

Chapter 8

Identity and Indian Culture – Reflections of Indian Television Viewing amongst South African Indians in Durban and Johannesburg, South Africa

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Abstract

South Africa Indians remain an important part of the country's culture and diversity. Indians came to South Africa many centuries ago, bringing with them a myriad of rich cultural practices, unique cuisine, traditional religion and sacred traditions. South African Indians retain a sense of cultural and social connection to India, and a concept of primary local and secondary ancestral identity is prevalent among people of Indian descent. Indian television and cinema viewing played a central role in connecting the South African diasporic community with their land of origin in the Indian subcontinent. In the late 1980s, videocassette recorders (VCR) resulted in the virtual demise of the Indian cinema industry and during the late 1990s, while DVDS played a significant role in encouraging Indian entertainment and culture within the Diaspora. These three approaches of entertainment and cultural contact with India were, however, restricted to specific themes and events in the Indian subcontinent, sometimes promoting particular values, ethnic and political orientations over which viewers had very little control. The advent of Bollywood DSTV has, however, provided the South African diasporic community with a wide range of bouquets to select from. This paper examines how the various Indian programmes screened on television has become household topics of conversation which impacted on and influenced the shaping of various Indian family's culture and sense of identity in Durban and Johannesburg, South Africa.

Keywords: Identity, culture, South Africa, television, Indians

1 Introduction

South Africa is home to the largest population of people of Indian origin. Indian South Africans are South Africans who descend from indentured labourers and migrants who arrived from British India during the late 1800s and early 1900s. The current South African population is approximately 1,545 million (Statista Research Department:2022). The majority live in and around the City of Durban, KwaZulu-Natal making it one of the largest 'Indian' populated cities outside of India; and Johannesburg, Gauteng. They transported their rich heritage of enjoyable spices, culture and art with them. They also brought their humbleness, service mankind, traditions and dedication to hard work. Now, more than 161 years along, these fundamental principles continue within the Indian community and have progressed to incorporate doctrines from the other diverse cultures in South Africa.

English is spoken as a first language by most Indian South Africans, although a minority of the Indian South African population, especially the seniors, still speak some Indian languages. These languages include Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, Punjabi, and Gujarati. Indian South Africans are predominantly Hindu, but Muslims, Christians and Sikhs also came to South Africa from India from the early 1860s. The Indian South Africans are divided along with the following major religions; Hinduism, Islam or Christianity. This community is further divided into lines: Hindu (includes four broad linguistic groups: Hindi, Tamil, Telegu and Gujarati) approximately 41,3%; Muslim 24,6%; and Christianity 24,4%.

Indian music, dance and other cultural festivals are celebrated throughout South Africa. Hindu festivals include Diwali/Deepavali, the festival of lights, the Tamil festival. Thai Poosam Kavady, and Muslim festival. Eid al-Adha. Indians of diverse faiths exist together and over the years have come to appreciate others' beliefs.

Indian television is viewed by many South African Indians, and there are various selections of top Indian programmes and movies available to entertain the preference of a range of spectators. The globalization of digital media and the introduction of cable channels such as Zee TV, B4U, Al Jazeera, NDTV and Star Life have created a new impetus and has encouraged South African Indians to take stock of their culture, customs, fashion, cooking and rituals. It has also become a driving force for People of Indian Origin (PIOs) to travel back to India to view the locations that have been included into the

making of the programmes and movies. Furthermore, some South African Indians participate in pilgrimages within the diasporic spheres that facilitate a sense of belonging with the Indian continent. This study examines how the various Indian programmes screened on television have become household topics of conversation which impacted on and influenced in the shaping of numerous Indian family's culture and sense of identity in Durban and Johannesburg, South Africa. Interviews with both males and females in these different locations explore the impact that the viewing of the different programmes' bouquets/ soapies¹/ movies on the Indian television channels has on their lives as an Indian population.

