PORTRAYAL OF 'INDIAN CULTURE ' IN THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA: A Case Study of 'Impressions'

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

The idea the South African Indian community as a homogenous has derived from the apartheid ideology of separate development. From the time of their arrival in 1980, indentured labourer has endured a series of processes that have shaped the deve1opment of this ethnic minority. With the determination to belong and endure at any cost, the South A frican Indian celebrated 134 years in South Africa on the 16th of November 1994.

In 1987, the introduction of a two-hour ethnic broadcast by the South African Broadcasting Corporation, to cater for the Indian community in South Africa seen as a means to 'satisfy a need' of the community. As a member of the Indian community and having some knowledge of the complexities of Indian culture, curiosity was awakened to the fact that can a programme of two-hours in duration accommodate not only the complex nature of Indian culture, but how is such a broadcast constructed to cope with the diversities that exist within the community?

This study will examine the way in which Indian culture is imaged in the electronic media. It will proceed with the assumption that no matter   what the material or technological, position of ethnic minorities, or where they are geographically located, or what historical time they live in, their objectives and actions derive from a specific cultural reference that is different to other ethnic minorities.

ABBREVIATIONS
ANC   - African National Congress
NIC   - Natal Indian Congress
SABC   - South African Broadcasting Corporation
UN   - United Nations

INTRODUCTION

"Before you can adapt to a foreign culture, you first have to survive the move. It is necessary not only to come to grips with the 'peculiar' nature of the locals, but also to come to understand the local culture. 7here is the need for cultural adaptation an the challenges that are too great during this process, could overwhelm the visitor." (Storti 1990: 2)

The above quote by Craig Storti in ***The Art of Crossing Cultures*** (1990) provides a description of the dilemma that greets *cultural minorities on* entering a foreign country. History has evolved such that these groups have failed to find an acceptable status or cultural role in the broader society. The fallacy of 'the land of opportunity' soon becomes evident to the cultural minorities who have settled throughout the globe.

Let me first qualify the meaning of cultural minorities. Difficulty surrounds finding an acceptable definition of the terms 'culture' and 'minorities' that have come to complement each other. The definition of Sir Edward Tylor that states "*culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and other* capacities *acquired by man*" (Kroeber 1952: 40) has become accepted by anthropologists and sociologists as the most appropriate one. The malaise caused by defining 'minorities' has been 'alleviated' by the   definitions of Louis Wirth and the United Nations (Alcock 1979; 2).

Wirth's definition describes minorities as any group, racial or ethnic (cultural), members of which, because of their physical and cultural characteristics are singled-out for differential treatment and regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. For Wirth, a minority was essentially politically subordinate and at the same time, economically under-privileged, socially isolated, spatially segregated and disaffected in its attitude to status (Ibid). [1]

In 1950, the UN shifted focus more towards the cultural minorities and defined minorities as those non-dominant groups in a population which, while being loyal to the state, wished to preserve stable, ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions that were markedly different from those of the rest of the population and, moreover, were sufficiently large in numbers to be able to develop such characteristics spontaneously (Alcock 1979: 3) [2]. Although these definitions came to be accepted, they were flawed at many levels. The clarity of other categories of 'group' such as woman and homosexuals came into question. The UN's reference to preservation also came into question for it did not clarify the degree of preservation referred to. (This was in relation to the maintenance of links between immigrant communities and their traditional culture). Alcock (1979) also questioned the parameters of preservation, for although certain cultural traits were maintained minorities of not only the state but of the cultural minorities themselves, had limited preservation to a large extent.

Despite the questions surrounding the notions of preservation and domination for the purposes of this dissertation I will maintain the use of cultural minorities as stated above.

Throughout the world, the trend has developed such that the cultural traditions of cultural minorities have become manufactured and assimilated to alter and distort their original forms and ultimately, a culture. The process of manufacture occurs at the levels of the state   or at government level and the culture that is created 'from above' raises the issues of authenticity and contradictions to lived traditions (Raboy 1989: 86). The process of creating by the state brings to light the hegemonic attempts to construct a 'popular culture.'[3] The history of immigration to a foreign land has indeed created a particular   representation of the cultural heritages of minorities, the truth of which is usually downplayed so as to portray a 'people' who are different, strange and foreign.

We cannot however, refute the fact that cultural change is inadvertent owing to the conditions that confront the cultural minorities. In multicultural societies, the cultural minorities aspire towards a level of assimilation that is necessary to function within their adoptive country. This however does not suggest the total replacement of a traditional culture by the culture of the adoptive country for the cultural minorities attempt to preserve certain cultural components and traits that are peculiar to them. To substantiate this we may refer to Wagner's assumption of 'cultural relativity' as described in ***The Invention of Culture.***

My reading into the field of the socialisation of cultures has revealed that the place occupied by cultural minorities in multicultural societies involves an analysis of culture at the social, cultural and political level. With the advances in technology and the advent of mass communication, the portrayal of cultural minorities and culture has become the reflections of the societies from which they are produced, and a reflection of the hegemonic forces that construct them (Wagner 1987: 72). We may therefore argue that the control of the state suggests the exclusion of minorities from communication resources.

The fabric of the South African society consists of a multitude of diverse cultures, each attempting to find a suitable place in the broader society. The largest concentration of Indians outside India is to be found in South Africa. They contribute 3% of South Africa's population (Indian Annual 1994: 67)

BRIEF OUTLINE OF STUDY

The weekly CCV-TV programme IMPRESSIONS is allocated two hours broadcast time on Sunday mornings. With its first broadcast in 1987, the programme which is marketed as an 'eastern experience', provides a 'community' service to portray 'Indian culture' in South Africa. The first how-and-a-half of the programme is divided into three half-hour segments where three programmes are broadcast in the vernacular of Hindi, Gujerati and Tamil or Telegu. The last half-hour of the transmission is devoted to a programme entitled *IMPRESSIONS MAGAZINE*. This magazine carries various topics including fashion, music, food dance, religious festivals and talk shows.

The purpose of this study is to examine how 'Indian culture' has been constructed in South Africa. The study will proceed with the assumption that the concept of 'Indian culture' is in itself problematic if we consider the linguistic and religious diversities that are found within the 'community'. The term 'community' involves locality, a sense of belonging, shared cultural and ethnic concepts and values. It also involves a way of life opposed to the organisation and bureaucracy of modem mass society. Raymond Plant (1974) in his book on *Community and Ideology,* has linked the term 'community' to a nexus of traits, which if analyzed, will be incompatible.

The 'Indian community' in South Africa has been constructed out of numerous traits. With these numerous traits associated with the term 'community' the designation of a unified 'community' is problematic. However, in the South African context one may refer to an 'Indian community', for although apartheid was entrenched into the history books only in 1948, since 1890, both the colonies of Cape Town and Natal, as well as those of Transvaal and the Orange Free State, classified all immigrants from the subcontinent of India and their descendants [born in South Africa or anywhere else] as INDIANS.

Afrikaner Nationalism [in the late 19th century] and British Colonialism practiced varying degrees of segregation and their impact on Indian settlers was a substantial one. The idea of 'nationalism' was constructed out of the building blocks of language, ethnic ties and religious affiliations and although it favoured integration and assimilation of ethnic minorities by the culture of the dominant ruling power, minorities were faced with the problem of failing to find an acceptable status or even a cultural role in the broader society.

The study will locate the development and metamorphosis of 'traditional Indian culture' in South Africa. Since the arrival of indentured Indian labourers and settlers in 1860, under hegemonic rule; which was characterised by the imposition of force and the winning of consent, Indian South Africans have endured many processes of appropriation, integration, assimilation and even insertion so as to assert themselves in this country. The process of acculturation was relatively slow since the arrival of immigrants was a staggered process spread over a number of years. Segregation and later on apartheid, both exercised laws and numerous separate development Acts, restrictions on education, exorbitant import taxes, dictation of dress codes in the work place had all meant that the growing Indian population was forced to accept and adopt western concepts as well as modes of living.

Certain areas like 'traditional' dance, religious practices and marriage rituals have resisted changes. However, apartheid and its imposed restrictions, which brought with it humiliation and extreme hardships and changes in economic and social structures, has contributed to a popular construct of 1ndianness.' This construction is *a pastiche* or *mélange* (which refers to a sort of mixing) that allows a rich heritage, which dates back more than 5000 years, to fit into a mosaic of cultural heritages that make up contemporary South African Society.

The fore mentioned notion of *pastiche is* borrowed from the **postmodern** idea the theory of which will be applied in this study. The post-modernist view contributes to a set of concepts regarding questions of self-awareness and places emphasis on the complexity of previous cultural knowledge. The post-modernist view also takes into account the modalities in which historical and philosophical perspectives are manipulated to form new products. It is my hypothesis that the construct of an 'Indian identity and culture' in South Africa is related to these modalities.

In applying theories which describe culture as a set of resources which consists of languages, traditions, habits as well as other cultural expressions as described by Gronbreck (1990) and culture as described by Sir Edward Tylor, and theories of hegemony, the strategies of which are used by governments and characterised by force, this study will seek to examine the way 'Indian culture' is imaged on *Impressions.*

Chapter 1 will provide an historical perspective that will situate the Indian community in South Africa. It will then proceed to describe the conditions endured by Indian Indentured Labourers and the consequent construction of 'Indianness.' *Chapter 2* will explore the concepts of culture and ethnicity and their relevance in contemporary society. *Chapter 3* concentrates on 'Indian culture' exploring its history and diversity, and will attempt to identify the metamorphosis of traditional Indian culture in South Africa.

The focus of Chapter 4 will shift to television culture (Fiske 1989) and the representation of 'Indian culture' in the electronic media. Applying the concepts of the previous chapters, *Chapter 5* will introduce the case study of *IMPRESSIONS,* to determine the way in which culture is constructed and imaged on the programme.

NOTES

1. Although Wirth's definition of minorities did embrace both racial and cultural minorities, his main concern centered on that of the cultural minorities.
2. The political phrase 'non-dominant' was used at the time to exclude from the need of protection, those white populations that were on the ascend in Africa and Asia.

3. The involvement of the state will introduce a specific ideology regarding the construction of a 'popular national culture.' The freedom to choose a preferred ideology therefore comes into question and the use of the term 'popular' maybe inappropriate.

CHAPTER ONE:
An Historical Perspective of the South African Indian

> "... considerable *apprehension was at once experienced as to the sanitation of the vessel. 7hanks to the baseless figments, so Industriously circulated by certain agitators, Coolies had come to be associated with cholera and other epidemic evils. But happily on Saturday morning every fear was set at rest by the favourable report of Dr Holland, the health officer who boarded the Truro at daylight. Most of the spectators who were present had been led to expect a lot of dried-up, vapid and sleepy-looking anatomies. They were agreeably disappointed. As the swarthy hordes came pouring out of the boat's hold, laughing, jabbering and staring about them with a well-satisfied expression of self-complacency on their* faces, *they hardly realised the idea one had formed regarding them and their faculties..."*

The above is an extract which appeared in *7he Natal Mercury* on November 22nd 1860. The lead story *read "7he Coolies Here"* and described the anchorage of the large barque, *The Truro,* on the l6th of November at the Point, having a large number of 'Coolies' aboard.

In 1957, Dr Mabel Palmer wrote of the coming of Indians to Natal as been *"no spontaneous uncontrolled movement of adventurous individuals seeking a better livelihood than their home country gave them. "* He described the move as a part of an elaborate system organised and controlled by the governments of Great Britain and India[1]. The tripartite pact which the governments of India, Great Britain and Natal were involved in, was realised with the arrival of the first Indians in South Africa in 1860.

The emigration of Indians across the Indian Ocean is an age-old tradition. Pineo (1984) writes of the task of the Indian missionaries to spread the message of Bhudda around the world. With this task at hand, they traveled outside India's boundaries and brought far-off lands under the spell of Indian civilisation. The epoch - making event of Vasco de Gama's discovery of a new world had far-reaching repercussions on the 'old' eastern civilisations, particularly that of India. Having survived the invasions by the Moguls and the arrival of the Portuguese in 1510, India saw the arrival of the Dutch, French and finally the British in India (Pineo 1984 : 10). After the capture of the island of L'isle de France; which is now referred to as Mauritius, the British government imported the idea of forced labour to their new territory (Ibid: 13)[2] The first group of Indians arrived in Mauritius in 1816. They were convicts whose labour was required to repair the roads on the island. The convict labourers provided the workforce for the public works for more than twenty years and by 1837, the supply of forced labour had ceased from the Indian sub-continent. This was followed by the introduction of the Indian agricultural labourers under contract (Bissoondayal 1984: 5). In 1829, the first Indian agricultural labourers under contract arrived in Mauritius. They were a group of Indians and Chinese recruited from Madras, Calcutta and Singapore. They were immediately engaged in the plantation fields. The viability of sugar production was evident, but due to the ever-threatening fear of emancipation, the landowners sold their land to the first bidder.

With the success of the Indentured Indian in the sugar plantations of Mauritius, and the unreliable nature of the natives in Natal, a request was made to India for coolies to emigrate to Natal. The request was preceded by visits from sugar producers from Mauritius who concluded that with the similarities in climate and the fertile nature of the soil, as well as the expertise of the Indian natives who were familiar with these conditions, the importation of Indian labour would yield great profit to the suffering British colony who did not have a reliable workforce to yield good crops in Natal. Negotiations to import Indian labour to Natal lasted for the duration of 1859[3]. The *Belvedere* left Calcutta on 4th October 1860 with 310 passengers aboard and the Truro departed eight days later from Madras with 342 passengers destined for the plantations of Natal. The Truro had docked at Durban harbour on November 16th. The Truro had aboard 340 labourers which comprised 197 men, 89 woman and 54 children. Amongst the passengers were 101 Hindu's, 78 Malabars, 61 Christians, 16 Muslims, 1 Rajput and 1 Marathee. Ten days later saw the arrival of the *Belvedere.* On board were 69 gardeners, 61 Brahmins[4], 25 Chutrees or warriors, 18 dairymen, 16 pig rearers, 14 fruit growers, 14 potters, 9 clerks, 8 herdsmen, 7 boatmen, 6 leather-workers, 5 policemen, 5 messengers, 5 laundrymen, 4 oil pressers, 4 ironmongers, 3 undertakers, 2 barbers, 2 hunters, a confectioner, a weaver and a dealer in earthen ware (Palmer: 1957).[5] The Indentured Indians on their arrival were classified as people without professions or skills. Their sole purpose in South Africa and in Natal was to tend the sugarcane plantations.

