plots, mainly as market gardeners.

Besides ex-indentured free Indians another group of free Indians had established themselves at Natal. They came as fare paying passengers to engage in trade and supply the needs of Indian consumers.

These, Thompson notes (*op. cit.*), were called "Arabs"; a misnomer but obviously a reference to the prevailing religion amongst this class, which was Islam. Some of these had come from Mauritius, where they had filled the same slot in the economic system, while others came directly from India. Not all of these small shopkeepers were Muslims however. The trading castes of the Hindus, mainly Gujerathi-speaking, were also numbered amongst their ranks.

While Indians had a cearly defined and unambiguous role in the economy of Natal there seemed to have been no hint of what was later to be known as the "Indian Problem" or the "Indian Question". This period was when all Indians were indentured labourers, contracted to some or other planter. The nature of their relationship in the economy was complementary to that of Whites and Africans, rather than competitive. With the end of the contract periods, potential conflicts became apparent. With the advent of small traders, who made inroads into the role of small White traders, conflict too became apparent. In Thompson's thesis three distinct sets of attitudes regarding these Indians may be discerned. The first is an unreserved positive attitude. This was when Whites completely controlled the numbers and functions of the Indian population. Indians fulfilled a need which the expansion of the White cash economy demanded. There was no other solution to the need, except indenture, and as such Indians were not only tolerated, but their diligence was in fact commended.

The second set of attitudes came in the period after the advent of some traders, and after the expiry of indenture contracts for some labourers. In this period, when emancipated plantation labourers had turned to market gardening or ordinary wage labour and some traders had set up shops, there was an ambivalence in White attitudes towards Indians. On the one hand, the lower prices, which both the market gardeners and shopkeepers had brought about, were welcomed, as was their activity as wage labourers, but there was discontentment amongst

those whome the aforementioned two commercial groups had undercut. Thompson says that White traders were resentful, but Indian traders were tolerated because " 'the competition is legitimate ... and welcome' (and) because it brought down prices". (1938: 69). The Indian shopkeepers, not content with the Indian market, made a determined bid to capture a slice of the African and White markets. It was this which gave rise to the third set of attitudes.

These attitudes were uniformly negative. After 1891 no further land grants were made to ex-indentured Indians. When responsible government was granted to Natal in 1893 one of the first measures this government passed was to withdraw the subsidy which it had paid to aid the indenture scheme (1894). Shortly after that steps restricting the entry of the other category, that of free passenger Indians, were initiated (1897).

A head tax was imposed on all emancipated Indians in 1895 and their children in 1900. Sugar planters continued to import Indians, at their own expense, until this too was stopped in 1911.

Summary

The Indian and Natal historical settings must be seen in conjunction with one another. The needs and requirements of India and Natal must be seen through the eyes of a Britain orientated market system. Effective control was exercised over both systems, and thus the shipping around of a number of tens of thousands of people was merely bending to an internal market demand. The effect in a "post-colonial" period, of such large-scale migration, was of little concern to Britain.

THE PRESENT DAY

Introduction

We move now to consider some statistics relating to language and religion in modern Natal.

Kuper, Watts and Davies (1958: 81) make the observation that at the time of the 1951 Census, Indians were the most thoroughly "Natal" group.

> "Using birth within Natal as an index of the extent to which a population is indigenous (to Natal), the races are ranked in the following order: Indians(94,68 per cent), Africans (86,84 per cent), Coloureds (76,69 per cent) and Europeans (42,40 per cent). Less than 5 per cent of Durban Indians were born outside South Africa and less than 1 per cent in provinces other than Natal ... "

This high percentage of Natal births is, of course, not fortuitous, but the result of discriminatory legislation, which since 1911 has effectively barred immigration, and which had prohibited movement between the provinces.

One set of corroborative figures is provided, to show that the I.S.R sample was representative. The 1960 census (R.S.A., 1960b: 110) shows us that of the then 237 329 Indians listed as resident in the Durban Metropolitan District, seven and one-half per cent were Christians, of various denominations; seventy four and one-half per cent Hindu; and fourteen and one-half per cent Muslim.