2 Digital Satellite Television in South Africa

These are different ways of broadcasting a signal. Satellite television broadcasts from a satellite in space from which one receives via a satellite dish that is mounted to one's house. The first digital television implementation in South Africa was a satellite-based system launched by pay-tv operator, MultiChoice, in 1995. On 8 August 2008, MultiChoice launched South Africa's first HDTV channel (DSTV channel 170). The South African-based MultiChoice DSTV is the main digital satellite television provider in Sub-Saharan Africa, broadcasting principally in English, but also in Portuguese, Hindi, German and Afrikaans. This provided various bouquets offering general entertainment, movies, lifestyle and culture, sport, documentaries, news and commerce, children, music, religion and consumer channels to MultiChoice subscribers.

DSTV Indian is South Africa's only 24-hour Indian television entertainment subscription, catering to the viewing preference of both North and South Indian communities. Saffron television is a locally produced channel that which was launched on DSTV in September 2008. It offered a platform for the South African Indian community to showcase its cultural events and to tell its stories through projects like the South African Indian Journey that remembered 150 years of the Indian community in South Africa, which was in 2010.

In the early history of Indians in South Africa, from 1860 onwards, entertainment and leisure time activities were virtually non-existent. This was largely due to Indians, especially those of indentured backgrounds, being

¹ A 'soapie' is a serialised drama, usually dealing with domestic themes and characterised by sentimentality and generally broadcast on radio or television

confined to remote parts of the province of KwaZulu-Natal and in certain parts of Gauteng Province. Compared to their merchant counterparts, who were confined to the urban centres of both provinces, they had some access to leisure time and recreational activities due to easy access facilitated by public transport, telecommunications and financial affordability to spend on leisure time activities. For the indentured Indian, life on the remote farms removed them from any self-indulgence they may have desired.

DSTV Indian offers a diverse and wide-ranging selection of prime Indian entertainment to suit the preference of viewers, including the prime Indian entertainment package especially for Bollywood enthusiasts. Each package is available as an individual stand-alone subscription, but is also available as an addition to an existing DSTV premium package to suit the convenience of the subscriber.

3 Inspiration for this Study

The inspiration for this paper came about after several family get-togethers over the past few years when the researcher would hear her siblings, aunts (and even uncles), debate, discuss, become emotional and even predict the outcome of different movies, ‘soapies’ or serials they watch on television. They would discuss food, fashion and entertainment. At times the discussions would become so intense and poignant that one would assume they were discussing a real-life situation within the immediate family. Furthermore, when an aunt of the researcher died a few years ago, her uncle, who lived alone, stated that *‘had it not been for the Indian programmes on television he does not know how he would have passed his days alone’*. These comments provided the researcher with the impetus to pursue in a more formalised investigation the impact that cable channels (both North Indian and South Indian) such as Zee TV, B4U, Al Jazeera and NDTV had on Indian families in Durban, South Africa, and whether this impacted on their sense of belonging to the Indian subcontinent. This paper also examines how the various Indian programmes screened via Digital Satellite Television (DSTV) have emerged, become household topics of conversation, and impacted on the social and political lives of its viewers and various Indian families in Durban. The main purpose of this research is to focus upon the links between being South African and being Indian South African in a post-apartheid context, and how People of Indian Origin identify with India as their land of origin. In order to comprehend the identification of South African Indians with

Indian cinema and television programmes, one must first understand the initial arrival and inhabitation of Indians in a foreign land, South Africa. It helps to demystify that India-South Africa relations go beyond economic trade and have consequences for the complex diasporic community in the emerging democracy in the South of the African continent.