The arrival of indentured Indians continued 1866. The world depression had forced the cessation of importing labour but by 1872 Indian immigration was resumed (Arkin 1989: 4) After this period there was the arrival of Indians from India who came as traders. They included the Gujerati, Muslims and Hindus from Surat and Navsari, the Memons and Loowanahs from Kathiawar and the Kokanis and Khojas from Bombay [6]. Indentured labour had continued until 1911 and almost 9% of the immigrants had migrated to other parts of South Africa. The system of indenture had proved an immediate success to the sugar industry that saw a rise in price of exports. Many historians and sociologists have expressed the view that this system of indenture was in fact a 'sophisticated form of slavery.' Hassim Seedat considers that the   conditions endured by the Indians were appalling. He states that,

> *"The labourers were housed on the estates and were virtually serfs through a system of laws designed in theory for their own protection, but in fact it had worked to the benefit of their employers. They had to make their own shelters from whatever material was available, were fined for falling ill and missing-out work and were treated with total contempt by the colonists. (Indian Annual 1989: 76).*

On arrival the indentured labourer was bound to a ten year working contract of intense labour. He or she was employed on sugar estates in the coastal belt of Natal stretching from Verulum in the north to
Umzinto in the South. They were also employed in the Camperdown and Piertemaritzburg districts. The labourers had to contend with rations and immoral treatment and most of all unfulfilled promises. On the
Completion of five year contract the returning Indians were to have received payment of ten shillings in excess of their wage but this never materialised. This would have covered the costs of a passage back to India. The consequent success of those Indians who did not return to India and who endeavoured beyond the label of a labourer had invoked fear in the white colonists of Natal. They were, according to the South
African Laws 13, 14 & 15 of 1859 [7], allowed to purchase their freedom after three years and the rate at which many indentured Indians terminated their contract caused further concern to the colonists. The
'free Indian' leased land from the colonists who predicted the de-evaluation in the price of land due to the presence of the 'Coolies.' With the ever determined enthusiasm of the Indian people, and their remarkable cultivation skills, they converted unproductive land into gardens with fruit and vegetable crops. In 1895, the Natal government passed Act 17 that introduced a £3 poll tax for Indians. It is this that led to political activism among the Indians.

In subsequent years, the Indians were employed in the coalmines in Northern Natal, on white farms in the boarder areas. They also constituted a significant proportion of the Natal Government's Railways and by 1904 they were to be found in every Natal district as municipal workers, waiters, servants interpreters and a multitude of other occupations (Ibid).

THE INDIAN EXPERIENCE SUBSEQUENT TO THE ARRIVAL OF MAHATHMA GANDHI IN SOUTH AFRICA

The year 1893 saw the arrival of a young Indian barrister in Durban from the state of Gujerat. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's services were secured by Karim Jhaveri of Dada Abdulla & Co. He was to offer his expertise in a £40 000 lawsuit against a rival firm in Pretoria (Calpin 1949: 10). On his arrival, Gandhi was not aware of the racial tensions that were brewing in Natal. During his journey in a first-class
compartment on a train from Durban to Pietermaritzburg, Gandhi was thrown off the train because of his skin colour. His stay in South Africa lasted some twenty years during which Gandhi practised law in the
Transvaal and Natal. It was during this period that he moulded his philosophy of *Satyagraha* and planted the seed of Passive Resistance in the Indian Community, the first use of which was made at a meeting in the Transvaal in September 1906. The history of Gandhi's life in South Africa has been well documented for it is his leadership in South Africa that catalysed India's move towards the fight for independence,
thereby becoming the worlds largest democracy.

Subsequent to their arrival, the Indian Community were subject to a multitude of laws. In 1895, Gandhi founded the *Natal Indian Congress* which served as a vehicle to political leadership. The cause of the congress was questioned as it was seen as an organisation to advance the causes of the more affluent members of the Indian community (this referred to the traders or the passenger Indian). In response to the reservations of the community, rival associations like the Natal Indian Patriotic Union, the Natal Colonial Born Indian Association and the Indian Association mushroomed (Indian Annual 1990: 82).

Legislated Laws Against the 1860 Indian Settler

Prior to Gandhi's arrival two laws were passed against the settlers. In 1885, the Coolies, Arabs and other Asiatic Act 3 prohibited the Indians to take up residence except in segregated areas. A law passed to amend Act 3 stipulated the denial of civil rights of the community. This meant that Indians were not allowed to own properties and were granted no political rights in the country. In 1891, the State Law of the Orange Free State stated the absolute prohibition of Indians and winding up of businesses in the region. The Dealers Licence Act of 1897 placed restrictions on Wholesale and Retail Trading-licences of Indians. In the same year, Law 3 prevented marriage across the colour line.

The movement of Indians within South Africa was monitored by the Immigration Restriction Act of 1905 in Transvaal that required a State issued permit. This permit served as a means of controlling the movement of Indians between the boundaries of the colonies of Transvaal and Natal which were governed separately. In 1907 the Asiatic Law Amendment Act stipulated the compulsory registration of Indians. Failure to comply with the act warranted a £3 fine or three months in jail. The Education Act No. 25 introduced the Segregation of Schools in Transvaal so that education was compulsory only for the whites.

With the termination of the importation of Indian labour there was a growing sense of concern regarding the permanent presence of a large number of Indians who were enterprising in their efforts and continued to adhere to 'alien' religions and cultures (Ibid: 92). The Immigration Regulation Act of 1913 saw the halt of immigration by Indians or anyone from Asia to South Africa. Gandhi's Passive Resistance campaign had resulted in the Smuts - Gandhi Agreement (Pachai 1971: 287) [8] where an agreement was reached in the form of the exchange of letters. It was with this agreement that Gandhi promised to suspend the Passive Resistance Campaign that had been implemented in the 1913 (Arkin 1989: 6). The following year, Parliament passed the Indian Relief Act that provided for a free passage to India, to any Indian in South Africa who was prepared to surrender his or her South African domicile rights. Cash bonuses were introduced to encourage the repatriation of Indians. By July 1927, 23 029 Indians were repatriated. Also included in the Act was the abolishment of the £3 Tax. Marriages according to Indian rites were also recognised. This was also applicable to marriages that took place in India was important seeing that, prior to the introduction of the Indian Relief Act, the children and wives of the Indentured labourers were not permitted entry into South Africa. A significant factor associated with the Act was the almost immediate transfer of money in cases of death of husbands or father. The Indian woman no longer had to endure the separation from family nor her right to the estates of her husband (1989:10). Despite the abolishment of the aforementioned restrictions, the movement of Indians within South Africa was still restricted. The Act did not receive unanimous support (Meer 1969: 32) and Smuts saw it as the solution to the conflict in South Africa. Gandhi however, saw the agreement as a beginning of Indo-white relationships and regarded it as the Magna Charta of Indian liberty in South Africa (Joshi 1942: 75).

The body of Legislation against Indians is large and are summarised in *Appendix One*. For the remainder of the Chapter 1 will discuss what I consider to be the most significant Acts. In 1927, Indians were prohibited from going and trading in Vryheid in Northern Natal. The numerous Class Areas Bill and the Areas Reservations Acts had damaged the pride and integrity of the Indian. Having received repeated letters of complaint; the government of India called for a Round Table Conference where an agreement was reached to provide assistance to the emigration or repatriation of Indians and the entry of wives and children from the sub-continent as well as the upliftment of the Indian community. In addition to these agreements, there would be the appointment of an Indian Official in South Africa (Arkin 1989: 6). In January 1932 a second Round Table Conference was convened that set-out to explore the possibility of relocating the Indians in another British colony so as to 'minimise the influence of western standards' (Bagwandeen 1989: 9). Consequently there was the establishment of the Indian Colonisation Inquiry to assess the schemes. However, the inquiry had failed to resolve the issue.

In 1836, the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act 30 placed restrictions on Indian occupation of land and trading. At this time, no legal restrictions relating to occupation and acquisition of land existed in Natal. Still, the constant cry from the whites of 'Indian Penetration' rang out. The period following 1940 introduced a newfound antipathy of the whites for the Indian community. In 1941, a resolution was passed that exempted those with long-standing businesses from the operations of the laws in the area of Transvaal. In 1943, the government introduced the Trading and Occupation of Land Act Restriction Bill in both Transvaal and Natal. The legislation was named *'The Pegging Act'* for it was literally designed to 'peg' the situation of Indian penetration[9]. The protest against the *'Pegging Act'* had strengthened the weakening unity among the members of the Indian community. The tensions that existed dealt with the conflicting principles of the NIC and other rival organisations named earlier on in the chapter. The Act had represented the decisive step towards entrenching segregation in South Africa (Walshe 1970: 35). Indians reacted to the Act with an aggressive and militant spirit (Arkin 1989: 8). The leadership of the NIC was transformed from a

moderate leadership to one of aggression and spirit. Dr YM Dadoo became the Indian Leader in Transvaal and Dr Monty Naicker lead the Indians in Natal. Both men invoked the 'radical spirit' within the community.

In 1946, the *Pegging* Act expired but was replaced by the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, 28 which restricted transactions of Indians in relation to acquisition and occupation of fixed property. The NIC launched a plan to initiate a prolonged resistance to the legislation. The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act became known as the "*Ghetto Act.*' The Passive Resistance campaign against this legislation galvanized the Indian community into taking unified action on a national basis rather than on sectarian lines (Arkin 1989: 14). Following the plan of the NIC, Passive Resistance camps were established in the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape Province. Bagwandeen (1989) notes that although the Cape Colony was not affected by the Act, Indians in the Cape had wished to identify fully with the struggle of the Indians in South Africa. On Thursday, 13 June 1946, *The Leader* [10] described the city of Durban as being 'dead.' It was on this day that the Indians demonstrated the intense humiliation that they were subjected to in the country. After an historic mass meeting of more than 15 000 Indians and a few white supporters, Dr Naicker and Mr. MD Naidoo marched to the intersections of Gale Street and Umbilo Road in Durban and pitched tents on a vacant piece of municipal land. In using the Gandhian philosophy of Passive Resistance, Dr Naicker announced the beginning of a long struggle (Ibid: 15). Although the campaign failed to annul the Ghetto Act, it contributed to establishing a world opinion on Apartheid and the conditions of the non-white South African community.

The UN, on the insistence of the Indian Government, took up the issue of the Indians in South Africa and Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, who led the Indian delegation, saw the position of the Indians as a world issue (Bagwandeen 1983: 1). General Jan Smuts conceived of the issue as being a purely domestic nature. The Franco - Mexican Resolution prescribing that the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa should conform with international codes resulted from the talks. The news of the resolution was seen as a human rights victory for the Indians in South Africa but failed to improve and amend the Indo-white relations in the country.

In 1948, Dr DF Malan was elected as the leader of the Nationalist Party. He was adamant that the domestic conflict in South Africa should be free from outside interference. It was during August of this year that Dr Malan announced in the House of Assembly the Government's future plans to implement the policy of **'Apartheid'** (Pachai 1971: 220). This announcement confirmed the new Government's intention to proceed with the implementation of 'separate development' despite international objection [11].

In 1950 the infamous Group Areas Act 41 was promulgated. The Act was directed to all the non-white groups in South Africa. After much discussion, there was no doubt that the Indian community were unanimous with their sentiments regarding the law" (Bhana 1984 : 213). The Group Areas Act was in effect an extension of the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1937. The consequences of the Act were far reaching, and placed strain on the economic prosperity of the Indian community. This also put on their livelihood as well as their safety in society. The impact of the Group Areas Act was responsible for the bringing together of the executive committees of the African National Congress[12] and NIC who jointly engaged in a Defiance Campaign on 26 June 1952 [13]. The Defiance Campaign served to remind the international community of the discriminatory practices of the South African government against the non-whites.

Even after 90 years in the country, Indians in South Africa still were still considered the hope of the repatriation of a large majority of Indians continued. [I would like to add that I am in no way denying that the racial tensions of the other non-white communities were less than the Indians, for the practice of discrimination included all the non-white communities in South Africa]. The UN failed in its continuous attempts to resolve the grievances of the Indian community and in 1961Dr HF Verwoerd, after one year as Prime Minister of South Africa, withdrew from the British Commonwealth of Nations thereby establishing the Republic of South Africa. It was at this stage that the Indian community of South Africa was granted the status of permanent residents (Arkin 1989: 17). The discrimination continued, but the community were given representation on advisory boards and in 1961 there was the establishment of the Local Affairs Committee and the South African Indian Council. In 1968, the South African Indian Council was inaugurated as a statutory body with nominated members (Ibid: p18). From their inception, both groups were accused of promoting ethnicity. This was an area that brought about great divisions in the local Indian community in which certain members believed that participation in such organisations was a reinforcement of the apartheid ideology.

In 1983, only 18 - 20% of Indian South Africans voted for candidates in the House of Delegates in the tri-cameral system of Parliament which excluded the black majority of South Africa. This gave a 'sample' of power to the Indian and coloured communities of South Africa who still answered to the National Party. April 1994 saw the emergence of a new Government of National Unity who have as a task to right the wrongs of apartheid. Many agree that it will be a long, enduring process to restore the dignities of those discriminated against. Till this day, the Indians

of South Africa are involved in this process of reconstruction and development and along with the other members of South African society, will play an essential role in realising the dream of a truly democratic country.

Education and Community Development

Despite the restrictions placed on the Indian community they managed to make progress, not only in the field of politics, but also in the field of Education. The struggle for education began in 1867 when Father Labou established a private school for 30 pupils [14]. The task of educating the Indian child was in the hands of the Christian missionaries (Lazarus 1985) for no other provisions were made for the schooling of Indian children in South Africa. In 1872, there was the appointment of a commission to give attention to the need to educate Indian children. In 1875, a policy was implemented that approved the attendance of Indian children to white schools. Through the insistence of the community, a school was opened in Durban in 1899 (Ibid: 107). It was plagued with the problems of shortage of teachers, over-crowding and the conditions were basically   not conducive to learning. The curriculum was designed by the white

Education Department and vernaculars were not taught at schools. The crisis in education was ignored by authorities, and in 1907, the education Act No 25 was implemented in the Transvaal that made

Education compulsory only for the whites. In 1927, the 'upliftment clause', an agreement between India and South Africa, required the Union Government to ensure that Indians do not lag behind the rest of   the country regarding education (Ibid: 107). Secular education had proceeded with the traditional English method that differed from the traditional Indian methods of teaching which further amplified the problems of the Indian child. Tertiary education was only made available to Indians after 1936. Before this, students wishing to pursue a tertiary education were compelled to go abroad. The admittance of Indians into tertiary institutes was characterised by segregated classrooms. Failure by the government to erect proper schools saw the community build their own schools.

To pursue the struggle against apartheid many Indians studied law. In addition to their interest in the legal field the Indian community has produced a number of top education officers and medical professionals. A survey by the Institute of Race Relations in 1951 revealed that there were, less than 100 years after their arrival, 95 000 economically active   Indians in South Africa. By 1960 this figure had accelerated to 126 000. After ten years the figure available was 182 000 and in 1990 there was more than 350 000. To date there are approximately 503 000 economically active Indians in the field of textiles and manufacturing as   well as the wholesale and retail trade, the civil service, police force and   armed forces, the food industry, commerce, and construction etc[15]. More than 20% of the seats in Parliament today are occupied by Indians. Mr. HB Singh concedes that the Indian vision of education has remained a process of assimilation for material advancement (Indian Annual 1990: 149). The curriculum developed for Indian schools had entrenched many values of the west. The processes of educating the indentured labourers and their descendants have afforded the community access to a pausity of information. However, during this education process the South African Indian has also developed a pride that was absent on the arrival of the first group of indentured Labourers. The pride and knowledge to compete successfully in a progressive society.

Having been subjected to the numerous restrictions and being forced to develop under laws of segregation, the 1860 settlers have evolved and endured processes of assimilation; acculturation and appropriation and accordingly we have the construction of an 'Indianness' that experienced varying degrees of change since 1860. The concepts of acculturation, assimilation and appropriation will be discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 2 will explore the complex notion of culture and ethnicity.

Notes

1. This was contained in his writings ***The Indians as a South African*** (1957) (Johannesburg : SAIRR)
2. Forced labour refers to the age-old tradition in India whereby landowners stood under the obligation to provide labour for the State. However, with a decrease in the labour-force, the State used convicts as additional hands.
3. On November 16th 1994, Dr IC Meer member of the ANC and NIC, recounted the events that preceded the arrival of indentured Indian labourers in South Africa an SABC's breakfast television show. The date marked the 130th anniversary of their arrival.
4. The Brahmins occupy the highest place m the Hindu Caste system
5. The descriptions of the indentured Indian refutes the notion that the settlers were recruited from the 'untouchable' or Harijans of India. They belonged to the lowest caste in India.
6. From a speech delivered by Professor S Bhanna (1985) at the Talk programme: 125th Anniversary of Indentured Indian Labour To South Africa (Local History Museum: Durban)
7. **Natal Ordinances, Law and Proclamation Vol 1 (1943 - 1870)** Natal Archives: Pietermaritzburg. Pp246-282.