The remaining three and one-half per cent were of other religions, or objected to stating their religion. This, with the exception of a slight growth amongst Christians, is remarkably close to the figures provided by Thompson (1938: 20). The 1968 I.S.R. survey found 5,9 per cent Christians, 76,4 per cent Hindu and 15,8 per cent Muslim. The remaining 1,9 per cent were returned as "No Information". The I.S.R survey therefore seems to be a fair representation of the spread of various religious affiliations through the Indian community.

Table I compares the distribution of languages throughout the Indian community. It does so, comparing both the percentages and the actual numbers of both counts. It will be noted that Gujerathi and Urdu are slightly over represented in the I.S.R. sample, and that Tamil is slightly under represented.

Occupation

We now consider some of the effects of language and religion on the occupational structure of Indians in Durban.

In the Census Region 30, the Durban-Pinetown region, the 1960 Census (R.S.A. 1960d: 52) 56 332 economically active males are listed. Of these 3,3 per cent are returned as "Professional, technical"; 1,7 per cent as "Administrative, technical"; 7,0 per cent as "Clerical" and 10,4 per cent as "Salesworkers". This set of figures is given because these four 196o categories are those which closest approximate the top eight categories differentiated in Table II of this report. Thus the 1960 census has 19,4 per cent of the urban, Region 30, working males in the top occupational categories, while the 1968 I.S.R. survey places 17,1 per cent of its working males in what the author has thought are categories of similar ranking.

Table II relates occupation, religion and language, as these were found in the I.S.R. survey. The startling figures, which require no tests to confirm, are the sums, by religion of the occupational categories from Row 12 downward. They are summarised in the short Table III below.

TABLE III

"Dirty Jobs" Distributed According to Major Religious and Language Groupings

Christian	Hindu					Muslim		
All languages	English	Tamil	Telegu	Hindi	Gujerathi	Gujerathi	Urdu	Other
60%	57,7%	61,0%	45,2%	46,9%	0%	25%	51,2%	40,0%

There is a strikingly low proportion of Gujerathi speakers, of both Hindu and Muslim persuasion in the so-called "Dirty Jobs". The I.S.R. sample was too small to find the occupational categories in which Gujerathi speakers are concentrated, but the low representation in the "Dirty Jobs" is most marked.

Friendship Patterns

Respondents in the I.S.R. study were asked to name their two best male friends. Details of the friends language were requested. Analysis of the language of the respondent's "friend A" were carried out. Table IV shows the results. It will not noted that all the language groups showed a marked tendency to choose their friends from within their own language group. Of the major groups, however, Gujerathi speakers showed up as the most "own group" orientated.

Tamil speakers chose their co-linguists 2,4 times as often as a random distribution of friendship amongst the available males would have allowed; Telugu 2,9 times; Urdu 3,6 times; Hindi 2,2 times and English speakers 3,6 times, while Gujerathi chose Gujerathi speakers 10,7 times as often.

This table highlights two main features. Firstly that the Indian community is not unified. There are cleavages between all the main language groups. Secondly that Gujerathi speakers either tend to shun the rest of Indian society, or Indians of the other language groups do not make an effort to engage in social intercourse with Gujerathi speakers. Selective patterns of friendship are even more so between Gujerathi and the rest of Indian society.

Spatial Distribution according to Language and Religion

The I.S.R. study also enquired as to the area of the city in which the respondent resided. It found that of those who live in C.B.D. 56 per cent were Gujerathi-speaking. The I.S.R. survey differentiated between those who spoke Gujerathi only, and those who spoke Gujerathi and English. Of those who spoke only Gujerathi, 83 per cent lived in the C.B.D. When the Gujerathi-only speakers, and those speaking Gujerathi and English were added together, this figure went up to 85,7 per cent. On the other hand, only 8,6 per cent of all the Gujerathi speakers in the sample lived in subsidised housing such as the Chatsworth, Merebank, Merewent and Springfield rent schemes. Contrasted to this, 62,3 per cent of the totalled Tamil speakers lived in assisted housing, and only 5,7 per cent of the Tamil speakers lived in the C.B.D.

