

# **Caste & the Archives in India: Cinematic Representation of Bombay Catholics, Through the Structural Elements of Film.**

**Elroy Pinto<sup>1</sup>**

**<sup>1</sup>Independent Film-maker & researcher**

*elroy.el.pinto@gmail.com*

## **Abstract**

This article examines the roles of caste and class in the context of modern India, with a particular focus on how they affect catholic communities along the western coast of Maharashtra. The issue of caste exclusion is as pertinent for the archive as it is for the individual. Moreover, the act of remembering or recreating the past is not a straightforward endeavour, especially given the changing politics in India and the dwindling number of Catholics in Bombay. As a filmmaker, I am intrigued by the structural aspects of film—lensing, sound, music, lighting, colour, and movement—and whether these can convey meanings that extend beyond oral history and archiving. Drawing on Michelle Caswell’s theories of ‘symbolic annihilation’ and ‘liberatory practices’ for archives, I argue that the present moment must be met with revolutionary approaches. By using my film, “Islands of Labour: The Church at Jacob Circle”, as a case study I speculate on how cinema’s structural elements can be utilised to frame liberatory practices for marginalized catholic communities. The film focuses on a public school teacher from Mumbai whose parents were part of India’s first industrial workforce—the cotton mill workers, Hazel grew up in the Bombay Improvement Trust Blocks at Agripada, a distinctive colonial architectural experiment in social housing, as a member of a working-class catholic family in mid-20th-century Bombay. The article asks, if cinema’s structural elements can serve as a liberatory archive for marginalised catholic communities excluded from India’s dominant archiving traditions?

**Keywords:** Caste and Archives, Archives in India, Working-Class Bombay Catholics, Structural elements of cinema, Epic form.

**How to cite:** Pinto, E. (2025). Caste & the Archives in India: Cinematic Representation of a Minority Community Through the Structural Elements of Film. *Doctoral Horizons*, 6(1), 143–158. <https://doi.org/10.37130/DrHvol6iss1pp143-158>

### **Caste and class: a brief overview**

India and South Asia in general have been riddled with the inequities of caste for centuries. The caste system has been closely tied to *jati* (occupation) and *varna* (colour). The colonial period is when the greatest number of transformations in the understanding of caste as a modern and contemporary phenomenon have taken place. The caste system in India has also shaped capitalism's growth. Rooted in hereditary occupations and religious texts like the Rigveda, its rigidity has lessened over time and yet continues to oppress in the present age. Every religion practices and maintains a form of caste endogamy based on purity and pollution that is closely tied to access to private property and group endogamy. Even egalitarian religions like Islam like with its message of universal brotherhood, and Christianity, with its message of universal love, have succumbed to it. Caste has thus become deeply embedded in economic and social hierarchies that continue to define opportunities and exclusions in India today. Caste and class is most visible when we analyse access to material benefits (wealth, land, access to higher opportunities) and we see that it is concentrated with a majority of the dvijia castes (the ritually twice born castes and who have historically constituted the brahmins, kshatriyas and banias) and large landholding peasant castes (Sinha, 2019).

### **Bombay Catholics and the question of caste**

Bombay Catholics trace their roots to coastal communities across southern India - Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka, Kerala, and Tamil Nadu that converted in the early modern era. Conversion was and is still a sensitive subject in India, with the government of India framing and updating old laws to prevent freedom of religion for fear that the present working classes may seek solace in the Abrahamic faiths of Islam and Christianity. Historically, conversion was shaped by several different factors; for example, in Tamil Nadu, Kenneth Ballhatchet shows that Francis Xavier

personally converted fishing communities that were involved in deep-sea pearl diving. Similarly, in the case of Goa, D.D. Kosambi points out that Portuguese law mandated the inheritance of property only after conversion to catholicism. This led to a particular phenomenon of Brahmin Catholics, where the youngest brother converted while the remaining retained their Vaishnavite standing. In many cases, material needs drove different castes to convert; in some cases, entire villages converted to catholicism.