4 Research Methodology

This study was conducted in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, which has the most diverse Indian population in South Africa concentrated in this area, and has the most substantial Indian population in sub-Saharan Africa. South Africa as a whole also has a substantial Indian population, with over 1,3 million people of Indian descent (Census 2011). Therefore, Indian influences have contributed to the multi-cultural diversity of South Africa. This study is based on a four-pronged approach and draws from a variety of methodological orientations. Firstly, e-mail communication and telephonic interviews with staff of Multichoice in Johannesburg and KwaZulu-Natal were conducted in January 2014. Secondly, 100 questionnaires consisting of both qualitative and quantitative questions were given to respondents in three different areas in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, the South, North and Central areas and in Johannesburg. 67 of these questionnaires were completed. Thirdly, interviews and discussions with both males and females in different locations in Durban and Johannesburg focused on Indian television programmes and whether these have grown in popularity and appeal since their initial introduction. Fourthly, in 2022, family and friends were asked via WhatsApp how Indian television impacted their lives. The WhatsApp ‘interviews’ also probed the impact that the viewing of these different programmes on the North and South Indian bouquets had on their lives of the lives of the Indian population in both provinces. This study adopts the descriptive research design with the aim of describing the impact of viewing Indian television ‘soapies’/series/movies on the sense of identity and culture on South African Indians. The design was considered appropriate as it assisted in understanding the views of South African Indians on their culture and identity.

5 Contextualisation of Identity

According to Parekh (2006), identity refers to how one understands and defines

oneself. The sense of identity informs one's values, guides choices, and gives life a sense of direction and coherence. It is a product of the conscious or unconscious interaction between the range of alternatives offered by the wider society and self-understanding. In a traditional society or one that is relatively stable, self-understanding is generally in harmony with the way society encourages thinking of oneself. Multiple types of identity come together within an individual and can be broken down into the following: cultural identity, professional identity, ethnic and national identity, religious identity, gender identity, and disability identity. It is the qualities, beliefs, personality traits, appearance, and/or expressions that characterise a person or group.

In South Africa, DSTV provides a variety of global flow of information and images. By far the most rapidly developing DSTV channel is Bollywood, which not only targets one of the world's largest populations in India, but also its diasporic communities that are scattered across developed and developing nation states. Bollywood DSTV has become an important source of contact for diasporic communities to their homeland, as it helps to maintain their sense of identity to a certain extent. For transnational Indian communities who at some point in time might want to return to their homeland, Bollywood viewing is more meaningful to keep in touch with their homeland. In respect of diasporic communities who have some degree of permanence in their host countries, Bollywood viewing is likely to have varying impacts on their identity.

Although DSTV in South Africa is a relatively new appendage to the number of media offerings in the country, it is a broader array of communication technology that offers a way to reinforce long-distance identities. A distinct feature of DSTV, apart from its diverse spectrum of arts, culture, news and entertainment, is the language medium which it uses to communicate with the audience. The vernacular amongst the South African Indian diaspora has almost disappeared, but it continues to remain an important source of identification, particularly as a representation for both religion and identification in keeping with the North/ South Indian affiliation that is prevalent in the home society.

Diasporic communities are caught between social and psychological processes that shape their identity. They either have to assimilate within the host communities' norms and values and integrate the dominant culture of the host country. In so doing they undergo a process of acculturation where they have to unlearn many of their beliefs, culture and ideologies and begin to accept those of the dominant culture. The extent to which they resist domination of their culture by that of the host society will to an extent determine their social position

in the host country. Often, according to Govender (2012:10), the diasporic community are confronted with the challenge of determining where their 'home' is. Home is defined as either those from whom they originate or that of their host country. Govender (2012) asserts that within the diaspora individuals are 'either here or there'; they are torn between the host country and that of their land of origin. The longer their presence in the host country and the number of successive generations that are produced, will determine the extent to which they are acculturated and assimilated within the dominant culture of the host country.

However, over generations, through modernisation taking place in the country, the Indian diasporic community has taken on some of the western values that came with it. This has been inspired by the mass media, which projected images of westernisation in its different forms to a large extent.

During apartheid, the Indian diaspora were given certain concessionary spaces within the mass media. With regard to the audio media, they were provided with limited airtime that aired aspects of Indian culture through the state-controlled media. This audio media prohibited the airing of any programmes that will be a potential threat to the hegemony of the white ruling class at that time. In terms of the visual media, the television only became a household communication media in the 1970s. Here again, television viewing was highly regulated, with no provision made for the airing of programmes that will be of interest to the Indian diaspora. In all respects, television programmes consisted of the dominant political ideology of the apartheid government.