8. For an evaluation of the agreement, refer to Narain, I. (1962) *The Politics of Racialism: A study of the Indian Minority in South Africa Right down to the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement* (Agra: Agralwal)

9. Subsequent to 1943, Smuts had been cautious with the implementation of legislation that restricted the rights of Indians to property in because of the international implications and South Africa's relationship with India.

10. This Indian 'community newspaper' was launched during November 1940. The paper was introduced to serve the needs and express the opinions of the Indian community.

11. Despite the fact that policy of Apartheid was announced in 1948, separate development acts were part of South Africa's development for many years prior to the announcement.

12. In the same year, the ANC celebrated its first anniversary.

13. Pachai (1971,p221) describes this as the first time that Indians and Blacks worked together in a national political movement.

14. Dr M Naidoo (1989) from *Educational Development of Indians* in Arkin, A. *The Indian South Africans* (South Africa: Owen Burgess) p103

15. These figures were obtained from the 1985 and 1990 issue of the **Indian Annual.** This is an annual publication by the Indian Academy of South Africa. The publication is supported by the business and cultural sectors of the Indian Community. The publisher Mr TP Naidoo sees this publication as being a means of communication among all the peoples of South Africa, for it is the platform of culture that will facilitate this process.

CHAPTER TWO:
Defining the Concept of Culture and Ethnicity
A. Culture

The **World Book Dictionary** (1993) Vol 23, A-K p505, defines culture as:
... the fineness of feelings, thoughts, tastes or manners and refinement. Anthropology defines culture as the civilization of a given time or overall time; its customs, its arts and its convinces. It also refers to socially inherited articles or the development of the mind or body by education and training...

The definition of culture contains the complex nature of everyday human life and has many approaches to defining it. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will examine the anthropological and cultural studies approach of culture. In doing so, I can reveal the way in which I arrived at my understanding of culture as applied in this study.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL DEFINITIONS OF CULTURE
The concept of culture derives from the Latin term cultura and *culturas* , which originally referred to cultivation or agri - culture. Yes, the origins of the concept of culture can be found in the idea of the cultivation of the soil and carries with it the quality of being cultivated. Over the years, the concept of culture has become transformed into a condition (Freilich 1989: 2). Let me now; further describe the anthropological approach to culture. The concept of culture dates back to many years ago and was articulated by anthropology. The ideas of '*building and being cultivated*' which are associated with culture have been integrated into the multitude of definitions of culture that exist today. Sir Edward
Tylor (1871) has provided the definition that has been most accepted by anthropologists. His definition includes the notion of a superior civilisation. He defines culture as:
> *... culture, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole   which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society[1]*

In its broadest sense, culture attempts to bring men/women's actions and meanings down to the most basic level of significance, to examine them in universal terms and to understand them (Wagner 1975: 2). The concept of culture as described by Freilich (1989) is that term in Anthropology that enjoyed the 'magical quality' for many decades in many societies [2]. Although anthropology has laid claim to the discovery of culture with their discoveries of

ancient civilisation, literature suggests that it was in fact culture that promoted the discipline of anthropology and gave it prominence in the social sciences (Wagner 1975: 5).

David Schneider's theory of culture takes into account the difference between culture and social norms. He provides a theatrical definition of culture as that which concerns the stage, the stage setting and the cast of character [3]. Let me expand on Schneider's theory and what is meant by 'norms.' These 'norms' refer to a guide to action and detailed specific instructions for how the culturally significant parts of the act are performed, and the context in which they are performed (Schneider 1974:200). There seems to be a symbiotic relationship that exists between culture and norms. They appear to function as a subsystem in our socio-culture existence. In this regard, it is important to note that the human learned experience derives from that which is passed down through generations, and this contributes to the formulation of norms that define the parameters of a society. In defining the parameters of a society, these norms become the definition of the culture of a society.

Schneider also associates culture with a system of symbols and meaning. Symbols in this context, refer to the basic premises that a culture posits for life. It also refers to what the units of the culture consist of, how these units are defined and differentiated, and how they form an integrated order or classification (Ibid: 202). Other characteristics to be considered in defining culture are the relationships of the symbols to the world, the way in which these symbols exist, and finally the way humankind relates to the multitude of symbols encountered.

In studying the concept of culture, it became evident to me that the definition of culture, depends on the person defining culture, for his/her ideology and discipline will influence their definition. History has evolved such that culture has developed so that the misinterpreted and poorly understood concept, takes on more complicated meanings. Kaplan (1972) presents culture as "a class phenomena conceptualised by anthropologists in order to deal with questions they are trying to answer." Freilich (1989) suggest the continual redefinition of culture as having the effect of in fact devaluing the essence of culture.

Anthropologists have, since Sir Edward Tylor's classic definition of culture, argued intensely regarding the countless definitions, and which one should be used. However, despite the fact that the definitions were of different origins, the basis of every definition allowed for the uniqueness of man, for culture is not confined to a specific people but belongs to all of mankind. Consequently, in response to the sociological, and in many cases even the physiological aspects of an area, man 'invents' and develops his own culture. The basic definition of the anthropological approach as applied by Kroeber and Klukhorn (1972) who define culture as a manmade part, of the environment. This implies that culture is a way of life of a particular group of people in a particular point in their history. Kuppusami (1993) in his book on ***Tamil Culture in South Africa*** refers to the anthropologists' view of human beings who are composed of socially and biologically inherited factors. Because culture is a learned phenomenon, we can therefore consider culture to be an aspect of social heredity.

Trying to come to terms with the myriad of terms and definitions of culture, anthropologists have further complicated the issue by further dividing culture into a *general culture* and *a unique culture* (Schneider 1974: 533). General culture refers to the universal human qualities or phenomena of humans. A unique culture refers to the particular variations of the universal phenomena of culture.

Kroeber and Kulkhorn (1952) illustrated types of definitions of the concept of culture. The first is described *as a comprehensive totality* which deals with the content of culture and the location of behaviour within a particular community. The second definition of culture refers to *social heredity*. The third definition concerns culture as a way of life. The fourth definition is associated with *psychology* where the learning adjustments and habits of human life are taken into consideration. The *organisation* and `*patterning* ' of culture is the fifth definition provided which introduces the notion of culture as systematic. The sixth definition of culture as provided by Kroeber and Klukhorn, views culture as an accumulated product. In merging all six definitions they arrive at the following definition:

> *Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human* groups, *including their embodiments in* artefacts; *the essential* core to culture consists of *(i.e. that which is historically derived and selected) ideas especially their attached values;* culture *systems may, on the one hand, be considered as conditioning of action, and on the other hand as conditioning elements of further action* [4].

The anthropological approach to culture is apparently based on the same principles as the discipline of anthropology for both allow for the evolution, development and behaviour of human beings.

At this point in the chapter, I would like to mention Darwinian Theory to the evolution of culture and cultural traits and symbols. As discussed in an earlier paragraph, we may define culture in terms of social heredity. We may apply Darwinian theory to culture, for like genes, cultural information is transmitted from one individual to another. Darwin showed that we must understand how events in the lives of individuals affect the frequency of

behavioural and morphological variations in a population and how these are transmitted from one generation to the next (Freilich 1989: 120). In taking Darwinists' perspective to the approach of culture we may firstly assume that the cultural system is an adaptation shaped by a natural selection, and seek to explain culturally acquired behaviours in terms of their adaptive functions. Secondly, we have to consider the way in which cultural transmission takes place. Cultural transmission refers to the duplication of texts (Thompson 1990: 165)[5].

Pieter Richardson and Robert Boyd describe culture and the theory of culture that combines the substantive and methodological aspects of Darwinism to be the most useful definition of culture. It is imperative that human capacity for culture and cultural traits be understood as   m adaptations. To facilitate an understanding of the cause of human behaviour, there exists a need to have a theory that specifies how cultural and genetic processes affect the frequency of alternative culturally transmitted behaviours in the human population (Ibid: 123).

ALTERNATIVE DEFINITIONS OF CULTURE

In South Africa Key concepts: The Uses and Abuses of Political Concepts (1988*)* Robert Thornton refers to three successive conceptions of culture. The *Romantic idea* of culture that draws upon the philosophy of Hegel is that culture is the organic product of a people or nation. A second description of culture describes culture in the form of myths, political speeches, religious beliefs, ideologies, history and tradition that has a social function requiring culture to exist as a whole. A third definition *of* culture by Thornton refers to the *Modernist* idea of culture. This paradigm had retained the notion that culture is uniquely associated with a single society or nation. Unlike the Romantic notion of culture, the modernist idea of culture asserts that culture functions to maintain society and it is historical in nature, thereby taking on different characteristics and changing over time. These concepts of culture support my earlier arguments dealing with the notion of culture as a socio- cultural coexistence.

Dian Joubert in an article entitled <u>Towards a Human Sociology</u> [6]considers culture to be the most over conceptualised and over theorised concept in social thought. Technological advancements and the process of commodification as described by Marx's Labour Theory of Value, have increased the proportion of social objects sold in the market place. Objects that are commodities and that had no previous value, gain a special significance and become the central desire of a society. Consequently, according *to* Marx we see the emergence of what he terms modern culture that is afflicted by commodity fetishism, altering the anthropological definitions of culture. There was a need to replace and in essence, modify traditional and conventional definitions of culture as recorded by the anthropological specialists. It was at this juncture that the Cultural studies approach was initiated.

CULTURE AND CULTURAL STUDIES

The 'cultural studies' approach developed in Britain and has had immense complexities attached to it. It was constructed out of the disciplines of Marxism, semiotics, post structuralism and ethnography (Fiske 1987: 1). The central concern in cultural studies involves the question of what type of culture society is creating. Central notions in this paradigm refer to the concepts of *ideology, culture and hegemony.* The cultural studies approach takes into consideration the impact of ideology and hegemony on culture and finds that to understand a culture that is foreign to you, in order to comprehend the nexus of traits contained in a foreign culture, it is necessary to allow for the external factors that influenced this construct of culture. Ang and Morley (1989: 135-6) have argued against the transplanting of British cultural studies for it operates differently from one context to the next. Cultural studies is related to the specific character of local forms of political and intellectual discourses that shapes the construction of cultures. Cultural studies has become synonymous with a kind of post-modernism (Ibid: 3). It includes the notions of combining and pastiche.

In the article <u>Becoming Appropriately Modern: Towards a Geneology of Cultural Studies in South Africa.</u>**,** Muller and Tomaselli (1989) label cultural theory in South Africa as a ***conservative cultural theory*** which has resulted from the race and class differences in South Africa. Clavanism as introduced by Dutch reform, Neo Fichtean nationalism, liberal humanism, Althussarianism and anti-humanist structuralism have all contributed to cultural theory in the South African context. The state of cultural theory continues to be in flux, moving towards post-modernism.

If we explore the notion of *ideology* it is necessary to consider three important senses of the use of the term. Ideology refers to a specific kind of belief. Firstly, these beliefs are arranged around a body of central values (Abercrombie 1984: 118). These ideologies are oppositional to dominant institutions. Secondly, ideology refers to beliefs that are in some sense distorted and false (Ibid: 118). This concept of ideology is associated with Marxist literature. In this instance, ideology is determined by the economic arrangements of a society. Class interests in capitalist societies have also been responsible for distorting ideologies. These components of ideology lead to a dominant ideology and false consciousness. A third aspect of ideology concerns maintaining and accepting ideologies despite their accuracy to truth and reality. The combination of economic power and political domination

offers extreme resistance to the beliefs about proper conduct (Morley 1992: 8).The notion of ideology is accompanied by the notion of hegemony. The term was used by Gramsci to describe how the domination of one class over the other is achieved by a combination of political and ideological means (Abercrombie 1984: 111). Political force or coercion is very
important when we talk about ideology and is manipulated in the process of winning the consent of minority cultures or groups. The state is instrumental in the coercion and winning of consent. Through the hegemonic framework there is a continual suppression of individual opinion and rights. At this stage for example, minorities, unable to withstand the power of the hegemonic grid, succumb to the dominant
ideologies. The culture of such societies is therefore not an accurate representation of all. Therefore, in defining culture today, we must take into consideration the notion of hegemony which contributes to the
shaping and construction of a local ideology or culture.

In South Africa, it is possible to identify the dialectic intermingling of the hegemonic white culture and Indian culture. The South African Indian has succeeded in incorporating the hegemonic grid of western South African culture and still maintain their individuality and uniqueness as Indians. The hegemony prescribed by apartheid demanded the assimilation by the Indian settlers into the dominant white ideology. A dialectic of these two forces has developed into what can be termed a **transculturation** where a selective but suitable compromise is reached between conflicting cultures.

POST-MODERNISM'S CONTRIBUTION TO CULTURE
Thorntorn defines the post-modern concept of culture in terms of resources and concludes:
> *Today, culture is best thought of as a resource, like other resources, such as energy, sunlight and food; it cannot belong exclusively to any one individual. All individuals must have access*
> *to at least some of the resources to survive. (Ibid: 88)*

The post-modern philosophy disregards historical and social contexts, and mixes contexts freely. At the same time it caters to nostalgia and images borrowed from the past (Mestrovic 1991: 20). Crook (1992) sees post-modern culture as being understood as an extension and intensification of differentiation, rationalisation and commodification which dissolves the regional stability of modern culture and reverses it. I am using the post -modern approach in my study as the post modern view contributes to a set of concepts regarding questions of self-awareness and places emphasis on the complexity of previous knowledge. The post-modernist view also takes into account the modalities in which historical and
philosophical perspectives are manipulated to form new products. The progressive nature of South African Indian culture is an example of, in a sense, an extension of 'traditional Indian' culture that was brought to
South Africa by the 1860 settlers. Through the years, the South African Indian has, in response to the racist ideologies that characterised the South African government, managed to arrive at what I term, their
own meaning of symbols and cultural modalities of 'traditional Indian culture.' This will be discussed in slightly more detail in the next chapter. In my opinion, the most commendable point of post-modernism lies in its attempt to breakdown the boundaries that have existed between categories like culture, economy, polity and society, for it is clearly evident that all these factors play an equal role towards the contribution
of the construction of a public sphere as described by Habermas, who had envisaged a place for a moral public sphere in which all groups are equally represented (Crook 1992 : 17). The change in agenda of culture, society and politics that are advocating, the shift away from the hegemonic grid, require the adoption of this post-modern approach to culture and thereby arrive at the most appropriate solution towards a true democracy. Although the post-modern approach to culture advances the transformation towards a 'new mix of ideas' it in no way disregards the traditional practices, instead it transforms them by removing the previous rigidity that existed within cultural theory (1992: 20).