The most affluent among the Indian catholics have been certain sections of the East Indian Catholics of Bombay, the Goan Catholics, and Kerala Catholics. Many of them had access to education and were landed peasantry, with only a tiny section claiming Brahmin status. However, the majority of the Catholics drew their contexts from agrarian and landless backgrounds - toddy tappers, salt pan workers, peasant cultivators, and tenant farmers. The material realities of most of these castes were not that different from the outcastes in these communities. I have written about the specific ways in which caste was practised by my tenant farmer catholic family, for example, in purity and pollution, racial behaviours and access to higher education and missionary life. In many cases, there must have been intermixture between the lower and outcastes (Pinto, 2021).

The miserable conditions were created in various parts of India due to the colonial transformations in taxation, land laws, crop changes and the propensity for these areas to experience frequent droughts. Many communities, including Catholics, migrated to the city of Bombay beginning in the 1850s. For the elite castes within the community, their proximity to business and educational access through the church enabled them to migrate as early as the 1850s. In contrast, for the lower castes and outcastes, migration depended on the severity of rural distress, along with changes in steamboat technology that allowed, for example, many northern Goan communities of Bardez to reach the port of Bombay. Caste positions roughly translate into class positions, with the majority of the working class originating from lower and outcaste backgrounds (Pinto, 2021). However, access to English language higher education and landholdings played a significant role in determining who ascended the ladder towards professional managerial roles, such as clerks or teachers. Some, like my paternal grandfather, accepted service jobs or joined the industrial workforce of the cotton mills. Regardless, the uniqueness of their experiences regarding why they moved and what their early lives were like has not been recorded. The impetus for working on such a film stems precisely from

the systemic challenges surrounding awareness of archives for the majority and the lack of interest in minorities in contemporary India. Access to such histories does not come naturally, and they remain difficult to uncover, as many Catholics prefer to migrate outside India.

### **Catholics and the Archive**

Despite undertaking years of research on working-class Catholics, I found little, just one unpublished PhD thesis. So, where is my grandfather in the archive? Brahma Prakash, a professor of theatre and performance studies, is radically sceptical of the project of the archives in India. He suggests that there is a deep connection between the way colonial knowledge was first constructed with the help of class elites from India as the “archive” and how the “Archive” is mobilised by the dvijia castes today to prevent anyone else who has no claims to historical selves (Brahma Prakash, 2021). Since the 1970s, limited economic mobility has taken Catholics to the Gulf, where many, like my uncles, worked as labourers. The sole archive on mill workers in Mumbai excludes Christians while noting Hindus and Muslims (Adarkar & Menon, 2004). Since 2023, a small catholic archive has been developing in the city of Mumbai. This archive is known as ‘*Soboicar*’, a term derived from the Konkani term, “*bomoicar*” which was used to refer to Catholics who had migrated from Goa to Bombay in the 20th century. The original term was ‘*bomoi*’ or ‘*bombay*’, the founders added the ‘*Sobo*’, which means South Bombay, the geographical location of the older seven islands from which the city derives its name. The archive is created to document the lives of Catholics from Goa and Karnataka who lived or continue to live in South Mumbai. There are a variety of occupations and social positions in the archive. One of the founders, Jane Borges, a journalist and writer has detailed her family's work with tailoring and baking. The introduction of such technologies and the access that the Catholics got from it, provided a stronger economic base for many in the future. Many of the stories in the archive talk about the migratory aspect of the community. These Catholics have largely continued their journeys, both internally in the city and externally away from the country; the archive is the only resource that documents these lives. In a photo essay on the work, one of the co-founders, Maria Piedade, says that the archive “challenges [s] dominant cultural narratives and provide[s] alternative perspectives.” Yet, she also wonders, “What is absent from the archive and what becomes of those stories?” (Staneley, 2024, p. 10). The Soboicar archive by its visuals, does challenge the