Access to transnational media that contain purely Indian bouquets has placed Indo-South Africans in a dilemma. As compared to the past, there has been a degree of acculturation in respect of their cultural identity due to a lack of exposure to Indian audio-visual media. In the post-apartheid era, with heightened exposure to Indian visual media, the likelihood of raising a sense of consciousness on their Indian sense of identity cannot be dismissed. However, exposure to such transnational media may also be seen as undermining their loyalty to South African society. On the other hand, it can also foster loyalty to their host country. Notwithstanding such diversity in responses, Dickinson (2007:160) notes a rejection of dual citizenship with India, which is underscored by the desire of Indo-South Africans to be primarily South Africans. Considering that within the diaspora it is the rich that have access to DSTV, it may be postulated that they are more than likely to develop some affinity for their home of origin, whereas those that cannot afford such subscriptions have no alternative but to be exposed to the state-run television network that portrays

images and programmes that represent a ‘Proudly South African’ sense of identity in the interest of nation building.

According to Tere (2012:2), Bollywood films may be perceived to be the ‘opium of the Indian masses’, as viewers depend on this medium to help them escape to a world of fantasy. In a very unambiguous way, cinema shapes the cultural, social and political values of people within a country to a large extent. In many respects, the same can be said about diasporic communities who are exposed to a wide genre of films spanning a multitude of issues. However, studies on the effects of Bollywood films on the lives of the diasporic communities are scant. Nonetheless, a study undertaken by Kaur and Yahya (2010) on the effects of Zee TV on the cultural, social and political values of Singaporean Hindu communities provides some insights.

For the expatriate, viewing Indian films provided an opportunity for keeping up with the familiar social conditions existent in the land of origin. It helped to facilitate the constant affirmation of social norms in the host land which did not necessitate assimilation of other cultural values as offered by western films. While the expatriate claimed a modern, educated mindset in not adhering to social taboos, they nonetheless were able to recognize the social issues being discussed and maintained connection with their home society through the Hindi language medium. Thus, watching Hindi cable entertainment was an avenue of rediscovery of contemporary life in India for Indians who have been long settled in diasporic communities globally (Kaur & Yahya 2010:271). For Bhatia (2011:5), Bollywood has been crucial in bringing the ‘homeland’ into the diaspora as well as creating a culture of imaginary solidarity across the heterogeneous diasporic community.

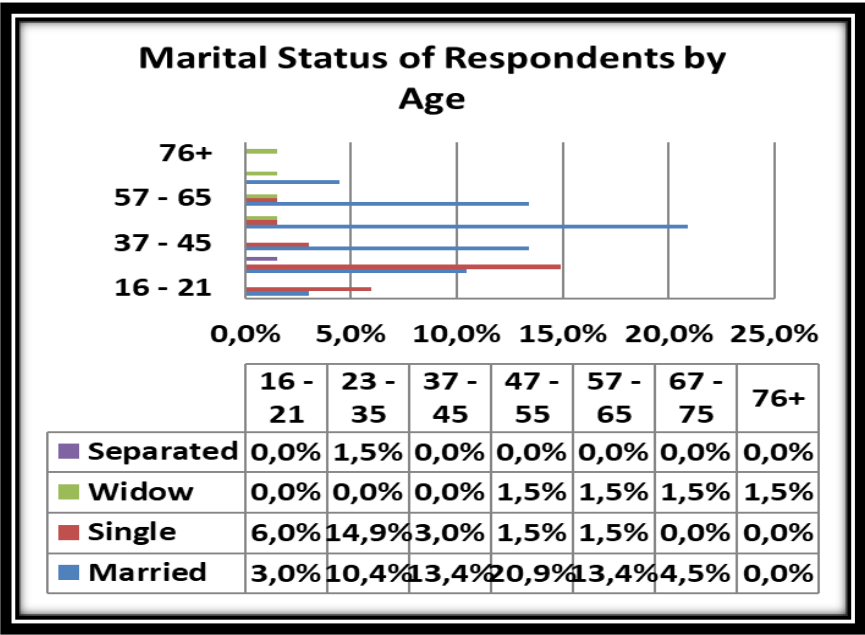
Before the advent of Hindi cable channels, Indian culture in the study was considered old fashioned and boring. By viewing the way, it was celebrated in the homeland, the diasporic community experienced a sense of rejuvenation in wanting to participate in the traditional Indian way of doing things (Kaur & Yahya 2010:276). Cable television succeeded in unifying the Indian diasporic communities with their counterparts in the subcontinent by raising a common sense of consciousness expressed through the appreciation of Hindi music and the display of talented artists and musicians (Kaur & Yahya 2010:278).