It is important to understand that within societies there exist a number of different cultures referred to as *Subcultures.* The definition of subculture connotes groupness and includes a host of units such as occupation, ethnicity etc (Dodd 1982: 64). Boulding (1972: 143) has described subcultures as those groups that are more or less isolated from the rest of society. These subcultures or minority groups struggle to assert themselves in the context of the broader society. The incorrect images that are associated with these subcultures are reinforced through communication. The success in finding a suitable place in society will contribute to the establishment of a public sphere where each subculture is entitled to equal access to all resources. However, an indispensable component of working towards a public sphere is the notion of *ethnicity.*

B. Ethnicity

With the re-emergence of virulent nationalism globally, particularly in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Republics, ethnicity has come to occupy an important place on the social and political agenda's of many societies. For many years, ethnicity has been described as a 'dirty word [7] owing to its many unwanted ideological components. The preoccupation of 'the present' m rediscovering the past and hanging-on to old traditions has brought much criticism to ethnicity. The Nation-State, which has emerged over the past 500 years, is held responsible for the concept of ethnicity (Nash 1989:2). The nation-state grew out of the colonising of cultures and the breaking down of traditions. In acquiring new societies, the nation- state consisted of cultural diversity within its borders. The insistence to retain individual cultures therefore led to the formation of ethnic groupings who were viewed as minorities.

The building blocks of ethnicity have bow the *body* which is the biological component expressed as blood, genes, bone and flesh, or common substance shared among group members. The oral or written forms of communication that contain specific modes of communication, meaning and stylistic elements that are unavailable in other groups, are also components of ethnicity. The shared history and origins that gives a sense of shared struggles, shared fate and common purpose of a group; the religious beliefs and practices that relate specifically to a group is the final component of ethnicity are also associated with ethnicity. Ethnicity has become linked with the concepts of race, nation, class and state. It is that process in which an ethnic group seeks to express itself and those characteristics peculiar to their group. In this process ethnicity emerges as a political conflict which is also associated with the economic and cultural conflicts that constitute a society (Nash 1989: 98). The differences that characterise humankind have seen the unavoidable formation of ethnic groups. Nash describes the formation of these ethnic groups as varying historically and their formation can be situated within a political or a cultural mode (Ibid: 125). The elements of ethnicity that contribute to the formation of ethnic groups occur in response to historical processes based on pre-existing elements of society and culture, and are fused with what Anderson (1983) has called an "imagined community" with a shared past and a common future. Keyes (1981) describes ethnicity as a reservoir for turbulence in a world where power, wealth and dignity are unevenly and illegitimately distributed within and among nations. The increasing pressures of the modern world have in effect produced a newfound interest in ethnicity. I say this in relation to the trend towards democracy whereby every individual is afforded the recognition of the his/her differences. It seems that despite the a attempts at many levels to develop a global culture and identity, which is in keeping with the age of technology and mass communication, human nature and the fact that we are each different will not be able to override the sentiments of ethnicity that are lodged within us.

When we consider ethnicity in the South African context, it has to be understood in terms of the influences of apartheid. It is important to admit that ethnicity, with all its 'perversions' is not going to just disappear from sight. Ethnicity has come to occupy the place of weaving itself into the mosaic of the same hierarchy state (Vail 1989: 90). That is a process of acculturation.

In taking into consideration the post-modern approach to culture and in recognising that ethnicity is an undeniable role player in the modern world as well as looking at the cultural diversity of South Africa, for the purposes of this dissertation I understand culture as being that which consists of a set of resources that include language, tradition and learned habits. In addition to these underlining factors, 1 understand that in addition to cultural diversity and ideology that contributes to culture one must also take into consideration the contribution of hegemonic forces towards this construct of culture.

In taking these concepts into consideration, Chapter 3 will attempt to show how 'Indian culture has been constructed in the South African context.

Notes

1. Definition as contained in Al Kroeber, ***Culture, a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*** Ethnology, vol 47 (1952)

2. *When Freilich uses 'magical quality' he refers to those objects that gain a significant place of recognition in society. Each society creating and defining their own, unique symbols that are nationally recognised.*

3. *Schneider, D. M (1972)* **What is Kinship all About?** *in Kinship Studies (Washington DC: A nthropology Society of Washington)*

4. *From Kroeber and Kulkhorn (1952)*

5. *Thompson, in an article entitled Cultural Transmission and Mass Communication defines the terms associated with the transmission of cultural modalities and the way mass communication has given new meaning to the concept of culture.*

6. *Thornton; R. (1990)* **Knowledge and Method in the Human Sciences** *(London: Routledge) Chapter 4*

*7. Dhianaraj, R Chetty from Columbia University, delivered a paper in September 1992 on **<u>Reading and Writing Ethnic Discourses</u>** at the **Conference** on **Ethnicity, society** and **Conflict** in Pietermaritzburg. It was at this conference that he discussed ethnicity and its label of being 'the dirty word.'*

CHAPTER THREE:
A Brief History of the Origins of 'Traditional Indian' Culture and South African 'Indian Culture

A. Brief History of Indian Culture

"*India, a country of startling contrasts: The breathtaking diversity of Indian civilisation springs from the land itself, snowbound mountains, tropical rainforests, arid deserts, fertile river valleys ...have all generated different lifestyles and cultures. Adding to this inherent diversity has been succeeding waves of migrants and invaders from beyond the northern mountains and the southern sea. Both the original and the immigrant cultures have been mutually enriched, while retaining their own distinctive identities ... All these elements have combined to create a multidimensional tapestry of stunning richness and depth that has come to be known as **Indian Culture** (Nehru 1994 : 1)*

It is necessary, for the purposes of this dissertation, to describe the history of 'Indian culture', for it is made-up of several different and diverse traditions, all of which contributed to Indian culture brought to South Africa by the 1860 and subsequent Indian settlers.

The history of Indian culture and civilisation dates from more than 3500 years ago. At the root of Indian culture was the growth of the Indus Valley region were archaeologists have discovered evidence of a developed civilisation. The Indus Valley was situated to the North West of India and got its name from the river that was adjacent to the valley, the Indus River. Excavations done in 1922 have discovered that the people who occupied the Valley were literate (Ibid). The inhabitants had eaten cereals, vegetable and fish, ornaments worn by the woman folk included earrings, bracelets and anklets. As cultural ritual, the people of the Indus Valley adorned trees with ornaments for they believed that spirits dwelled in the trees. The backbone of the Indus civilisation was agriculture and their apparently sophisticated methods of farming had sustained the people of the land. The methods of worship and various other cultural elements, that I will discuss shortly, have led anthropologists to the conclusion,' that these similarities still prevail in Indian culture today. It was at this trajectory that Indian culture originated.

Hindu was the name given to the people who lived in the land of the Indus Valley and through the mispronunciation of the word Indus, people who inhabited this region were called *Hindus.* In 1500 BC, the Aryans invaded the land of the Hindu's and have become known for their religious texts called the Vedas. The Vedas form the base of Hindu religion and philosophy and culture. (Through the course of my research, the one factor that came through from all the participants was that when you discuss Indian culture you are in essence also discussing religion, for culture and religion are synonymous) They settled in the region of the Sapta Sindu and it was at this juncture that the Aryan social system began. Much information regarding the Aryan social system and culture is available in the recordings of the Aryan's epic sagas of early India the **Ramayan** and the *Mahabaratha.* They were composed in verse and the spread of culture and religious philosophy was through Oral tradition.

The exceptional wealth and prosperity of India, had created interest in many parts of the globe, and consequently, in 326BC, Alexander the Great, King of Macedonia, invaded India. The period that followed his invasion saw the introduction of many different cultures, whose way of life and styles of art have become part of Indian culture. Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism were the most important religions in ancient India. The most notable characteristic of Indian culture was the tremendous level of cultural and religious diffusion that took place. The invasion by the Turks was preceded by the Mughal invasion of India in 1200AD. Islam was thus introduced to the regions. The conflicts that arause in India were phenomenal owing to the diversity of cultures that existed in the country. Through some miracle however, India has survived and has continued to grow. Another event that changed India was their contact with Europe that began with the arrival of the Portuguese who established Eastern port of Goa as their capital. It was in this way that European art was introduced into India.

B. Indian Culture

The complexities and varied components of Indian culture, makes it difficult to define. India has its own unique 'tribal' forms that vary from region to region. However, they all share a common heritage of myths and symbols[1]. Nevertheless, in examining Indian culture, it is possible, by use of the traditional definition of culture that includes, the arts, music, dance and language, to observe that Indian Philosophy and Arts are the most striking components of culture.

Music and dance are the most elemental forms of spontaneously expressing the entire gament of human emotions and experiences (Nehru 1994: 99). The classical art forms of Indian music and dance evolved during the powerful Gupta Empire, which laid down the 'canons of perfection' of Indian culture, adhered to until this day (Ibid: 96). Pounding drums and the classical *ragas* were used to express sentiments during the times of war and finally, the movements of the men and woman resulted in unique dance forms. The folk music and dances of communities were used to celebrate the 'myths' of life and the seasons, for they believed that, it was the Supreme Godhead that controlled the seasons and it was therefore necessary to pay homage to Him. Dance and music were used to express this emotion. The folk music that

resulted from the many regions contributed to the Indian *raga* which is the heart of Indian classical music as we know it today. One could say that the *raga* is a refined version of the 'tribal' or folk melodies.

Raga is a Sanskrit word, which literally means passion, colour and attachment, each one has a single colour or mood. There are two major traditions of Indian classical music, the North Indian *Hindustani*

and the South Indian *Carnatic* The folk dance used to express emotions that differed from region to region in India, all contributed to the classical dance styles of India. There are 6 major styles of Indian dance

-Bharata Nathyam, which originated from Tamil Naidoo, Odissa from Orissa, Manipur from Manipur, Kathak from Uttar Pradesh, Kathakali, a classical dance-drama from Kerala and Kanchipudi from Andhra

Pradesh. All these dance styles have links to medieval literary, sculptural and musical traditions. Language, which is another component of Indian culture, is also a complex issue. To date, there are more than 20 official languages in India. All 300 or so dialects of these languages originate from Sanskrit.

A striking component of Indian culture is social and family structures. This is evident in all the diverse 'Indian religious groupings.' For example, although Islam and Hinduism differ immensely as a religion and in cultural ritual, they both advocate certain basic characteristics that are based on the *joint- family* system. Here, we find that Indian culture prescribes the conglomeration of families, whereby three to four generations live together. In this arrangement, the entire **kutum** was involved in important decisions relating to questions of marriage and the choice of a suitable boy for the young girls. The word **Kutum** is a

Sanskrit word used to describe the extended family. The **kutum** also acted as marriage councillors, teachers and philosophers. It was through this arrangement that cultural ritual and wisdom were passed on to the

younger generations. Another common characteristic of Indian culture is *communal cooking* that ensured that all members of the family partook in healthy meals. Indian culinary secrets were exchanged in this manner.

Related to the value placed on family, is the importance placed on children and women. In many cases, the paternal grandparents who lived with their son took full responsibility of the care of his grandchildren. In this way, patterns of the elders were continued. I must admit, that the family system of Indian culture seems to have developed to ensure the propagation and sustenance of the patterns of older generations. The mother plays a very important role in the household but as tradition states her husband and children are her first priority.

Dress and cooking have become important signifiers of the reaffirmation of cultural heritages. These signifiers have come to adopt an important place in immigrant societies. The traditional dress of the Indian woman is the *sari* and the man the *dhoti.* The *salwar-khameez* is another traditional outfit that is worn as traditional Indian dress. The culinary delights of Indian Cooking are very popular and traditional home-made spices are the secret to the traditional curry recipe. These signifiers will be developed later in this chapter.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CULTURE

The coming of the 1860 settlers was of great significance since, not only did it alleviate the labour problem of Natal, it also introduced a new culture to South Africa. The Indian settlers would contribute to a new cultural environment that already comprised of a predominantly Zulu culture, an Afrikaner and an English culture. The settlers brought with them variegated complexities of their eastern culture for as was

explained in the previous paragraphs, India is a multi-religious country. In India there is the belief of *Unity in Diversity* [2]. Despite having carried these many complexities with them, the settlers who were not from the same regions of India, were considered a homogeneous society. There were several patterns of life

brought along with the Indian settler and these patterns were related to language and religious divisions of the Indentured labourer. The most significant difference noted was in terms of religion and geography.

The labourers that arrived were from the North and South of India. The other significant difference was between the Muslim and Hindu religion. Considering the diversities of Indian culture, one can therefore imagine the confusion that resulted on their arrival. However, through interviews with cultural leaders of the community and the president of the 1860 Settlers Association and through the vast body of literature regarding the community, we see that although tensions existed, the conditions and living arrangements of the Indian settlers had forced them, on their arrival [3], to overlook their differences and consider themselves a homogeneous community.

The Metamorphosis of Indian Culture in South Africa

The South African Indian has developed many aspects of Indian culture that was brought with him on his arrival. McCrystal (1967 : 1-11) describes the Indian settler as having moved towards accepting and adopting concepts and modes of living that were foreign to Indian culture. However, it must be noted that the process of acculturation was relatively slow initially, for the arrival of Indians was a staggered process that spread over a number of years (Pillay 1972 : 178). Acculturation refers to the adoption by an individual or group of the cultural patterns of another group that results in the process of social change caused by the interaction of significantly diverse cultures. This definition is contained in the writings of *Claude Wauthier in L'Afrique des Africains: L' Inventure de la Negritude* (1979) (Paris : Editions de Seuill) 63. The term has come to be used to describe the process of contacts between different cultures (Abercrombie et al 1984 : 1). This involves the assimilation by one group to the culture of another.

Acculturation could take place with direct social contact or by means of the mass media of communication. Although the process of acculturation suggests the deterioration of cultural values, the process can be described as dialectical. This is in reference to the process of cultural affirmation that takes place as a parallel development to acculturation. With the growth in an immigrant community, there is economic and social growth that produces a sense of cultural self confidence. The confidence constructs a sense of cultural affirmation which encourages the re-discovery of traditional culture. We may therefore conclude, that with the growing confidence of the ethnic minorities, a selective appropriation takes place. We have a resultant *transculturation* that incorporates the notions of tradition with conditions that suit the specific social, economic and political climates of the country. If we situate the South African Indian community within this context, we may conclude that the method and degree of appropriation that has taken place has been more or less balanced by the shifts in trends of Indian culture in South Africa.

The community was largely dependant on contact with India for the retention of culture in relation to books and other literature that contained the 'wisdom' of the Indian cultural heritage. The retention of cultural ties with India received a blow when in 1947; India suspended its ties with the Union of South Africa in protest against the hostile policy towards citizens of Indian origin. The determined Indian merchant still continued to import items of clothing and spices from India despite the economic boycott. However, it is a undeniable fact that the Indian community m South Africa has been influenced, to a certain degree, by the cultural patterns of the West. The arts and traditional cuisine, have maintained many cultural standards. This is also applicable to the cultural rituals of the community. Many foreign visitors have commented that in comparison to other Indian communities around the world, a large proportion of the South African Indian community has managed to retain their cultural rituals. In this process certain cultural information is distorted to be accommodated into contemporary society.

In relation to traditional dance, the Indians of South Africa have managed to sustain the two major dance styles that were brought to South Africa in 1860 which are the South Indian dance of Bharata Nathyam and Kathak from North India. A large number of dance schools have been established around the country, who function to promote the dance form and Indian culture. Many of the Kumari's [4] have travelled to the Indian subcontinent to study under distinguished dance Guru's. The increase in the number of students enrolling at the various dance academies show a positive move towards rediscovering Indian dance.

In the field of music, on their arrival in the country, many Indians had only a basic knowledge of Indian music, and the lack of availability of traditional musical instruments like the *thubla, harmonium, sitar and santoor* etc, meant that there were very few people that could impart the knowledge of music to the community. However, with the increasing contact with the Indian community of Mauritius, and recently with India, there are a large number of musicians that are proficient in traditional Indian music today.