common tropes of what community life looks like for a religious minority, by showcasing the diverse lives of Catholics, in their private and social spaces. But, the archive by mere recording, indexing and creating of empirical data alone, cannot challenge dominant narrative traditions, Unless it achieves this on a large scale, by terming it *Soboicar*, the archive is thus limited to a tiny section of a minority of less than 500,000 in a city of 25-30 million people, the archive also does not look at the migrating Catholics from states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Gujarat, not to mention the local East Indian Catholics (Irudaya Rajan, S. 1993 p. 52) . Due to a lack of available funds, *Soboicar*, relies on observing what Michelle Caswell calls the 'politics of respectability', where the firsts in the community are emphasised. The problem with the politics of respectability is that it caters solely to how the majority perceives the minority, creating narratives of success and celebration. What can then perhaps challenge dominant narrative traditions? I believe utilising the structural elements of cinema allows us to access a symbolic rebirth of the minority on screen fundamentally.

I would like to further draw on Michele Caswell's work on the archives and the link between what she terms 'symbolic and actual annihilation' and a discussion on liberatory archiving practices. I will argue that with dwindling populations of communities, lack of visual representation in mainstream and avant garde culture and communities that have not been able to reflect on themselves (critically), the urgency of the situation demands that as filmmakers we respond by utilizing the structural elements of cinema to go beyond what the narrative or oral history allows us to portray. As Michelle Caswell argues, "The work of archives and the work of activism, the work of representation, and the work of liberation, cannot occur on separate but parallel tracks; they must be intertwined." (Caswell, 2021, 89) This is not to say that the work of oral archiving must stop or that it is fully deficient; on the contrary, traditional archiving processes must continue documenting the lives of such communities, if they can critically think of their processes and not fall into the trappings of colonial archives.

## **Revolutionising liberatory practices**

In Michelle Caswell's archiving work on the South Asian American Digital Archive (SAADA), many members of the community felt a profound sense of alienation, isolation, and misrepresentation in the mainstream. This was largely due to laws that prevented interracial marriage and the lack of documented archives before 1965; it has further marginalised South Asian Americans and has also been impacted by the promotion of stereotypes in mainstream culture. She uses the term "symbolic annihilation" to describe the 'repercussions of the exclusions' experienced by the community. By working on the creation of community archives, she argues that members of the community felt 'seen' or were able to discover themselves as 'existing'. This, she states, takes place on three levels. Epistemologically speaking, the community can "establish their histories and assert their existence in the past." Ontologically, it has an impact of being able to "reflect and assert their identities in the present." Finally, on a social level, 'community archives assert you belong here' to members of the communities they serve. All these elements support the concept of "representational belonging."

What is also true in the case of the Catholics is that there is a careful link between the symbolic and actual annihilation of the community. In this case, the "annihilation" is migratory-related and catalysed by fears of a majoritarian Hindutva state, which have largely come true. In that sense, representation is absent in the visual, or if present, is represented by harmful stereotypes. I propose something different to what liberatory archival practices that Caswell outlines. For her, liberatory archives must empower communities to 'recognise themselves in archival records' but must also combine this with material demands (Caswell, 2021, 104). Liberatory work must demand structural change, for without structural change, the structures of archives will continue to propagate the same inequities that first plagued the colonial archives.

Here, I make a distinction: it is harder to make material demands in a society as unjust as India, which is constrained by caste, religion, and class. It is difficult to envision a minority that comprises less than 2.5% of India being able to effect change in the structural inequities unless it finds a way to connect with broader movements related to material demands. This was once experienced by the community in the 1970s when land reforms swept through the country, yielding benefits for subsequent generations. My great-grandparents served as tenant

farmers for generations before their children were finally able to claim the land they had tilled and inhabited. This was made possible by the organisation of several grassroots groups and by collaborating with different communities. Even if archives create records for 'future generations', they would not have been able to respond adequately in the present moment. I suggest that depictions in the archive must, therefore, combine filmmaking methods that help us go beyond the challenges of the present moment. A pressing situation demands a revolutionary response.