6 Discussion of the Findings of these Research Questionnaires

From the questionnaires received, females comprised almost two-thirds of the

study sample, whilst males comprised a third. The majority of the male and female respondents were between the ages of 22 to 65 years. The table below indicates the marital status of the participants. Given the religious composition of the diaspora, the study sample comprised an almost fair distribution of faith groups. For all three faith groups the age range was between 22 to 65 years, which is in keeping with the demographic trends within the diaspora.

Table 1: Marital status of Respondents by Age



On the question as to whether watching DSTV has increased the understanding of viewers about the Indian way of life, 78% responded in the affirmative, compared to 22%, who felt that it did not. Of the 78% who responded in the affirmative, the most common response was that the programme ‘increased their political, religious and economical understanding of India’; ‘created awareness about culture and their belief system’; ‘helped better understand family relationships’; ‘increased tolerance about other faith

groups'; 'provided understanding about different religious events'; 'hardships and challenges'; 'insight into environmental issues' and 'understanding different language groups'. It will be noted from these responses that viewing Indian DSTV has heightened respondents' individual sense of awareness, which otherwise they did not have. This may partly be attributed to the South African diasporic community with the advent of DSTV now having a greater opportunity to view a wide range of programmes and channels with increased levels of frequency. These affirmative responses also illustrate that over time, the South African diaspora has undergone a process of acculturation which was only now emerging with a sense of revitalisation about their ancestral homeland through frequent exposure to Indian DSTV.

In respect of how respondents perceived South Africa having been exposed to Indian DSTV programmes, only 5% responded that their perceptions had changed. Some of the responses are that *'it has brought me closer to my motherland'*; *'India has lots to offer in terms of my belief'* and *'makes me proud of being an Indian'*. In contrast, an overwhelming majority indicated that exposure to Indian DSTV had no impact on their perception about their ancestral homeland. Strong responses such as *'it does not affect me at all. My upbringing was not like Indians in India caught in culture and religious issues'*; *'India has much to learn about modern ways of living. South African Indians are way ahead'*; *'my history is different and I think Indians in India are caught and too steeped in culture and not in universal values'*; *'proud to be a South African Indian, we have good cultural morals'*; *'South African Indians are different from Indians in India'*; and *'we have progressed in all aspects'* attest to respondents' affinity to being South Africans. More than one third (37%) of the respondents qualified their perception of their diasporic country as *'proudly South African'*, which strongly suggests the respondents' loyalty to the diasporic home.

With regard to whether viewing Indian DSTV has had any impact on the respondent's cultural life, a 67% response rate was obtained. Of this, less than a third (31%) felt that Indian DSTV impacted positively on their cultural life, compared to just more than a third (36%) who felt it had none at all. For those who felt that Indian DSTV impacted positively on their cultural life, the most popular responses are captured as *'am able to enhance and relate the Hindu culture and beliefs'*; *'I am more informed about my festivals and other religious practices'*; *'I feel closer to my culture especially since all the Hindu religious days are highlighted'*; *'I respect my culture more. I have learnt more*

about my Indian culture'; *'improved on my Hindi language*'; *'we see how the priest in India do the prayers*'; and *'made me want to interact more in doing religious activities*'. Such positive responses affirm a strengthening of cultural bonds derived through Indian DSTV viewing. For those respondents who felt that viewing Indian DSTV had little or no impact on their cultural life, the most popular responses were *'we South African Indian live a very different life*'; *'not really. I can relate due to my strong orientation to culture from my family*'; *'not much. I believe in prayer. I pray but keep to what's necessary. I have learned a little that it pays to have faith in the God above no matter what name you may call him by*'; *'not much as we still practise our culture in South Africa. It is sometimes a bit different from ours*'; and *'it has not as I have my own cultural roots here in SA*'. These responses suggest that respondents have formed their own sense of identity within the diasporic community and are unfazed, despite being exposed to a similar culture through DSTV viewing.