The resurgence of cultural forms in South Africa is related to the socio-economic status of the family. As mentioned previously, education and the access to basic information involves economics. With the economic and social growth of the South African Indian he/she was able to have access to a broader spectrum of information that was previously available to the elite classes. This includes access and

resurgence of interest in cultural signifiers such as dress and dance. Presently in South Africa the younger generation of Indians can be seen wearing the traditional panjabi or sari more frequently. The rather prosperous middle-class Indian can well afford to purchase the elegant traditional Indian outfits. The frequency of dress as a cultural signifier has increased.

The numerous laws of segregation that Indians were subjected to also affected the vernaculars of the Indian community. The ethnic religious groups within the Indian community reveals that approximately 68% of Indians are Hindus, 20% Muslim and 12% Christian. The linguistic origins of these groups are approximately 42% Tamil, 35% Hindi, 15% Gujerati and Muslim and 8% Telegu (Indian Annual 1994: 11). The failure to introduce vernaculars into the Indian school curriculum has meant that most Indians today don't speak their vernacular and the fact that the Indians who arrived in 1860 were not teachers, saw the community and the new generation of South African Indians having to depend on the older generation to impart the knowledge of the vernacular. With the passing on of the older generation there was a serious hiatus in the community. This has meant that younger generations don't have access to traditional cultural values that are contained in the sacred books which are written in the vernacular [5]. One may argue that the majority of Indian labourers who arrived in 1860 were illiterate and the cultural exchanges that took place in South Africa in fact benefited the Indian immigrant and afforded him access to previously inaccessible resources.

The exorbitant import prices of traditional Indian clothing and the dress code in the work environment saw the change towards the cheaper, more affordable western dress. Another significant change that occurred in the Indian community was the break down of the extended family. The changing economic climate of South Africa saw the break up of the **Kutum**. There was no longer the support of the aunts and uncles who gave advice in times of difficulty. The economic strains also meant that the Indian woman had to seek employment and move away from here traditional role in the home. Consequently, there was a newfound independence that resulted within the extended family and the enthusiasm to follow the patterns of the older generation was lost (Arkin 1989: 76). The change in role of the Indian woman did bring about negativeimplications when we consider her 'traditional' place in the home. In destroying the close mother-child bond, this process saw the Indian woman rise above her label and secure for herself a place in society. New roles in the household saw a drastic change in the Indian community.

The Group Areas Act of 1950, further divided the family structure. The nature of the act was two-fold. Firstly it reinforced the family unit who had to live in close proximity to each other in restricted areas. The 'cramped' living conditions of the Indian immigrant gave rise to practical issues such as the shortage of space to accommodate the extended families. This placed undue strain on the family structure, which saw the mothers seeking employment to provide for the family. The need for all members to seek employment developed a sense of newfound independence that facilitated the breaking down of the extended family where the son could afford to live separate from his parents. The Group Areas Act facilitated on the one hand the process of acculturation that saw the South African Indian adopting certain dominant western ideologies but, at the same time, the Act reinforced Indian unity and developed a sense of a homogeneous Indian community despite the diverse composition of the community.

Marriage rituals within the community have remained traditional with certain variations to suit the local conditions. Suitable substitutes have had to be found for certain traditional plants that are not available in South Africa. The duration of certain Hindu wedding rituals, which usually last the entire week before the wedding ceremony proper, have been condensed into two days. Traditionally, weddings are held during the week and not at the weekend, as in the case of South Africa. The economic pressures that characterise South African society make it impossible to hold wedding ceremonies on weekdays. We therefore see Indian weddings taking place on the weekends. Although certain practical changes have been made to wedding rituals, for the most part, the rituals have retained their traditional value. The *mantras* or verses that are recited during both Hindu and Muslim weddings are written in Sanskrit and Arabic. Due to the lack of understanding of vernaculars by the younger generations, the *pundit* or *Moulana* explains the significance and values of the marriage rituals and verses. The traditional dress of the sari or gararah is still worn at Indian weddings. Today, the younger generations attending wedding ceremonies are fond of wearing the traditional dress that has become an important cultural signifier in the community. This can be attributed to the fact that most people today, are able to afford what used to be beyond their reach.

To this day, authentic Indian spices are used in the preparation of Indian cuisine. The regional differences in cuisine that are found in India is evident in the ingredients and recipes used in South African Indian cuisine. For example, a dish like *bhel-puri* which is a traditional dish that originates from the State of Gujerat is cooked almost exclusively in Gujerati homes. It is important to add, however, that with inter-religious marriages within the Indian community, the previous uniqueness of certain regional culinary dishes has seen what I would term 'an integration of regional dishes.' Food has played a significant

role in defining the South African Indian community who by using food as a cultural signifier, continually reaffirm their Indian identity.

At this stage I would like to introduce the Theory of Cultural Negotiation to the study. This explains a method of overcoming the obstacles to democratisation and explains the advantages of intercultural communication in overcoming conflict in societies with a diverse cultural component.

Theory of Cultural Negotiation

The focal point in a discussion involving Cultural Negotiation is the formation of a public sphere. Throughout history, all nations have faced the problem of legitimacy of a 'public sphere' the goal of which is to reach the basis for collective decision-making and for a national consensus (White 1994: I) [6] The cultural and religious conflict that arise in human nature is the major obstacle to human and social development. There are multiple paths to the processes of development, which are unique for every nation because of their unique internal cultural mixture. The development of a nation must include the ecology of culture, the history and culture of the nation, as well as race. The primary function of development is to afford **continuous democratisation** for the people of the nation. There must be an environment with an emphasis on the primacy *of the civil society,* and the *recognition of* cultural *competencies.* There   must be a condition of the cultural over the economic and political and social aspects of societies. All these structures must be seen in terms of culture.

A successful development programme that has at its root the idea of democratisation recognises the dynamics of the indigenous culture. It must also acknowledge the fact that culture does not come from the outside. Instead, it develops from history. We must therefore consider development as an *indigenous process.* If we use the definition of culture that describes culture as a system of signifier or meanings which are created through the social interaction in order to name the world about us (Ibid: 5) we can identify two facets to the process of culture. Victor Turner referred to them as being *communitas*, which refers to the dimensions of the '**ritual**' and *societas,* which refers to the pragmatic or immediate aspect of culture. He suggests the introduction of an equilibrium between the *communitas and societas*. The quest for an equilibrium between ritual and the immediate aspects of culture can be associated with the construction of a South African Indian culture. I acknowledge White's suggestion of the cultural change being an internal dynamic. A culture tends to form a system that becomes the myth of the people, and as mentioned before becomes a point of reference for new ideas of cultural practices. White terms this pattern as being a process of continual "syncretism". This process further affirms the idea of an indigenous development that is unique to a nation. Associated with cultural negotiation, is the problem of 'cultural conflicts.' conflicts' arise through incorrect representation and cultural misunderstanding. These conflicts are situated within the subcultures and are in fact necessary so as to allow for the affirmation of an identity. The opposing cultural fronts of subcultures use this point of conflict to discover that which is common to and useful to the respective cultures. In South Africa for example, with its diverse cultural groupings, this   climate of conflict will generate an authentic, new and integrated cultural   system. An understanding of the construction of Indian culture in South Africa and consequently on *Impressions* will bring to the surface those characteristics that can assist in the formation of a public sphere and will inform the other cultural groupings of the differences and similarities among the diverse cultural groupings. Resulting from this
is an atmosphere of 'conflict' that results in a formulation of a public sphere that is democratic.

Conclusion

The apartheid era had meant that the South African of Indian origin were not only classified as a homogenous group, in living separate to the other racial groupings of South Africa, developed a sense of
community despite their religious and linguistic differences. The establishment of temples, mosques and most importantly schools shaped the development of Indian culture in South Africa. There has also been the establishment of vernacular schools, and the introduction of Indian languages into the school curriculum. The University of Durban Westville in introducing cultural departments have also sparked interest in the academic field, to discover the values of Indian culture. From 1905, cultural societies sprang up all over South Africa.

The **Colonial Indian News** in 1901 became a supplement to Indian culture as it kept the community informed of cultural events and rituals. Indian religious festivals were also celebrated by the community. It was interesting to note that regardless of your religious belief, all Indians joined together to celebrate Indian festivals of for example Diwali and Eid.

It is for this reason that many cultural leaders and participants in my research have commented that apartheid had built for the South African Indian a sense of extreme solidarity and determination to assert ourselves in the South African community. Being forced to be concentrated in certain areas as specified by the law, a common sense and

common objective is identified. The context in which the minority finds themselves requires assimilating or adopting certain cultural modalities. The South African Indian having engaged in the process of acculturation, has constructed a type of 'Indianess' that is unique and that can be described as a South African Indian culture. The South African Indian culture has derived from the dialectic of acculturation and cultural affirmation to form a transculturation plane were compromise is reached between a dominant culture and a minority culture. The compromise reached between two opposing cultures results in a public sphere were each group has equal representation. The assertion of Indianess is not unique to the South African Indian community. It is a fact that can be attributed to natural human instinct where human beings feel the need to celebrate the uniqueness of their own culture and is a universal phenomena as can be confirmed in not only the Indian communities around the world, but all ethnic minorities who tend to converge to a common location. This is a natural phenomena when studied in psychological and sociological terms where immigrant societies that differ in terms of cultural roots, and in such environments, it is a natural evolution of humans to assert their individual cultures (Consul General of India Durban 1994).

It is interesting to note that with the growth in the relations between South Africa and India, and the influx of a greater body of cultural information, and the recent visits by Indian artists from the Indian subcontinent, that South African youth have shown an interest in discovering their cultural heritage. A growing interest in Indian movies is also having an impact on today's community. In terms of the renewed cultural exchange, many cultural organisations have expressed concern regarding the content of this cultural exchange. Presently, it is possible to identify a distinct western culture emerging in the larger cities of India. The type of culture these cities portray, will determine the future of Indian culture in South Africa [7]. The president of the 1860 Settlers Association Mr Krish Gokool is of the opinion that the economic and social growth of India will ultimately determine the growth in self confidence of South African Indian culture.

The following *chapter* will explore the notion of television as a cultural medium and examine the way in which Indian culture is portrayed in the electronic media.

NOTES

1. See ***India : Continuity in Change*** a publication by the External Publicity Division, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi, for a detailed description of the tribal people of India pp 90-109.
2. The belief of unity in diversity is common through-out India as I learnt in an interview with the Consul General of India, Ms Lata Reddy in Durban.
3. It is important to mention this for today, there exists great degrees of conflict within the Indian Community regarding issues of religion.
4. *Kumari* is the name given to the dance teacher who has obtained a required level of qualification. She becomes a very important part in the life of the dancer. There are also a number of male dance teachers called *gurus*.
5. I was fortunate to interview a visiting writer of Indian origin from Mauritius and a Dutch production crew, also of Indian origin, who commented on the unfortunate loss of Indian language in South Africa. The producer of the ***Hindu Media Organisation*** informs me that Indians living in Surinam, South America, and the majority of the Indian community in Holland, are fluent in Hindi.
6. White, R.A. *from his paper on* **The Conditions for Cultural Negotiation Among Religio-Ethnic Groups** Rome (1994)
7. The image portrayed by the 'role models' of Indian cinema today, differs from the traditional Indian culture as we've come to know it. Considering the fact that more than 900 movies a year are produced in India, and the South African audience have greater access to this material, movie's will have a definite impact on shaping a South African Indian culture.

CHAPTER FOUR
The Portrayal of Indian Culture in the Electronic Media

"... *we can describe the media* as a direct institution of culture *and* an *influential shaper of culture. 7he medium has become the watchword of media theorists. 7he clear implications is that the medium dominates our perceptions... (Dodd 1987: 163)*

Chapter 4 will examine the way in which Indian culture is portrayed in the electronic media, and will refer to the 'Indian' programmes of Surinam, Indonesia, Canada and Mauritius. Also in this chapter, is the representation of Indians in the South African electronic media.

TELEVISION AS A CULTURAL MEDIUM

Before proceeding with this task, it is necessary that I explain why I have chosen to concentrate on television. The impact of the media on culture is phenomenal. Studies have shown, that although this is true to a large extent, it is the resultant interpersonal contact that mediate the cultural influences of the media. The 1940s and 50s saw the revolutionising of broadcast with the introduction of television (Thompson 1990: 155) and this medium has become powerful in the transmission of news and information to the world. If we accept the classification of culture as being linked to communication, we must acknowledge the impact of the television on culture.

Fiske (1990:1) describes television as the "*bearer and provoker of meanings and pleasures*." It has come to occupy an important place in our daily lives and South Africa is no exception. During a span of 15 years from the period after 1940, the medium of television became the most important medium of cultural transmission in Britain and many other western industrialised societies (Ibid).

In its capacity as transmitter of cultural messages and meanings, we may label television a *cultural agent.* The way in which meanings are produced by television is therefore important. When we examine culture on television, it is necessary to understand the codes [1] of television. In his description of television codes, Fiske states that events and meanings that are televised have already been encoded by social codes (Ibid : 5). These operate on three levels.

Level One - Reality

Television creates the illusion of 'reality' and studies show that the point of reality is encoded by the codes of individual cultures. Consequently, owing to cultural diversity, it is difficult to encode a   sense of universal reality. This theory is supported by the various systems of culture. They operate on economic, political, social, educational and religious systems. The level of reality provokes the viewer to formulate a semiotic analysis of particular programmes (Ibid . : 6).

Level Two-Representation

The level of reality is also encoded electronically by technical codes that introduce this level of representation. With the transmittable technology and sound, lighting and editing etc, representations are shaped by the producers.

Level Three-Ideology

Fiske describes this level of ideology as being organised in coherence and social acceptability by ideological codes of individualism, patriarchy, race, class and capitalism. This level attempts to promote a specific ideological decoding of meaning. It is through this process that ideology is promoted and stereotype perceptions are formed for, in using all three levels, television functions on the principles of aesthetics that create the perception of a universality of meaning.

In understanding television, it is also necessary to understand its 'potentials of meaning' (Ibid : 14) which will depend on individual ideologies. The level of discourse [2] that is involved in the production of programmes, is also important . Discourse is used extensively in language and can also be described as a language system of representation that has developed socially in order to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings about an important topic. It is social ideology that will ultimately determine discourse. Fiske concludes that discourses are social acts that will either support or oppose a dominant ideology and has functioned in such a way that they become institutionalised.

In examining the medium of television, in addition to understanding the methods of encoding, the other factors to take into consideration is the method of reception and appropriation of meanings. Fiske, in studying television, uses the term *'reader'* to identify the television audience (Ibid: 16) for each individual will 'read' into a meaning with different cultural histories, that give different meanings to a variety of symbols.   To ensure that stereotypical representations and misinterpretation of culture do not occur, we must understand the elements that have contributed to the construction of images.

In taking into consideration the nature of television, we can therefore conclude, that the representation of any ethnic minority is also   influenced by these discourses. The area of *community television* has become a means by which to afford cultural minorities around the globe accurate representations. I have managed to obtain information regarding the portrayal of Indian culture in the electronic media from other countries where there exists a concentration of immigrants of Indian origin. This information regarding programming schedules can be used as an example for local ethnic broadcasts.

THE PORTRAYAL OF INDIAN CULTURE IN THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA-Examples from Around the World

Surinam

There are 450 000 people that constitute the population of Surinam. More than 200 000 are of Indian origin [3]. The Indians who settled in Surinam were also indentured labourers and had endured hardships in their adjustment to the authority of Dutch colonialism. More that 80% of the Indian population in Surinam speak Hindi. The vernacular of Hindi forms part of the school curriculum. There are 180 000 Negros and 70 000 Japanese that contribute to the cultural tapestry of Surinam. The Indian community in Surinam are concentrated in the area of Nikerei and Saramaka. Their continued links with India have seen Indian culture develop according to the patterns of the Indian subcontinent.