An approach that takes social justice into account is not unfamiliar to the archives. In their paper on the history of archival approaches to social justice, Ricardo and Caswell trace the close connection between social justice and the impact of archives. They also warn of the dangers of the present moment in which large corporations are privatising public records. For Samuel Burgum, community archives are any "independent grassroots efforts for communities to document their commonalities and differences outside the boundaries of formal mainstream institutions." (Burgum, S., 2020, p. 505) He concludes in his writing that such archives must be able to "address the biases and silences of history, but can also alert us to possibilities in the present." It is in this moment that we must think of not only the means of archiving but also how we go about preventing them from falling into corporate hands while maintaining an approach towards social justice.

Gerda Lerner & Bonnie Smith's works highlight how society's memory tools and institutions systematically have excluded women and ignored families and local communities. I would add that India has a class and caste slant. Also, dvijia and upper-class Hindus dominate structural networks, including those of the archive and both popular and avant-garde visual representations in film. This is why it became essential with my mother's ageing and the loss of family, including my father, during COVID. How does cinema preserve memory, and whose memory is privileged to be archived in India? As a filmmaker, I struggle with the expectation of what the form of an archival film should be. Remembering the past is complex, especially with Bombay's dwindling catholic population. The film is autobiographical but suggests that the "I" exists in relation to the community plural. Hence, when Hazel speaks of her memories of the church, she also references her collective memories of the catholic community attending services and participating in the different organisations in the church.

## Film its structural elements and the church at Jacob Circle



Fig. 1.1 Hazel views projected images of the church she grew up visiting “Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle” (2025)



Fig. 1.2 Hazel talks about gender roles in a Fig. 1.3 Cotton mill workers of England on archival footage pre-marriage ritual from “Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle” (2025) “Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob Circle” (2025)

Inspired by the filmmaking and writing practice of Arun Khopkar in his book on the filmmaker, Guru Dutt and Kumar Shahani's lifelong exploration of the epic idiom. In their writing, they argued that the form and content of a film are indivisible and that the narrative is not only the plot, but also all the structural elements of cinema can be used to draw from wider cultural and civilizational resources. Such as a gesture of a hand inspired by an early common era Buddhist rock cut cave, placed within the correct lighting, music and composition in a scene, contains within it the resonances of the epic (Shahani, 2015, p. 121).

With limited means, in my filmmaking practice, I have attempted to create combinations of the structural elements to tell a story that does not forget the narrative but allows memory and contradiction to merge into lived experience. The film juxtaposes colonial missionary commentary, personal recollections of rituals, contemporary stills of the church, and archival footage of the industrial working class. The film is crafted as what Vladimir Rosas and Rubén Dittus describe as a 'film diary'. It intertwines the personal with the political, exploring how gender, religion, and class shape memory. By narrating her family's participation in the church as a community, the film argues that the now-forgotten church of St. Ignatius is closely linked to the class character in how heritage is preserved within communities.

This film diary, in a way, seeks to transcend the archive. In moments of remembering, I used extreme close-ups, a rust-red interior palette, the green of the trees, and the blue of the projector. Analogue and digital still images interact through decay and projection. On the soundtrack, I have placed brass bands, prayers, litany in multiple languages—alongside silences and other sounds, like a 78 rpm record loading. These choices made from research evoke experience beyond the visible, deepening how we engage with memory, history, and the cinematic space. I do not let these interfere with the narrative to the point that the technique becomes the narrative. All of these structural choices are informed by interviews conducted with my mother and are meant to create points of reflection for viewers and for the community for whom this is created.