Interestingly, when looking at similarities between the South African and Indian way of life, some differences are noted. Of the 45% of responses to this question, 18% felt that there was no similarity, whilst 27% felt that there were some. Those who felt that there were no similarities commented, *'not really. We do not practice the dowry system. There is no class system in South Africa. As Indians there are cross culture marriages*'; *'no. Lifestyles are completely different*'; and *'no our culture seems less diverse*'. In contrast, those who felt that there were similarities commented that *'some similarity in terms of the temples and prayer*', *'yes emphasis on close family ties*'; *'yes the foods, languages and some family lifestyles and to some extent their cultures*'; and *'yes. We are not far removed. Minor differences in details*' are some of the responses obtained from respondents. It will be noted that the responses that respondents provided contain quite diverse perceptions on similarities and differences in the Indian way of life.

The impact that DSTV had on the respondents has largely been on reinvigorating their cultural and religious way of life. Generally, respondents in the study have seen themselves as more advanced and modernised compared to their counterparts in the ancestral home society. Although it may appear that the South African diaspora is unfazed by the impact of DSTV on their sense of identity at this point in time, one cannot firmly hypothesize as to what it will be in the future. This in part may be attributed to DSTV being a relatively new feature within the diaspora and as such the full impact of it has not come to light.

7 What Impact does the Viewing of Indian Television have on You?

The response to this was diverse. The participants stated (verbatim tabulation of responses):

I am made aware of the cultural social, religious, political, latest fashion and trends, news and entertainment on Bollywood which is my favourite.

Truthfully speaking, I have visited India on many occasions. I believe that only the rich live in good conditions like we view.

Watching NDTV and Al-Jazeera has given me in-depth understanding of India-political, religious and economical aspects and insights into different cultures.

Although I have visited India many times there is always new things that amaze me.

Exposure of the Indian country, way of life generally and economic and scientific growth, besides some other things are good to know.

Yes, I can associate with the Indian culture and beliefs. It inspires me to be a better person.

It gives a better understanding about Indian culture. We get to learn more about their religion, the different type of food. It has made me aware of the influence cultural practices has on people especially those in rural India. I like the Indian food channel. Teaches me more or different spices, food, Indian eats. I have learnt how to cook Indian food. Love it.

There are lots of things that are portrayed in these programmes like dowry and the birth of the child, cast system etc are all still rife practised in India. The programmes are a way to educate the Indian people about not practising these acts.

To the question of the participants affiliation to being South African the following are the responses received:

I am a proud South African Indian with my own culture and faith. I have my own religious beliefs and see myself as different to the

Indian subcontinent.

I can identify with the Indian programs I watch but see myself as being a South African of Indian heritage.

I enjoy the India programmes but consider myself a South African citizen.

I feel a sense of loyalty to my country because our forefathers worked hard to develop the country. India is the country of my forefathers, but now South Africa is my home.

I feel very lucky to be South African Indian as the lifestyle is completely different from ours.

I identify more with South African culture.

I think India has too many caste and class problems.

It does not affect me at all. My upbringing was not like Indians in India caught in culture and religious issues.

Personally, as SA Indian I lead a middle-class life and am more than happy. My only heartache is that we in SA have to worry about the future of our children and siblings-there is not much hope considering the Blacks feel like they need it all due to being suppressed in the past.

We share very similar traits as our Indian counterparts. Just in a more modern environment.

The aspect of the adherence to culture was posed to interviewees and the following were some of their responses:

Although I am religious and perform all the cultural activities we will always be connected with India one way or the other.

Am able to enhance and relate to the Hindu cultural activities and beliefs and why they are done/cultural knowledge improvement.