Surinam does not have a separate ethnic channel for the Indian community, instead, the two national stations broadcast an integrated programme of Indian and Dutch material. Throughout the week there are Indian programmes and the epic ***Ramayan*** [4] is broadcast daily. The producers have informed me that a large proportion of their material is imported from India. Material produced locally takes into consideration religion, cultural values and other aspects of Indian culture in their production [5]. The master narrative of culture from India is used. In addition to television carrying Indian programmes, there are two ethnic radio stations for the Indian community of Surinam. These are broadcast in Hindi.

Indonesia

In 1991 the Indonesian government introduced a legislation relating to the establishment of community television channels in Indonesia. A community ethnic channel was introduced for the Indian community in the country. Indonesia has a large concentration of Indian origin (Boeren, 1992: Chapter 4). Although local content is present on the community channel, most of the material is purchased from India and Pakistan. The cost of locally generated material has attributed to this fact. The success of the broadcast has been attributed to two factors. Firstly, it has satisfied a desire of the Indian ethnic minority in the country and secondly, the programmes are constructed using the community as a source of reference.

Mauritius

In Mauritius, local productions are also limited on the two television channels; TV1 and TV2 [6]. On average, more than four hours of Indian programmes a day are integrated into the daily schedule on TV1, and two hours daily, on TV2. See *Appendix Two* for the schedules of Indian programmes. Once a week TV2 broadcasts a magazine programme that covers local news and events on the island. Local cookery programmes are also featured regularly on this station. During religious festivals, special programmes are shown to explain their significance. Examining the programme schedule, it is evident that the portrayal of Indian culture is largely dependant on material from India.

Canada

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation launched an Indian community programme in the early 80s, *Asian Horizons*. Attempts to obtain further details regarding the history and genesis of the programme Failed [7]. I have however, watched a series of the programmes when **SABC** purchased material from *Asian Horizons*, and aired it on the programme ***Impressions.*** The programme has a distinct and authentic Indian flavour and as in the case of South Africa, programme links and continuity are in English. *Asian Horizons* is unique in that the producer of the programme, who originates from Madras, South India, and his assistant, his wife, who is a South African Indian, are responsible for the construction of Indian programmes for the Canadian Indian community. When we take into consideration the types of programming that are portrayed on Indian programmes broadcast around the world, we may conclude, that all the Indian immigrants have a common point of reference, ie material from the Indian sub-continent.

This reinforces the assumption of this study that ethnic minorities living geographically separate and having endured processes that are exclusive to the climate of their host countries, identify with common goals and objectives.

THE PORTRAYAL OF INDIAN CULTURE IN THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA IN South Africa

Prior to the period of 1970, the State was not involved in assisting the development of Indian culture in South Africa. However, in 1972, after continuous insistence and 'prodding' by the community, the government appointed the South African Indian Council which was to assist cultural bodies in the implementation of cultural programmes [8].

Radio

As a parallel development, the SABC introduced weekly Indian broadcast programmes of about an hour each on Saturdays and Sunday mornings. Mr Jugadheesan Devar, an art specialist teacher in Durban, was appointed the first full-time Indian radio announcer/ producer. He was put in charge of *'Saturday Mirror,'* the first Indian magazine programme broadcast on Saturday mornings from 7.15am to 8.00am and *'Sunday Morning Music Programme'* that was broadcast between 8am and 9am on Sunday mornings. Mr Devar was awarded the full responsibility of the content of the programmes and recalls suggestions made to him regarding his name. The SABC had asked Mr Devar to adopt a more 'simpler - sounding' name, he refused to comply with the suggestion and engaged in a concerted effort to 'drill' his name to the 'post announcer' of the programmes.

'Saturday Mirror'

This weekly magazine programme comprised various facets of Indian culture and religion. The programme also covered reviews of films, various interviews, short documentary features, a women's corner, local and international news, and a firm favourite with many, a children's corner. Mr Devar refers to his programme as a 'magazine miscellany' that reached audiences beyond the Indian community. Special broadcasts were compiled to commemorate special occasions and the celebration of cultural and social events. The programme catered for the 5 linguistic groups. The programme ran for the duration of 14 years.

'Sunday Morning Music'

The programme was compiled to entertain. It comprised of selections of recorded Indian music and songs. The programme again tried to satisfy and. accommodate all 5 linguistic groups. However, there was also a strong local content that was recorded in the studio. The programme facilitated the exposure of local Indian talent.

TELEVISION

In 1976 the SABC commissioned the making of a television series that would look at the South African Indian. The producer of ***Tribal Identity,*** Lionel Friedburg, was put in charge of the project. His task was to provide a documentary on the South African Indian in relation to their place of origin, their culture and basically, to provide a visual representation of exactly what constitutes a South African Indian. The complex nature of the South African Indian could not be portrayed in the original three episodes allocated to the producer. The series entitled ***They Came From The East*** was finally broadcast in six episodes and was described as an attempt at inter-cultural communication. The Indian community provided the primary source of information for the programme. Tomaselli et al (1986: 4) comment that the complexity of the raw data that was available to the producer had resulted in the strong tendency for him to use generalised statements concerning the Indian community. Although Friedburg was assisted by an Indian member on the advisory board of the SABC, judgement of the final product was his responsibility.

A major critique offered of the series is the fact that Friedburg gives credibility to and maintains the separateness of South African society. The series also reinforced the idea of cultural irreconciliation and has justified separate development. This first attempt at portraying Indian culture on television received mixed responses. White South Africans were very positive in their responses and considered the series to have been a tremendous success as it provided them with a previously   unknown level of understanding of the Indian community (Tomaselli et al 1986). The response of the Indian community was negative in that
many identified loopholes in the portrayal of Indians and their cultural heritage (Ibid). On the whole however, Friedburg has described the series a success at that point in South Africa for it allowed the white
South African to begin to develop an understanding of the local Indians.

The Cultural Promotion Act of 1983 became law after the tri-cameral Parliament was elected in 1984. The House of Delegates assumed certain state responsibilities for the Indian community and implemented the provisions of the act which was designed to introduce legislation that would serve to promote language, tradition and cultural rituals of not only the Indian community, but also, the various other cultural minorities in South Africa.

On. the 8th of January 1983, ***Radio Lotus*** was launched. This station has been largely responsible for re-introducing the majority of the Indian community to Indian music. The station caters to the tastes of all 5 linguistic groups and for those belonging to the Hindu, Muslim and Christian faith [10]. Based in Natal, the station broadcasts to the Transvaal, Cape Town and Natal. On a Sunday evening, the station goes national for duration of two hours. Radio

Lotus is involved in the promotion of Indian culture and broadcasts twice-weekly learning series of the vernaculars of Hindi, Gujerati and even Urdu. In popularising Indian music within the community, Radio Lotus has played an important role in the trend towards learning the vernaculars and even the playing of traditional instruments. The launch of the station coincided with the changing political climate in South Africa. The dawning of the tri-cameral Parliament had signalled a new found trust in the Indian community. The agitation that had existed previous to this arrangement, was replaced by a sort of 'alliance' with the Indian community. Although only 20% of the Indian population in South Africa voted in the tri-cameral elections, the general consensus stood at a more amicable relationship between Indians and the national government. The efforts of community and cultural orgarnisations like the Hindu Maha Sabha and the Tamil Federation of South Africa acted as catalysts to the launch of the Radio station.

Today, **Radio Lotus** broadcasts from five in the morning to midnight seven days a week. Listening to programmes transmitted and the immense audience support, the station has managed to live up to the moto "*your family friend.* " The station plays a mix of Indian music which varies from the classics as aired on programmes such as the *Hindi Treasure House, the Tamil Treasure House, Urdu Treasure House* **or** *Qawali Hour* to the up-beat *the* up-beat *Saturday Night Club* that caters for the younger energetic listener. The station has also been responsible for the promotion of **Chutney Music** that has developed in South Africa. This indigenous genre of music combines the Hindi language with popular western rhythm. The lyrics describe the problems that occur within the community and family structures and are in essence, a sort of musical satire of the South African Indian life. Radio Lotus in transmitting programmes of this varied nature, affirms the notion of   South African Indian culture as being an example of transculturation discussed in the previous chapter [11].

After much pressure from community leaders and cultural organisations, the SABC launched **IMPRESSIONS** in 1987. This Indian broadcast is a community service, that was launched to portray Indian culture. The broadcast was launched in the form of a magazine programme which   was a half hour in duration televised once a month. This programme will be analysed in the following chapter. The portrayal of Indians on the SABC has seen them being cast in the stereotype roles of the 'samosa seller,' the 'shrewd business man' and the man/woman who has terrible difficulty in coping in a 'modern South African' society. This can be seen in local productions such as the comedy **Going-Up** or   even in feature length films.

In 1989, the pay television station M-Net, launched *East-Net.* The head of the programme, Mr Ron Moodely, was set the task by M-Net to develop a station targeted at the I-million strong Indian community Indian Annual, 1994: 50). The weekly Sunday morning programme was first broadcast in May 1989 during the 7.30am to 10am time-slot. Viewer dissatisfaction forced the rescheduling of the broadcast from 9am to 1:30pm. Mr Moodely explained in an interview with the Indian Annual (1994) that the early feedback indicating the majority of   the community was fluent in one or another Indian language was incorrect. Commissioned research by East-Net found that only 4% of Indians in South Africa speak an Indian language. Mr Moodely revealed to me in a telephone conversation, that East-Net is not a 'cultural' channel and pursues instead the field of entertainment. However, reviewing the broadcasts clearly indicates that it is based in certain respects on culture. The broadcast contains 80% imported material (from India and Britain) and a half-hour local magazine programme *'Essence'* tackles various local and international issues. *'Essence Talk-Back'* resulted from the success of the magazine, and was the first live broadcast on any South African television station to afford viewers the opportunity to speak directly to studio guests on a range of issues (Ibid:50). Mr Moodely holds firmly to the maxim that - "the *viewer comes first* " His programmes follow the request of his viewers and he   looks towards the Indian subcontinent to guide him in his construction of programmes. One may speculate that in view of the **AMPS** figures which indicate that the South African Indian is a significant consumer in the country, the move by *M-Net to* launch *East-Net* was due to the financial viability of broadcasting to the Indian consumer. *M-Net* is at present broadcasting a series of Indian programmes from the BBC's **Channel 4,** on their *alternate channel.* The programmes are broadcast on Friday mornings between 9.30am and 11am and concentrates on Indian life in the British context. Nonetheless, the programmes also air a number of series originating in India. See Appendix Three for a sample of the programme schedules of *East-Net* and **Impressions.**

The information contained in this chapter has explored the medium of television and has examined the portrayal of Indian culture in the electronic media in South Africa and in Mauritius, Surinam, Canada and Indonesia. The next chapter will present the case study of *IMPRESSIONS.*

NOTES

1. Codes refer to the rule governed system of signs whose rules and conventions are shared amongst members of a cultural group (Fiske, 1990: 14).

2. Discourse is the organisation of language above the level of the sentence (Ibid: 14).

3. The information regarding Surinam was obtained during a series of interviews I conducted with the producers and directors of the ***Organisation for Hindu Media*** who have been engaged in the making of a documentary for the Hague that documents the development of Indians of Indian Origin, outside India.

4. ***The Ramayan written by Tulsidas , reveals the essence of Hindu philosophy and culture. It dates back to the time of the Aryans.***

5. *Information regarding Indian programmes in Surinam was obtained from Mr Ramalal a producer from the Organisation for Hindu Media*

6. *Information dealing with Indian programmes in Mauritius was obtained from the Bojpuri Institute of Mauritius, a cultural organisation that endeavours to ensure the continuation of Indian culture and cultural rituals. Mrs Sarita Bhoodoo, an accomplished writer heads the institute. She visited South Africa in July 1994 to attend the Visual Voice Conference.*

7. *Having established contact with the producers of Asian Horizons I was assured of their full co-operation. However, the* information promised to me *has yet to be received.*

8. *This information was obtained through interviews with the Executive Director of the Education and Culture Service of South Africa at his offices in Durban on October 12th 1994.*

9*. I must mention that these broadcasts were such an event, that during the broadcast times, families used to not engage in any household chores etc. I distinctly remember the volume of the radio being turned-up so that we all new the programmes had began.*

10. *The producers of Impressions recognises the existence of a Christian Indian community. However, the programme does* not *cater for this group who receive adequate coverage through-out the week in the electronic media*

11. *In December 1994 the SABC announced the possible closure of **Radio Lotus** due* to *the poor financial performance* of *the station. According to reports, the station was in fact running at a total financial loss. However, an uproar of unprecedented public support whereby thousands signed petitions to save **Radio Lotus***, *as well as the objection and support of business and cultural organisations around the country, plans* of *closing the station have been put on hold.*

CHAPTER FIVE:
Portrayal of Indian Culture on IMPRESSIONS.

> *"…the mass media of motion pictures, television, and music as the bearers of popular culture tells us where culture is at and   what it signifies. Ethnicity is likely to remain a cauldron of seething elements rather than a smooth mixture of benign diversity in a world as it is presently constituted..."*   (Nash 1989: 129)

The first part of chapter 5 will look at the way in which Indian culture has been constructed on ***Impressions.*** The second part of the chapter will review audience opinion regarding the broadcast and suggest   the levels of possible changes for the programme.

*NB : The information contained in this chapter has been obtained through participatory research at **Impressions.***

Through a concerted community effort of persuasion and pressure, the SABC launched **IMPRESSIONS** in 1987. The efforts of Dr Hemraj and other community and cultural organisations were rewarded with the introduction of what was at first, a half hour broadcast of an Indian magazine programme. The launch of **Impressions** took place within the 'comfortable relationship' that developed between the Indian community and the state following the tri-cameral elections. The programme was directed at the Indian community. Mr Ramu Gopidayal, executive producer of ***Impressions*** was employed at the SABC in 1980. He was the first man of colour to hold the job of a technician with the corporation. Based at the Durban studios, Mr Gopidayal served in the Radio section and became an Assistant Engineer. His appointment as producer of Indian segments for a magazine programme was based on him being the only Indian working in the SABC's staff compliment in Durban. The broadcast operates with a staff compliment of just three at the head office of the SABC centre in Durban. The choice of Durban as the centre of this ethnic channel, is as a result of the large concentration of Indians in what is referred to today as the Kwa-Zulu   Natal region.
Impressions was developed in 1988 when Mr Gopidayal   made history and produced the first Diwali television special. The broadcast was piloted from a half-hour segment once a month to a two- hour programme every Sunday.

Impressions is at present the concern of **Safritel** a production arm of the SABC. The Head of Production of Instructional Programmes at Safritel, Dr JL Aucamp, contends that *Impressions* does not serve a homogeneous community. Instead, it provides an "eastern experience" for the audience.

In a faxed correspondence from the SABC dated 18 November 1994, I was informed that the SABC recognises the diversity of culture, religion and language of South African society and is committed to reflect this in its programming. The Corporation also acknowledges that specific cultural needs do exist in South Africa. In this respect, the SABC which has adopted a Public Broadcasting mandate, has responded to the requests from the Jewish, German, Portuguese, Italian, Greeks and other communities, and has allocated time slots to address and promote their culture and language. *Impressions* was the first community programme of the SABC.