Fig. 1.4 Extreme close up of Hazel's hands Fig. 1.5 Extreme close up of Hazel's feet "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" (2025) "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" (2025)

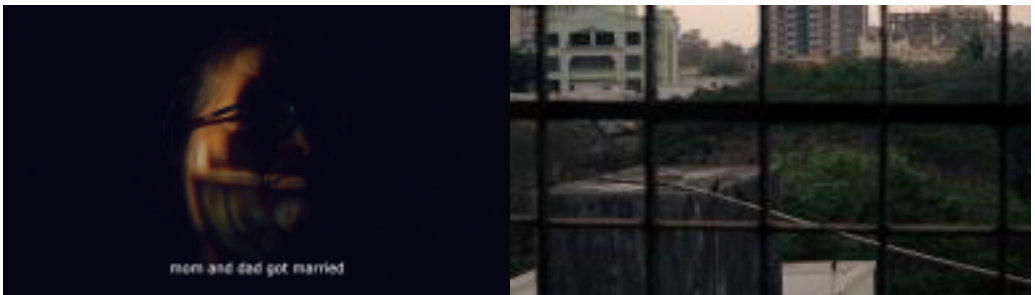


Fig. 1.6 Extreme close-up of Hazel's face with projection Fig. 1.7 External shot of the world outside Hazel's window "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" (2025) "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" (2025)



Fig. 1.8 Inside shot of Hazel's home while she walks "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" (2025)

The film is retrospective and current, though it is an intimate display of life in which these contradictions disappear. Artificiality becomes a reality, and it suddenly revives the memory of her past for her. I use close-ups and shots of life outside her current 390 sq ft apartment. In the film, the telling of personal stories creates what Pullen describes as a "therapeutic potential for minority identities, offering the reinterpretation of social lives and the challenging of dominant norms". Or to re-state, the depiction of a particularly catholic existence has seldom found expression in mainstream, avant-garde or abstract cinema.

A few months later, when the film was completed, she was the first person, I shared the film with. On viewing herself and viewing her story on screen, my mother's initial remarks were around how old she looked. On asking her further about how she felt about viewing herself on screen, she felt these stories were important to be documented, and she added she felt a person of her positionality, a working-class women belonging to the catholic faith, seldom found such expression

in mainstream media. Her past, 'felt seen' as it became an emotional moment (Caswell, M & Ramirez, M. H., 2017, p. 36).

Circling back now to what Caswell suggests on liberatory practices, the film serves as both an artistic intervention and a component of the symbolic. It provokes thoughts on how archives enable individuals to narrate their stories in a specific way, offering a subversive examination of "who gets to tell their stories," yet my interest lies in "how do we get to tell these stories?" which relates to the structural elements in cinema. In this process, it also highlights a complex relationship between conversion, late colonialism, and discussions on the construction of churches, revealing the contradictory role they appear to have played. For instance, the church was intended to serve the affluent in a part of the city deemed prosperous for real estate. However, it ultimately caters to the spiritual and communal lives of the working class. The contradiction lies in the fact that such church activities hindered community members from achieving a broader platform for material change while still promoting community upliftment within certain limits. Thus, the film is seen as a space in which I envision both a contestation and a resolution regarding the prolonged and problematic influence of missionary activity on Catholics.

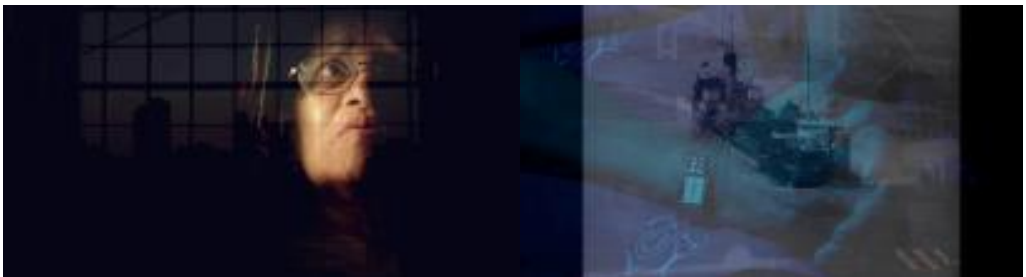


Fig. 1.9 & Fig. 1.10 Utilising the dissolve between the 'interior and exterior' "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob Circle" (2025)

## Conclusion

Can this film be thought of a way of organizing Catholics to demand a transformation in their material conditions? Perhaps, such a work can speak about the integrated life that Hazel talks about in her early childhood. As an experiential part of making the world around itself, could Bombay catholic and Bombay muslim organisations create knowledge exchanges through the visual medium of film?