Rajah (1968:110ff) analysed the distribution, by language and religion, of Indians who lived in flats and houses in the 'Indian Central Business District' of Durban; i.e. the Grey Street complex and its framing blocks. Table V is a reproduction of one of his tables. In this area a high proportion of Gujerathi speakers, of both Muslim and Hindu persuasions is found. Rajah writes:

> 'Although the Gujerathi-speaking Indians have a common language, free social intercourse is not characteristic of this group, due largely to religious-cultural differences, between the Hindus and the Muslims. The majority of this linguistic group is descendant from the so-called 'passenger' Indians whose immigration to South Africa was motivated largely by the desire to exploit commercial oppertunities. They form the wealthiest segment of the Indian population, their economic prosperity enabling them to maintain exclusive cultural patterns. The Gujerathi-speaking Hindus and Muslims follow similar occupations and both groups are engaged in commerce and light industry to a marked degree. The control of the commercial functions by the Gujerathi-speaking Indians is well recognised by the other segments of the Indian population and probably helps to explain their superiority in numbers in the study area as whole either as owners of business establishments or employees. Thus, it seems, that historical and economic factors play a significant role in determining the spatial patterns of population distribution in the study area.'

REPRESENTATION

Until 1961 official Government policy toward Indians was that they should be repatriated in terms of original Indenture Contracts, and subsequent regulations which made repatriation even more 'attractive', e.g. increased financial considerations. On May 16th 1961 Jan de Klerk, then Minister of the Interior, said that most Indians were South African citizens, must therefor be accepted as the countries permanent responsibility, and enjoy the benefits inherent in such citizenship.

Since that date Indian opinion has been articulated, in accordance with Government policy, through, first, a National Indian Council, which had 20 members nominated by the Government and which sat from 1964 until 1968. Since 1968 there have been three Statutory Indian Councils. All four of these bodies have had only advisory powers to date. It is envisaged that future bodies will have Legislative Power. The First Statutory Indian Council consisted of 24 nominated members, the Second was a nominated body consisting of 25 members, while the third consists of 30 members

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF LANGUAGES FOUND AT 1960 CENSUS AND 1968 I.S.R. SURVEY.

1960 Census			1968 I.S.R. Survey	
Number	%		Number	%
35523	14,97	English only	51	12,06
62	0,03	Afrikaans only	0	0,00
82791	34,89	Tamil	122	28,84
60682	25,57	Hindi	114	26,95
22615	9,53	Telugu	47	11,11
13568	5,72	Gujerathi	35	8,27
21160	8,92	Urdu	46	10,88
804	0,34	Other	1	0,20
81	0,03	Unknown/ No Response	7	1,66
237286	100,00		423	99,97

TABLE II

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO MAJOR LANGUAGE AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS * 1.

RELIGIO-LINGUISTIC

OCCUPATION	CHRISTIAN	HINDU					MUSLIM		
	(Predominantly English, some Tamil & Telugu)	ENGLISH	TAMIL	TELUGU	HINDI	GUGERATHI	GUGERATHI	URDU	OTHER
1) No Information/ Never Worked/Unemployed/ Retired.	3 12,0%	3 11,5%	22 18,2%	9 21,4%	21 18,6%	4 19,1%	5 17,9%	18 23,7%	0 0,0%
2) Professional.	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	2 4,8%	1 1,8%	2 4,8%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%
3) High Executive/ Executive & Administrative.	0 0,0%	1 3,9%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	2 7,1%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%
4) Salaried lower Professional/ Semi-professional. (Nurses)	0 0,0%	2 7,7%	1 0,8%	1 0,8%	12 10,6%	2 9,5%	1 3,6%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%
5) Owner & Executive/Small commerce and service.	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	4 3,5%	0 0,0%	3 10,7%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%
6) Production Managers/ Works foremen.	1 4,0%	0 0,0%	1 0,8%	1 2,4%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 3,6%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%
7) Clerical/Bookkeepers.	5 20,0%	1 3,9%	12 9,9%	5 11,9%	9 8,0%	1 4,8%	1 3,6%	4 5,3%	2 20,0%
8) Working Proprietors.	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 0,8%	0 0,0%	3 2,7%	5 23,8%	0 0,0%	4 5,3%	2 20,0%
9) Representatives/ Salesmen/Agents.	0 0,0%	1 3,9%	2 1,7%	2 4,8%	1 0,9%	3 14,3%	6 21,4%	5 6,6%	1 10,0%
10) Routine Non-manual. (Police, Traffic Officers)	1 4,0%	1 3,9%	1 0,8%	1 2,4%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 3,6%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%
11) Manual Foremen/Artisans. (Clean Jobs)	0 0,0%	2 7,7%	10 8,3%	3 7,1%	8 7,1%	5 23,8%	1 3,6%	6 7,9%	1 10,0%
12) Artisans. (Dirty Jobs)	1 4,0%	2 7,7%	6 5,0%	1 2,4%	7 6,2%	0 0,0%	1 3,6%	3 3,9%	1 10,0%
13) Lower routine non-manual. (Waiters, Barmen, Counter-hands)	2 8,0%	2 7,7%	17 14,1%	6 14,3%	4 3,5%	0 0,0%	2 7,1%	6 7,9%	1 10,0%
14) Semi-skilled machinists/ Operatives.	7 28,0%	7 26,9%	26 21,5%	9 21,4%	23 20,4%	0 0,0%	3 10,7%	28 36,8%	1 10,0%
15) Unskilled manual.	5 20,0%	4 15,4%	17 14,1%	3 7,1%	18 15,9%	0 0,0%	1 3,6%	2 2,6%	1 10,0%
16) Menials.	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	4 3,3%	0 0,0%	1 0,9%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%
ALL OCCUPATIONS TOTAL :	25 100,0%	26 100,2%	121 99,3%	42 100,0%	113 100,1%	21 100,1%	28 100,1%	76 100,0%	10 100,0%