The programme is made up of 78 hours of sitcoms and dramas broadcast in the 5 Indian linguistic groups. The programme attempts to broadcast Hindi, Tamil, Urdu, Gujerati and Telegu in equal proportions in relation to the composition of the local Indian community [1]. The programmes are purchased from India, Canada, the United Kingdom and Singapore. In addition to the programmes purchased overseas, the broadcast includes 12 hours of magazine programmes produced locally. The programmes are a reflection of South African Indian culture and community, and caters for two religious groupings within the community, the Hindu and Muslim. The producers acknowledge the existence of a third religious grouping the Christian Indian, but are satisfied that they are catered for in the general programming of the SABC. The broadcast also presents music productions that introduce local and international music to the broadcast also in the 5 linguistic groups of the community.

The executive producer sees the inception of the broadcast as having filled a need for an ethnic Indian broadcast in South Africa. The programme operates at two levels in relation to culture: on the level of local South African Indian culture and secondly on the level of an international Indian culture. In relation to a target audience, it is directed at the Indian community but, being transmitted on the national station, , the programme reaches a wider audience. Statistics from the All Media Products Survey (AMPS) reveal that *Impressions* has a more than 60% Indian viewership, a 23% black viewership, a 15% coloured viewership and a 2% white viewership.

Impressions places emphasis on culture and religion, and has set itself the task of a 'balancing act [2]' to satisfy the diverse composition of the Indian Community. *Impressions* is broadcast weekly on Sunday Mornings on CCV and has been allocated a two hour slot from 10am to 12pm. The first hour-and-a-half of the programme is divided into three half hour segments where imported dramas and sitcoms are broadcast. They are broadcast in the vernacular of Hindi, Tamil, Telegu, Gujerati and Urdu. The time constraint of the programme makes it impossible to satisfy all the linguistic groups at once. For this reason they alternate series of the different languages over a period of time such that there is an overall equal representation of each language. The local insert of *Impressions Magazine* is a programme that explores various aspects of the South African Indian community. This includes the religious aspects of the community, dance, music, talk-shows, fashion and important religious festivals.

The production team admit the difficulties that are involved in the process of production. To assist them in this regard, a *Liaison Committee* was established in 1990 to act as a guide to the content of the programme. Due to the irreconcilable differences of committee members and an overall lack of interest, the committee was dissolved less than a year after its inception.

Culture and an understanding and preservation of cultural rituals is one of the primary aims of the broadcast. Although 80% of the programmes are subtitled in English and the continuity links are done in English.

The programme also aims at promoting and preserving Indian languages in the country.

The master narrative of culture referred to in the construction of the programme is from India. The producers admit, that traditional discourses of Indian culture have become, to a large extent westernised and the programmes are therefore constructed in response to these shifts in trend. These shifts in trends are responses to the power of the western ideology and the resultant culture that arrives at the dialectic of acculturation and cultural affirmation. It is possible to label the producers construction of culture for the programme as relating to the post-modern notion of culture as a *pastiche*. The programme is constructed with the premise that the link between Indian culture and religion is unquestionable and therefore concentrates on religious festivals and rituals, which in essence provide an insight into Indian culture.

The producers do not accept the criticism that is levelled against ethnic and community broadcasts. It has been suggested that in the broadcast of such programmes, the community continues the process of 'othering' by reinforcing their ethnic identity. The producers of *Impressions* contend that the differences that exist in the South African community is phenomenal and each ethnic minority identify with discourses and values that are peculiar to them. Broadcasts of this nature therefore satisfy this need.

Although I was not privileged to the exact budget constraints of the broadcast, time spent with the producer revealed that the infrastructure and budget made available to the broadcast does not allow for production of local material that will reflect a South African Indian identity. It is for this reason that material is purchased from India, Canada and Pakistan. The producers believe in the need to exchange cultural ideas and knowledge with other Indian community broadcasts around the world. Presently, a magazine programme called *India Plus,'* is compiled in India especially for *Impressions*, and is broadcast fortnightly. The programme content reaffirms the changes characterising Indian culture today. The dialectic and flux of Indian culture that is being continuously assimilated to certain cultural modalities of other cultures makes defining Indian culture problematic. Taking into consideration these complexities, it is this narrative that shapes the programme content of *Impressions*. The trend is in keeping with what was discussed in Chapter 3, were we saw that certain western influences are beginning to impact on traditional Indian culture. The producer of the show is adamant that it is difficult to satisfy the wide range of tastes due to budget constraints. Another area of concern to him is the lack of marketing for the broadcast. Another referent of the producers, derives from the trends reflected in Indian movies and Indian songs that are tending towards imitating the plots of the Hollywood genre, and duplicating the rhythms of western popular music. This is a primary source that has influenced Indian culture, not only in the larger cities of India, but has had a permeating effect on the South Africa Indian community**.** *Impressions* provided the first opportunity for the South African Indian community to network with other Indian communities in various other countries (Indian Annual 1991 :50). This was done through the **Miss India Universe Pageant**. The organiser of the South African pageant Mr Nishen Maharaj, saw the pageant as a means of linking other Indian communities to the previously isolated South African Indian community (Ibid : 51). After each finalist from the global Indian community is chosen, the finals of pageant take place in New York. The talent segment of the contest has brought an important fact to the fore. Indian girls, below the age of twenty five (this is the cut-off age for entrants to the pageant) aspire towards the similar goals and objectives. They appear extremely westernised, but are still able to articulate themselves using traditional dance forms and music. Although *East-Net* has acquired the rights to broadcast the pageant, the producers of *Impressions* saw the pageant as an important means of affirming cultural self-confidence.

The producer, in constructing the programmes for *Impressions***,** takes into account the diverse factors and complex nature of Indian culture and the Indian community. Despite the growing westernisation of culture Mr Gopidayal maintains that as far as possible, the content of the broadcast will continue to embrace the traditional discourse of Indian culture. But in keeping with the demands and strain that modern society places on the community and society in general, the content of the programmes has varied to accommodate issues like suicide, abuse, alcoholism, drugs etc. It is the fervent wish of *Impressions* to find that point were they could arrive at an intersection of 'traditional Indian culture' and a South African Indian culture. The president of the **1860 Settlers Association** has commented that what is in fact required of *Impressions*, is to identify what he sees as the existence of three interrelated discourses of Indian culture: viz a current/popular Indian culture; a traditional Indian culture and religion. In portraying culture on *Impressions*, the producers have to arrive at a suitable level of integration of these discourses.

Focus Groups Participation in Study

To ascertain the opinion of the Indian community regarding the portrayal of culture on *Impressions***,** I used five focus groups in the study. Refer to Appendix Four for the demographics of the groups. To obtain an accurate representation of their opinions, these groups were represented according to *religion, linguistic grouping, age* and *gender.* The focus groups were representative of the Hindu and Muslim communities. The Hindu community was further divided into the four linguistic groups - Hindi, *Tamil, Telegu and Gujerati.* The fifth linguistic group was Urdu speaking who belonged to the Muslim community. These groups were further divided according to two age categories, viz 18 to 30 years and 31 to 60 years.

Segments taken from six programmes of *Impressions* were shown to the focus groups. They included programmes that showed the celebration of the religious festivals of Eid and Diwali (1994) in South Africa as well as various local 'cultural events' like dance and food festivals and the **'Radio Lotus - Aryan Benevolent Home Fare [3] (ABH).**' The same programme segments were shown to all five focus groups.

Following the viewing of the programmes, a series of questions were posed to participants and their opinions regarding culture and programme content was recorded. See Appendix Five, for a sample of the questions posed to participants. A review of the data obtained from these interviews suggests great dissatisfaction of the audience. 80% of the participants agreed that the selected segments shown to them were indeed a reflection of

Indian culture, however the bulk of criticism was levelled at the entire two-hour programme. Only sample quotations a used in this chapter since there was a nuclear agreement of the
problems and shortcomings of **Impressions**. The following problems were identified.

Problem 1

Great dissatisfaction was expressed by those participants above the age of fifty, who saw the culture reflected through the programmes was more a 'popular' Indian culture. Respondents in this age group of all five linguistic groups saw the need to provide a clear balance in cultural content in relation traditional Indian Culture.

The airing of the *Glamorous Gran Competition* that was held at the ABH Fair was found to be *distasteful of the producers,* for according respondent x,

> ".. *the* event has *no bearing on Indian culture and is a poor reflection* of *the entire Indian community."*
> *"Why can't Impressions broadcast more programmes about traditional Indian culture instead of these soap opera type serials that they televise. If I want to watch a soap opera, I'll watch 'LOVING' or 'DAYS OF OUR LIVES' (Respondent I)*
> *"...there is so much of rich value in our Indian culture, why don't we see this on Impressions. Valuable lessons in life are to be found. Bring back the `RAMAYAN' or 'MAHABARATH' so the youth can see what they have to work towards... " (Respondent D)*
> *"I feel that too much emphasis is being placed on 'Popular' Indian culture with the rap music. 7he ragas are so enchanting* and *soothing, maybe the younger generation will learn to behave in a more controllable manner if he listens to the Indian music classics... " (Respondent E)*

Problem 2

Respondents expressed the opinion that the coverage of cultural events is concentrated to the centres of Durban and surroundings, and the Indian townships of Lenasia. A participant stated that there are a large concentration of Indians in the interior regions of for example, Kwa-Zulu Natal, who engage in various cultural activities all through the year. I was informed that the method of cultural ritual differs somewhat in these areas who have still carried out their prayers and rituals according to tradition.

> *"The programme should focus more an areas like Mt Edgecomb or Dundee and Escourt were the communities have maintained their traditional rituals in minutest detail." (Respondent B)*
> *"If Impressions wants to portray Indian culture then they must go to other areas besides Durban and Lenasia. Indians live in all parts of South Africa and they all protect their culture. " Respondent U)*

The problem of exposing the regional variants of Indian culture in South Africa needs to be addressed by the producers.

Problem 3

Participants from the various linguistic groups all complained with regard to the time allocated to their vernacular. Each focus group insisted that more time should be afforded to their individual group.

> *"As a member of the Gujerati community, I feel extremely cheated, in that there has not been a Gujerati serial on Impressions for the past year " (RespondentB)*
> *"When will we see more Urdu programmes, I think the producer is very 'unfair' and favours' the Hindi and Tamil communities. (Respondent C).*
> *"If Impressions does not change its programme soon, I am no going to watch it any more for although I understand the programmes with the English sub-titles, I am not Hindi speaking and would prefer to watch more Telegu programmes so that my children and I can learn our mother tongue. "(Respondent A)*

All participants shared the opinion that **Impressions** is unbalanced in its representation of the various groups. The fact that the Indian community has diverse linguistic groups makes it difficult to satisfy all five groups at the same time.

Problem 4

The participants expressed the desire to view more locally generated material, and see less attention be payed to overseas personalities, especially visiting film stars and musicians.

"We are quite fed-up of seeing these Indian Movie Stars on TV. In the movies, they teach the younger generations very ... negative qualities. Tell Ramu to focus more attention on the local culture and local talent. Maybe you can ask him to make a soap opera about the Indians here... something like "Egoli. " (Respondent S)

"By showing so much of overseas material, we are selling ourselves short. I am sure that given the chance, the community can put together excellent material locally. This will also give the local talents wider exposure... "(Respondent R)

"Chutney music is our own creation. Why don't we have more programmes with chutney music. " (Respondent T)

"Don't sell our local talent short. They certainly can compare with the overseas singers and dancers." (Respondent E)

Problem 5

A view articulated by the participants was an eagerness to become involved in the production of programmes at all levels. This was   advocated by the younger age group who were confident that with
a greater level of community involvement the quality of programmes on *Impressions* will improve.

"With so many young Indians in varsity and technikons, they are learning so many skills. Why doesn't Impressions employ our Indian students to work with them." (Respondent C)

"There are plenty young individuals that will be able to assist in making good programmes for the Indian community. "(Respondent U)

" Maybe if the producers asked us our opinions, their won't be such a fuss *about Impressions. We could act as a 'suggestion- box' that can guide and focus attention to the type of programmes the community really wants to see... " (Respondent W)*

Problem 6

The duration of the programme was far too short according to all the participants. They are convinced that two hours is inadequate for a community that is as diverse in nature as the Indian community.

"Does the SABC really think they can provide a proper service for the entire community in just two-hours. Culture is so complicated and we really need to know the valuable lessons that are contained in all Indian culture. This will have a good effect on us the younger generation who can lead better lives if we had the correct model... " (Respondent I)

"For a culture that has a history of more than three thousand years, can Impressions expect to cover all aspects of culture with only two-hours a week..." (Respondent Q)

"7he complex nature of Indian culture deserves more time to be explained. By rushing issues in short little programmes, many other communities will get the wrong idea of what Indian culture is all about..." (Respondent G)

In general, the respondents confirmed my original assumptions regarding the problems associated with *Impressions*. They all identified with the assumptions of cultural minorities possessing the tendency to retain their peculiar cultural identity. They saw the programme as being a source through which all aspects of Indian culture can be conveyed and therefore facilitate a learning process, not only for the Indian community, but all South Africans. All the respondents were of the opinion that the body of knowledge that is to be found in Indian culture will be of great benefit to other South Africans.

It was a great surprise to me when in questioning the respondents of my focus groups, they all identified with the label of being Indian and possessing a common cultural heritage. This reinforces the assumption of the study that no matter the context and geographical location of a minority group, having a common place of origin India, they all respond to the classification of being Indian and of having the peculiar characteristics of a South African Indian culture. It is correct to assume   that despite the cultural conflicts that do exist within the community, there is a strong sense of unity and 'Indianess' that comes across from the South African Indian.

The executive producer of *Impressions* Mr Gopidayal has assured me that he is indeed aware of the problems that were identified by the focus groups. He is sympathetic to the complaints of the public and
attempts to satisfy the tastes of his audience at all times. This task however, is made very difficult owing to the budget constraints. The cost to produce local material far exceeds the cost to purchase
programmes from abroad. It is for this reason that we see more imported programmes. Mr Gopidayal informs me that it costs a thousand rand to produce one minute of television footage. The skeleton

staff that he has to work with does not afford him the necessary man-power to cover a wider area. It is for this reason that **Impressions** mainly covers events in the urban centres.