Demanding material change, can only happen if a greater number of marginalized identities come together under a common minimum program. Perhaps, with the creation of a screening series in which Catholics could be asked to think about their identity in the city, critically. Creating a platform where such discussions can be held and spaces created in which Catholics of all ages, engage in a healthy discussion about their differences and similarities will greatly help them in potentially creating consciousness around anxieties of material and cultural necessities. Engaging broader platforms that cater to civil societies on matters of constitutional rights could also be considered a part of a program for symbolic change, as Caswell suggests.

At the start of the essay, I discussed how archives and their creation in India should be viewed with suspicion due to their association with the upper caste and upper class and colonial legacies (Aziz, 2017, p. 4). After briefly surveying the nature of caste within the historical context of the subcontinent, I examined the role of caste and its significance within the catholic community. I then explored the work of Michelle Caswell regarding South Asian American identity in the archives and argued how Catholics have been perceived within their context in India. The community faces a decline in population in India, driven by migration on the surface, but also by the transformations of a resurgent Hindutva identity that seeks to 'other' all religious and cultural identities. In conclusion, I suggest that for communities such as Catholics, who have struggled with the concept of caste and reflecting on their lives, both in the past and present, there are ways in which the archive will consistently function to marginalise working-class communities across religious lines. It becomes clear that firstly, to demonstrate how deeply problematic any intention of engaging with the archive and the process of archiving will be for a country like India. Secondly, the cinematic style I have employed in my work seeks to short-circuit the neat parameters of what is expected from a film about personal archives by utilising the structural elements of cinema. Lastly, the film posits an alternative possibility for subverting the expectations of what is necessary for a model minority to exist on screen.

## References

- Adarkar, N., Menon, M. (2004). *One Hundred Years One Hundred Voices: The Millworkers of Girangaon : an Oral History*. Seagull Books.
- Aziz, S. (2017, December 16). National Archives of India: The Colonisation of Knowledge and Politics of Preservation. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 52(50), 33-39. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45132597>
- Ballhatchet, K. (2013). *Caste, Class and Catholicism in India 1789-1914*. Taylor & Francis.
- Burgum, S. (2020). This City Is An Archive: Squatting History and Urban Authority. *Journal of Urban History*, 48(3), 504-522.  
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0096144220955165>
- Caswell, M. (2021). *Urgent Archives: Enacting Liberatory Memory Work*. Routledge.
- Caswell, M, Ramirez, M. H. (2017). To Suddenly Discover Yourself Existing. *American Archivist*, 79(1), --. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0nd5g0p7>
- Durcan, S. (2020). *Memory and Intermediality in Artists' Moving Image*. Springer International Publishing.
- García-Carpintero, M. (2021). Documentaries and the fiction/nonfiction divide. *Studies in Documentary Film*, 15(2), 163-174.  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17503280.2021.1923146>
- Hamblin, S. (2019). Exhausted Montage: Radical Cinema Post '68. *Legacies of '68: Histories, Geographies, Epistemologies*, 15(3), 358-371.  
<https://read.dukeupress.edu/cultural-politics/article-abstract/15/3/358/141364/Exhausted-MontageRadical-Cinema-Post-68>
- Hodder, J. (2017). On absence and abundance: biography as method in archival research. *Area*, 49(4), 452-459. <https://rgs-ibg.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/area.12329>
- Irudaya Rajan, S. (1993). *Catholics in Bombay : a historical-demographic study of the Roman Catholic population in the archdiocese of Bombay*. Vendrame Institute ; Firma KLM Private Ltd.
- Khopkar, A. (2012). *Guru Dutt: A Tragedy in Three Acts* (S. Gokhale, Trans.). Penguin Books.
- Pinto, E. (Director). (2025). Islands of Labour: The Church at Jacob Circle [Film]. BIT BLOCK 12.
- Pinto, E. (2021, January 18). *Manitoba / Public Parking*. Public Parking Publication | Manitoba | Public Parking. Retrieved May 31, 2025, <https://thisispublicparking.com/posts/ruminations-on-a-cultural-mosaic-of-light-space-and-spice>