Culture forms discipline and happiness within family. I am reminded of my rich and righteous culture, practising rituals, celebrations and festivities.

I feel closer to my culture. esp. since all the Hindu religious days are always highlighted.

I listen to more eastern music and movies-it has improved my Hindi language.

I sometimes watch when I visit my sister or mum. I enjoy the

programmes and realise that the cultural life experienced in India is not very different to that practised in South Africa.

In a positive manner. Sometimes we as South Africans do not celebrate all the cultural events. By viewing the programmes, we are enlightened with some background knowledge. In a way it reminds me of the way we live in South Africa. We are slowly moving away from our culture and roots. It has just enhanced my love for Indian culture and strengthened my Indian Identity.

We South African Indians live a very different Life. Some of the programmes did however encourage me to become more spiritually orientated.

I am a South African born into a Hindi family and I have my culture instilled in me, however we learn more things on these bouquets. The programmes assist in educating us and relating us to certain cultural programmes by being informative as well as making us aware that certain practices does exist in South Africa as well.

In South Africa we do not practise the dowry system. There is no obvious class system as Indians. There are cross-cultural marriages.

The focal point is my belief system in God. Be righteous, humane, practice the principles of God, be good, do good, think good be sincere, peaceful, humble and have self-control.

Respect for elders, fashion enjoyment, way of life, insight into Indian culture.

The Diwali festival has shown me that every religion has something unique about it.

I feel a lot of mother in laws learn to be like the Indian mother in laws (the researcher found this a bit hilarious because mother in laws are depicted in the programmes as being stern and domineering. Being a mother-in-law myself I generally joke with my daughters-in-law that I will behave like the ones depicted in the 'soapies').

8 Viewing of Cultural Festivals and its Impact

The India Indians do celebrate cultural festivals with much more

passion than us. We are living in a western society and seem to be more westernised.

No, I believe that one should believe in god no matter which form you pray. I believe that prayer should be simple and devotion strong. Too much prayer in my opinion can confuse one. Too much prayer to different Gods are confusing the youth making them turn to Christianity.

Most of the celebration in India are celebrated over a period of 5 days or more It will be difficult for us South Africans to do the same because of the lifestyle we live and time constraints.

Culture has been lot now day especially by the young, watching India celebrate cultural festivals seem exciting and enjoyable thus I'd like to practise the same. Festivals especially Holi, Deepavali. although we practise it here it is more celebrated in India and bigger.

I feel I have lost my cultural values and watching the Indian movies do inspire me to want to practise some of the cultural values.

The programmes are very influential and festivals celebrated largely in SA example Diwali is very largely celebrated here just like India as well recently Holi has become colourful in SA. Although we do celebrate the festivals we don't do it in a grand way and each family celebrates in their own homes instead of coming together-there's more fun and laughter.

9 Conclusion

Identity development and progression are impacted by a variety of internal and external factors like society, family, loved ones, ethnicity, race, culture, location, opportunities, media, interests, appearance, self-expression and life experiences. The viewing of Indian television is a relatively new recreational activity amongst the South African diaspora and its full impact is perhaps only partially known through this study. This research has shown that the identity of the younger generation of South African Indians is not influenced by Bollywood DSTV although the older generation find a revival of their sense of identity through culture, religious beliefs and festivals. Females are more likely to be influenced by Bollywood DSTV on aspects relating to food, clothing, fashion and family structure. Males identify with sporting personalities especially

cricket and certain film personalities. Bollywood DSTV presents an exotic image of India wanting them to visit as tourist especially amongst the younger respondents. The older respondents in the study want to feel their sense of their roots and heritage. As part of a community with whom they share a common geographical and ancestral heritage, language, religious beliefs and practices, and cuisine, they become an integral part of an in-group formation with a distinctive consciousness about preferred values and socialization patterns. While South Africa has undeniably become their home, India continues to represent their ideals in terms of their longing for socio-religious continuity. South African Indians retain a sense of cultural and social connection to India, and a concept of primary local and secondary ancestral identity is prevalent among people of Indian descent.

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