Mr Gopidayal is aware of the diversities in the community it is for this reason that he requires the assistance of some sort of cultural body, a unified cultural body that will advice and guide him in the construction of his programmes. In response to the problems that emerged from the focus groups, I would like to provide some suggestions that might alleviate these problems. However, before proceeding with that task, using the Theory of Cultural Negotiation that was discussed in chapter four, I will identify the stages in the natural history of **Impressions**
4

Stages in the Natural History of Impressions

i) Audience dissatisfaction. This could be described as a crisis stage whereby the public have reached an awareness that a problem does exist. There arises the potential to develop a programme to assist in over-coming the problem identified by the group. ie. That the general audience is dissatisfied with the programme **Impressions.** The awareness raised within the group project the identity of the group. The group, ie the Indian community develop a sense of common identity and value. They recognise and initiate a mini process of cultural negotiation. This realisation may emerge in the form of oral rhetoric and develops into other means of expressions, i.e. into media transformations with then result in the creation of a common discourse and a certain type of subculture. The group develops this sense common cultural identity and here forth begins the struggle.

ii) At this stage the group will reach a decision to work at the conscious raising level to get to the root of the problem. i.e. what are the reasons for audience dissatisfaction? The group will reach consensus
to work together. Another aspect of the second stage is the working together of the group with other cultural groups. Although the group   will continue to affirm their own cultural identity, they will start
becoming more aware of other cultures. They realise the need to 'negotiate' with other groups and therefore begin to examine the problems of, in the case of this project other ethnic community broadcasts, so as to establish a type of working relationship with these other subcultures. The Portuguese community have expressed their dissatisfaction with **Canal Portuguese** that is broadcast by the SABC and their dissatisfaction with the SABC policy regarding community television (Ramu Gopidayal 1994).

iii] At the third stage we will see the analysis of the causes of the problem. The cultural group or organisation begins to discuss and debate amongst themselves on the causes and insist on the participation of all the members of the group. There is the absence of direct leadership. The Indian community will have to proceed to persuade - I prefer to use the term educate - other subgroups and cultures that the Indian
culture does possess value systems that can be integrated into society.   During this process each subcultures must engage in a process of decoding the cultural codes of other groups. Not only are the members of these subcultures required to engage in a process of discovering the value systems of other subgroups or cultures, they are also required to examine functions of the dominant culture. This will facilitate a well structured dialectic within which to present their debate.

iv] At stage four the group enters a creative phase whereby they establish there own product of culture to be broadcast on the programme **Impressions**. It is here that members of the Indian community will establish there own narrative of 'Indian culture' to be broadcast by the SABC. At this stage the group will also establish a communicative competence and become aware of a democratic media and the values of such a system. The knowledge from the previous stage regarding the value of a culture and the cultures usefulness is carried out to this stage and is seen as a crucial stage in the cultural negotiation. This is a level of tolerance.

v] At the fifth stage the group engages in action to solve the problem. They structure a democratic organisation that will facilitate a solution of the problem. In the case of **Impressions**, the group will challenge the power of the SABC and insist and demonstrate so as to move toward the concept of the programme and its content becoming public property. The aims of the group after reaching this stage will be to ensure that they resist co-option and continue to network within the Popular organisations.

The process of cultural negotiation in South Africa is imperative and will continue to address the problems associated with South African life. To establish this level of negotiation **Impressions** will serve to
educate others and augment a degree of understanding of cultural minorities.

Possible Changes to Impressions

To avoid the label 'ethnic' the integration of the two-hour broadcast into the normal daily schedule of CCV is recommended. We must remember that the connotation of a 'community' broadcast has negative   consequences. The notion of community maintains the idea of   separateness and integrating programmes into the normal schedules, will raise the levels of understanding of Indian culture, and the Indian community. The integration of the

programmes into the normal schedule, will not only elude the 'negative' connotations, but will also facilitate an acceptable level of inter-cultural communication.

A greater infrastructure is needed to allow the producer to cover a wider area of cultural events. This will expose the regional cultural differences that are apparent in South Africa Indian culture. With a greater level of exposure the different cultural regions can function to educate each other in cultural modalities and rituals that are unknown to certain regions. Associated with an increase in the staff compliment *at Impressions* will be an increase in the budget allocation. In increasing the budget allocated to the broadcast the producers will be able to satisfy the requests of their audience at a greater level.

To ensure that all the linguistic groups of the Indian community are represented in equal proportions on *Impression*, there is the need to extend the duration of the broadcast. The other alternative will be to increase the frequency of Indian programmes on the SABC. The Indian pride and uniqueness is an undeniable factor in South Africa, and although there has been certain 'distortions' in the local Indian culture, the peculiar nature of this ethnic minority exists and it is imperative to portray this accurately.

The appointment of a *Liaison committee to* ensure an accurate representation of ethnic communities on the SABC is essential. The committee must work in close contact with the target audiences and process their suggestions in the construction of programmes for *Impressions*. Studies have shown, that greater the level of community involvement, the quality and content of programmes improve [5].

This study has revealed that the culture imaged on *Impressions* is based on the cultural discourses that emanate from the Indian subcontinent. The producer attempts to, in the time allocated to the broadcast, satisfy the diversities that are present within the Indian community. He admits that owing to budget and time constraints, he is unable to accommodate the specific requests of the community. Local social conditions are also made reference to in the construction of programmes. *Impressions* identifies with the popular construct of Indian culture that is characteristic of the large cities in India. The type of culture portrayed on the broadcast, is a reflection of the trend in India, a trend that a significant majority of South Africa Indians identify with. The culture portrayed on *Impressions* is a synthesis of   a process of acculturation and cultural affirmation. This process has been facilitated by the growth in links between India and South Africa, and the future course of Indian culture in South Africa will depend on the course of the *master narrative* of Indian culture that all Indian immigrants outside India refer to. Although a large proportion of the community are not fluent in their vernaculars, they still identify the need to acquaint themselves with their vernaculars. Despite the distinct differences that can be identified within the Muslim and Hindu religious groups, all the participants in this study identified with the label 'Indian community.'

The community identifies with the label of an ethnic minority who in Maintaining their inherent cultural tendencies, welcome an integration of all cultures at every level.

CONCLUSION

The relevance of culture in South Africa is evident and in order for culture to succeed, it is necessary to place culture in its proper perspective ... i.e. to act as a cohesive agent in a diverse nation. To achieve this goal, I see a need for community ethnic broadcasts in South Africa. The broadcasts will function as a means of intercultural communication that is vital in countries that are striving towards democracy. Intercultural communication will involve reducing uncertainty and will function in relation to cultural, psychological and social conditions. Having established the fact that ethnic minorities have the tendency to aspire towards maintaining their own peculiar ethnic identity, and that these groups engage in the process of transculturation necessary in a foreign land, community ethnic broadcasts, which are designed to serve a cultural need, must be encouraged. They should reflect the cultural diversities of the country, but at the same time, equally incumbent to these broadcasts must be the emphasis of their common loyalty to a prosaic goal. They must continue to reflect the ethos of a truly democratic South Africa.

NOTES

1. The linguistic composition of the Indian community comprises 42% Tamil, 35% Hindi, 15% Urdu and Gujerati, and 8% Telegu speaking.
2. Owing to the complex nature of the Indian community, and the difficulty involved in satisfying all members of the community, Mr. Gopidayal describes his task as a 'balancing act.'
3. The Radio Lotus - Aryan Benevolent Fair has become an annual event at the Chatsworth Centre, South of Durban. The Fair attracts thousands of people and besides goods available for sale, the Fair has

provided a platform for local talent, and stages music and dance concerts as well as numerous contests.

4. The stages in natural history is explained by White, R.A. (1994) in a paper entitled ***The Conditions for Negotiation among Religio-Ethnic Groups*** (Rome).

5. In 1982, Unesco launched a report on the findings of an international study on the role of participatory broadcasts. The study concluded, that greater degree of involvement of the community, improved overall quality and programme satisfaction (Unesco : 1982)

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FOCUS GROUPS
Five Focus Groups were used in the study. They comprised members from the different religious, linguistic and socio-economic groups from the Indian   community. The sample used in this study was obtained from lists from the University of Durban Westville's Documentation centre. See appendix four for the demographics of the focus group.

INTERNSHIPS
I was fortunate to secure my required internship with ***Impressions*** which allowed for participatory research in study. The internship also allowed me to understand the construction of the programmes more accurately.

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APPENDICES
APPEADIX ONE
   LEGISLATED LAWS AGAINST THE INDIAN SETTLER

1859 - Law No. 15. Law to enable persons to introduce, at their own expense, immigrants from India. (Repealed by law No. 2, 1870).

1885 - Law 3. Coolies, Arabs and other Asiatic Act (South African Republic) Transvaal (Tvl). Prohibition on taking-up residence except in segregated areas. Denial of all civic rights.
   a) Law passed to amend Act 3 of 1885.
   b) No political rights.
   c) Cannot own property
   d) *Segregation in streets, wards and locations*

1891 - State Law of the Orange Free State (OFS). The absolute prohibition of Indians and winding up the business of those who lived in the OFS at the type of passing the law.

1897 - 7he Dealers' Licenses Act No. 18, Natal. Restriction of Trading Licenses - Wholesale and Retail

1897 - Law 3, regulating the marriage of Coloured persons within the South African Republic (Transvaal); Criminal offence for *an Indian to marry a white*

1905 - 7he Immigration Restriction Act, TV1. Indians allowed to go into TvI only if issued a special permit.

*1907 - 7he Arms and Ammunition Act No. 10, T*v1. *Indians prohibited from carrying firearms.*

- The Immigration Act No. 15,Tv1. Total prohibitions of Indians to TvI.

- Asiatic Law Amendment Act. Compulsory registration of Indians, Fine £100 or *3 months.*

- 7he Education Act No. 25, Tvl. Segregation in schools, compulsory education for *Europeans and none for Indians.*

1909 - The Public Service and Pension Act No. 19, Tvl. No provision made for Indian Civil Servants .

1910 - The Public Servants Super-annuation Act No.1, Natal. Indians servants excluded.
   Act No. 31 provides pensions for teachers in Government-aided schools, Natal. Indian teachers excluded.

1913 - 7he Immigration Regulation Act. Immigration absolutely prohibited for the whole Union

1924 - The Township Franchise Ordinance, Natal. Municipal Franchise taken away.

1925 - The Colour Bar Act. Absolute prohibition to non-Europeans handling machinery run by steam and electricity.

1927 - 7he Immigration and Indian Relief Act. Condonation certificates for illicit entrants were granted. At the same time vigourous action was taken in the direction of hastening repatriation of the poorer class Indians under the Cape Town Agreement.

1927 - 7he Liquor Act. Prohibition. Statutory prohibition of Natives and Indians in being employed in the Liquor Trade.

* - 7he Asiatics in the Northern Districts of Natal Act. Indians prohibited from going to and trading in Vryheid in Northern Natal.*

* -The Nationality and Clag Act. Indians not recognised as Nationals.*

* - The Old Age Pension Act. No pension given to Indians.*

1937- The Marketing and Unbeneficial Land Occupation Act. The right of the Indian farmer to till their own soil was challenged.

* - The Immigration Amendment Act. Further tightening up of immigrational restrictions.*

* -The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure (further amendment) Act. Feetham Commission appointed to allot separate areas for Asiatics.*

1939- 7he Asiatic (Tv1) Land and Trading Act. Asiatics forced to trade only in their allotted areas.

1941 – Resolutions for the exemption of the Feetham areas in the Tv1. Those that had established long-standing businesses in the area not demarcated in the past, exempted from the operations of the Laws.

* -7he Asiatics Land Trading Act, Tv1. Extension of segregation into the rural areas.*

1943 - The Pegging Act, Natal. Indians prohibited from residing on or from buying property or land in Durban, except under permit. Indians also prohibited from purchasing land from Europeans in Durban.

1945 – The Special Housing Act, Natal. Extraordinary orders given to the housing board to expropriate property with a view to segregating Indians.

1946 - 7he Asiatic Land tenure and Indian Representation Act No. 28. Restricts acquisition and occupation of land by Asiatics and grants Indians a 'special' Communal Franchise.

1950- Group Areas Act.

APPENDIX TWO
INDIAN TELEVISION PROGRAMME SCHEDULES IN MAURITIUS
TV 1
<u>*Sunday*</u>

14: 30- 17-15 pm	*One Feature film in Tamil/Telegu/Marathi or Urdu/Chinese on alternative Sundays*
17: 15	'*My Friend Next Door*'- a Chinese serial
17: 35	'*Geetanjali*'- *Film and dance sequence from Indian Films*
18:00	'*Samachar*' – *Daily Hindi News Bulletin*
18: 15	'*Kal Bhi Aur Aaj Bhi*' – *Hindi serial from* **Doordarshan** (Indian TV)
18: 45	'*Kya Scene Hai*' or '*Galaxy*' –*launching of Indian Movies in India and requests.*

<u>*Monday*</u>

18: 00 pm	'*Samachar*'
18: 20	' *Anthakshari*'-*a Hindi quiz programme on songs from* **Zee TV**- *India*
18: 55-19: 30	*A locally produced Hidustani or Tamil programme*

<u>*Tuesday*</u>

18:00 pm	'*Samachar*'
18:15-18:40	*Marathi Serial*
18: 40-19: 30	*Urdu Serial*

<u>*Wednesday*</u>

18: 00pm	'*Samachar*'
18: 15	'*Tara*'-*Hindi serial from India*
18: 40	*Tit-bits from Hindi feature Films*
19: 00	'*Surabh*'*i-News feature from India*

<u>*Thursday*</u>

18:00 pm	'*Samachar*'
18: 15	*Religious programmes and talks*
18: 20	'*Khoobsurat*' *from* **Zee-TV**
20: 05	*Hindi feature film*

<u>*Friday*</u>

18:00 pm	'*Samachar*'
18: 15	'*Starshow*'-*an entertainment magazine programme from India*
18: 45-19:30	'*Tanson*'-*Urdu serial*

<u>*Saturday*</u>

14: 30 pm	*Hindi feature film*
17:00	*Telegu serial*
17: 30	'*Pratika*'-*magazine high-lighting events of the week*
18:00	'*Samachar*'

| 18: 30 | Hindi quiz programme from **Zee-TV** |
| 18: 45 | 'Noopur'-Hindi serial |

TV 2

[Indian programmes are broadcast on this station between 20: 00pm –21: 00pm]

Monday	A locally produced current-affairs programme
Tuesday	Tamil Serial
Wednesday	Marathi Serial
Thursday	Lifestyle programme
Friday	Hindi Comedy Serials
Saturday	'Bharat Ek Khoj'-Serial depicting the discovery of India
Sunday	There are no broadcasts of Indian programmes on Sundays.

APPENDIX THREE
PROGRAMME SCHEDULES
IMPRESSIONS

10:00 am	Tamil/Telegu Serial
10:30	Hindi Serial
11:00	Impressions Magazine
11: 25	'India Plus'- an entertainment programme produced for **Impressions** in India/ or a locally produced 'Special Report' programme, that tackles current social issues
12:00 noon	Programme closes

EAST-NET

09:00 am	'Krishna'-Hindi Epic Serial
09: 30	Hindi /Tamil/Hindi Feature Film
12: 00 pm	Essence
12: 30	'Buniyaad-Hindi Series from India
13:00	'Family Pride' –English series set in Birmingham, England, that follows the lives of 4 Indian families
13: 30	Programmes close

APPENDIX FOUR
FOCUS GROUP DEMOGRAPHICS
GROUP ONE-Hindi Speaking

| Group 1a | 18-30 years | 15 respondents |
| Group 1b | 31-60 years | 12 respondents |

GROUP TWO-Tamil Speaking

| Group2b | 18-30 years | 15 respondents |
| Group2b | 31-60 years | 10 respondents |

GROUP THREE-Telegu Speaking

| Group 3a | 18-30 years | 14 respondents |
| Group 3b | 31-60 years | 10 respondents |

GROUP FOUR-Gujerati Speaking

| Group 4a | 18-30 years | 10 respondents |
| Group 4b | 31-60 years | 9 respondents |

GROUP FIVE-Urdu Speaking

Group 5a	18-30 years	10 respondents
Group 5b	31-60 years	8 respondent

APPENDIX FIVE
Sample of Questions Posed to Focus Groups
1.   *What cultural grouping do you identify with?*
2.   *Can we identify an Indian community in South Africa considering the diversities that exist within the community?*
3.   *What does 'culture' mean to you?*
4.   *Can you define what is meant by a South African 'Indian culture?' Does a South African 'Indian culture' really exist?*
5.   *Has there been a shift in traditional Indian culture?*
6.   *How important is it for an ethnic group like the Indians to retain and have a knowledge of their cultural heritage?*
7   *Briefly comment on your opinions regarding* **Impressions?**
8.   Does **Impressions** portray *Indian culture accurately?*
9.   *Describe suggestions for the possible changes in programming on* **Impressions?**
10.   *What is the function of a broadcast like* **Impressions***? Can we pursue the idea of community and ethnic minority in an age of cultural globalisation?*