- Pinto, E. (2021, July 29). *Bombay Catholics and the question of caste – The Satyashodhak*. The Satyashodhak. Retrieved May 31, 2025, from <https://thesatyashodhak.com/bombay-catholics-and-the-question-of-caste/>
- Pinto, V. (2009). *Migration of the catholics of South Canara and its socio-economic dimensions 1900 to 1980*. shodhganga. <https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/handle/10603/132249>
- Prakash, B. (2021). *Archives are a SCAM!* Contemporary Theatre Review. <https://www.contemporarytheatrereview.org/2021/archives-are-a-scam/>
- Punzalan, R. L., Caswell, M. (2016). Critical Directions for Archival Approaches to Social Justice. *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy*, 86(1), 25–42. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26561647>
- Rosas, V, Dittus, R. (2020). *The autobiographical documentary: archive and montage to represent the self* (15th ed., Vol. 3). Taylor & Francis. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17503280.2020.1815123>
- Shahani, K. (2015). *Kumar Shahani: The Shock of Desire and Other Essays* (A. Rajadhyaksha, Ed.). Tulika Books.
- Sinha, A. (2017, April 5th). *Caste Question, Marxism and the Political Legacy of B. R. Ambedkar*. anvil. <https://anvilmag.in/archives/188>
- Sinha, A. (2019). *On the Caste Question: Towards a Marxist Understanding*. Rahul Foundation. Stacie Friend. (2021). Falsehoods in film: documentary vs fiction. *Studies in Documentary Film*, 15(2), 151–162. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17503280.2021.1923145>
- Slugan, M. (2021). Textualism, extratextualism, and the fiction/nonfiction distinction in documentary studies. *Studies in Documentary Film*, 15(2), 114–126. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17503280.2021.1923142>
- Staneley, S. A. (2024). Hope and Stay. *The Caravan - A journal of politics and culture*, (Choking to Death). <https://caravanmagazine.in/communities/the-lives-of-mumbai-catholic-communities>
- Taylor, D. (2003). *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Duke University Press.

## Image references

Fig. 1.1 Dir: Elroy Pinto, 2025, "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" Digital Film, Duration 10:00, Copyright held by author.

Fig. 1.2 Dir: Elroy Pinto, 2025, "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" Digital Film, Duration 10:00, Copyright held by author.

Fig. 1.3 Dir: Elroy Pinto, 2025, "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" Digital Film, Duration 10:00, Copyright held by author.

Fig. 1.4 Dir: Elroy Pinto, 2025, "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" Digital Film, Duration 10:00, Copyright held by author.

Fig. 1.5 Dir: Elroy Pinto, 2025, "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" Digital Film, Duration 10:00, Copyright held by author.

Fig. 1.6 Dir: Elroy Pinto, 2025, "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" Digital Film, Duration 10:00, Copyright held by author.

Fig. 1.7 Dir: Elroy Pinto, 2025, "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" Digital Film, Duration 10:00, Copyright held by author.

Fig. 1.8 Dir: Elroy Pinto, 2025, "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" Digital Film, Duration 10:00, Copyright held by author.

Fig. 1.9 Dir: Elroy Pinto, 2025, "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" Digital Film, Duration 10:00, Copyright held by author.

Fig. 1.6 Dir: Elroy Pinto, 2025, "Islands of Labour: The church at Jacob circle" Digital Film, Duration 10:00, Copyright held by author.