N = 462

* Individuals responding "No Information" on Religion excluded from table : 8 cases.

1. This table is presented with the raw data in the top row and %'s at the bottom because no tests were carried out.

TABLE IV

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGE OF RESPONDENT, AND LANGUAGE OF RESPONDENT'S "FRIEND A".

FRIEND "A's" LANGUAGE	LANGUAGE OF RESPONDENT							
	No Information	Tamil	Telugu	Gujerathi	Urdu	Hindi	English	Other
No Information	0,0%	5,7%	6,4%	0,0%	8,7%	4,4%	7,8%	0,0%
Tamil	28,6%	68,6%	31,9%	5,7%	13,0%	21,1%	23,5%	100,0%
Telugu	14,3%	5,7%	31,9%	0,0%	4,3%	0,9%	5,9%	0,0%
Gujerathi	0,0%	0,0%	2,1%	88,6%	6,5%	0,0%	3,9%	0,0%
Urdu	0,0%	2,5%	4,3%	0,0%	39,1%	4,4%	3,9%	0,0%
Hindi	28,6%	9,8%	12,8%	0,0%	15,2%	59,6%	9,8%	0,0%
English	28,6%	7,4%	10,6%	2,9%	10,9%	8,8%	43,1%	0,0%
Other	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	2,9%	2,2%	0,9%	2,0%	0,0%
TOTAL	100,1%	99,7%	100,1%	100,1%	99,0%	99,2%	99,1%	100,0%
Estimated distribution of male adults in universe according to language of origin.	1,7%	28,8%	11,1%	8,3%	10,9%	27,0%	12,1%	0,2%

N = 423

χ^2 = 842,6. P< 0,01. Probability is greater than 99% that the null hypothesis (i.e. no relationship between language of respondent and language of friend) can be rejected.

TABLE V

LINGUISTIC-CULTURAL COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE INDIAN POPULATION IN THE STUDY AREA. *

LINGUISTIC-CULTURAL GROUP	PERCENTAGES			
	C.B.D. Flats	Frame Block Flats	Study Area Flats	Houses
Gugerati-speaking Hindu	32,33	17,67	24,36	20,59
Tamil-speaking Hindu	10,53	16,40	13,72	35,29
Telugu-speaking Hindu	4,51	3,47	3,95	5,04
Hindi-speaking Hindu	5,26	10,09	7,89	3,36
Tamil-speaking Christian	3,38	10,09	7,03	1,26
Telugu-speaking Christian	0,00	3,47	1,89	2,10
Hindi-speaking Christian	1,13	2,52	1 ,89	0,00
Urdu-speaking Muslim	7,89	7,58	7,72	4,20
Memon-speaking Muslim	8,28	4,10	6,00	0,00
Gugerati-speaking Muslim	26,69	24,61	25,55	28,16
TOTAL :	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

* Rajah's study area. The Indian C.B.D. and blocks which form a frame around the C.B.D. For the purposes of our study we may link Memon to Gujerathi, of which it is a derivative.