



Introduction

“My radio dial stuck ’pon Irie FM – and you know what? Me nah bother fix it!”

These were the words of one of the original promos from Jamaica’s Irie FM radio station, the first ever twenty-four-hour all-reggae station to be launched. In the island that produced and nurtured reggae music, the idea of a specialist reggae radio station was still a novelty in 1990, when Irie was launched. Indeed, the relationship between radio and reggae had not always been the symbiosis that one might imagine. There were cultural struggles over what was considered legitimate fare for broadcast, and local media were often accused of being biased against local music. Following the loosening of government restrictions on private radio broadcasting licences, Irie quickly established itself as a major force in Jamaican radio despite widespread concerns about whether the market would support it. While Irie was a commercial station, the historical and cultural forces that surrounded it elevated the station to a position of pride and saw it valued as an expression of Jamaican identity.

This book, however, is not about Irie FM. Rather, this work deals with an accumulation of globalized cultural tensions that have come to be embodied not too far away from Jamaica, in the small two-island nation of Trinidad and Tobago. In particular, the present work considers how these tensions, developed through globalized exchanges of people and ideas over many years, have come to be embodied in one particular unique commercial mass-media phenomenon – Trinidad’s Indian radio.

The establishment in the early 1990s of a single station for broadcasting music and other programming aimed at the island's population of historical descendants of Indian immigrants was the catalyst for a slew of imitators and the development of an entire sector of the broadcast industry catering to a particular ethno-cultural audience. This sector would diversify over the first two decades, with the evolution of stations that, on the one hand, would compartmentalize into particular niches such as super-specialized "Indian" religious programming and, on the other, some that would generalize into a broader offering of a mix of cultural styles and hybrid music.

After a history of over twenty years, the Indian radio sector or Indian-format radio in Trinidad and Tobago has carved a clear swath of territory in the local market. Alongside a wider assortment of radio offerings ranging from news and talk to evangelical, as well as urban, adult contemporary and local/regional formats, Indian radio provides both a backdrop to national life for its target community and a focal point of cultural attention. The broader electronic media market features seven national television stations, ten cable-only television broadcasters and thirty-eight radio stations, in addition to multiple options for cable television reception and widespread internet and mobile penetration.

In the face of such external competition for audiences, and ongoing internal struggles to secure listeners, Trinidad's Indian-format radio stations have been forced to innovate both creatively and technically. These challenges for securing listenership have seen, for example, the promotion of events including concerts featuring foreign artistes and competitions showcasing local talent. To increase listenership, these stations were also quick to innovate into Internet streaming and to funnel song requests to social media. Thus their audiences engage both locally and abroad with their traditional broadcast signals, Internet streams and social media platforms.

While the Indian-format stations continue to face challenges in being accepted into the cultural mainstream, they have continued to be popular with their listeners and advertisers. These stations are played, often loudly, at family gatherings both in Trinidad and in Indo-Trinidadian diaspora communities in the United States, Canada and elsewhere. The stations also serve as a nexus for family messaging through song dedications, both among family members within Trinidad and Tobago and, increasingly, as a kind of trans-national family musical-dedication and messaging service through social media.

Competition and attrition have seen several movements of stations in and

out of the sector and numerous movements of management and personalities among the stations, but for nearing a quarter of a century, these stations, whether independent or part of a media conglomerate, have created a significant media phenomenon. That being said, beyond its scale and scope, this particular industry sector is not unique. There are many examples of so-called ethnic media in many parts of the world – often tied to minority or plural communities. Singapore, for example, features several commercial radio stations programmed in the languages of its component linguistic groups.

Indian radio in Trinidad, however, does present some interesting features that distinguish it from other similar media enterprises. The very presence of Indian music radio in Trinidad and Tobago suggests notions of hybridity in that a cultural form from far away (with, arguably, only a vestigial connection to the local environment) finds both expression and commercial success. Indeed, the content of some of Trinidad's Indian radio (no such station exists in Tobago) programming that includes American, Jamaican and Trinidadian music as well as mash-ups or mixes with Indian songs further suggests that they are hybrid cultural artefacts, combining two or more cultural forms. Yet hybridity as a formal explanatory framework may miss the subtleties of the emergent, eclectic, and often deliberate nature of some of these cultural interweavings.

As I examine in the following chapters, cultural artefacts – even modern ones such as Trinidad and Tobago's Indian-radio media sector – reflect complex interrelationships among many forces. Among these are historical factors, including global forces such as British colonialism, which brought to the islands not only the Indian indentured labourers but also African slaves before them, the European plantation owners and several smaller populations of imported labour. The resulting globalized environment faced challenges surrounding other forces such as language, culture and religion, all of which served as sources of difference and, at times, the sites of contestation and negotiated meanings.

Simple generalizations about the roles of colonialism, language, culture and religion are often difficult to make, since these often worked in multiple and complex ways, given the various tensions of the indentureship and post-indentureship Trinidad and Tobago society. In particular, the emerging politics of self-determination towards the end of the colonial project exposed rifts not only between the descendants of African slaves and the descendants of Indian

indentured labourers, but also within and among these groups. The cultural relationships between and within these groups became strained as they negotiated their positions relative to one another and relative to the colonial project. Part of this was their negotiation of positions relative to the place in which they found themselves – an outpost of the British Empire – and how all of that would change with the emergent notion of Trinidad and Tobago as a nation.

After Trinidad and Tobago gained independence from Britain, nationalisms in their broadest sense continued to play some role – though these were primarily (though not only) at the level of social discourse and the struggle for ideological independence. Such struggles were embodied and perhaps taken to their most intense forms in movements such as the Black Power movement of the 1970s, identified with the leadership of several African-oriented groups as well as key trade unions. Yet the notion that the Black Power movement excluded Indo-Trinidadians is probably not completely true, since certain key players in the most radical and violent activities of the movement and in some of its leadership and support roles were Indo-Trinidadian. Also, a number of the movement's initiatives involved efforts to unify and mobilize workers in traditionally Indo-Trinidadian enclaves to engage in the struggle.

Cultural activist Ravindranath Maharaj (Ravi Ji), who has been involved in efforts to revive and clarify Indo-Trinidadian Hindu traditions, spoke of his reactions to the Black Power movement in private, informal conversation with the author, but also shared the same sentiments with a local newspaper (Peter Ray Blood, "Black Power: A Much Needed Revolution", *Trinidad and Tobago Guardian*, 22 April 2015, 14):

When the Black Power hit the country I was very, very scared, hearing about these Africans coming to Central to join sugar cane workers. I subsequently felt some relief when Bhadase (Sagan Maraj) made a statement giving the assurance that the marchers would not actually enter the canefields. . . . Hearing of the march to Caroni I must admit that I had a sense of concern. But, I was curious so I went to Chaguanas to see the march. When I got there my fear dissipated somewhat as, instead of seeing militant agitators, I remember what I saw were many thirsty, tired young people sitting around. At that time I was close to Gerald Bryce, an official then of the Black Panther movement. . . . When I returned in 1983 I reconnected to the Black Power movement. It's ironic because I actually went to India with two dashikis. Because of Bryce I became closer to the Black Power movement. One of the things I realized was the impact of the movement opened the way for transformation because there

were obvious changes in the employment practices of the country. In the banks you could have easily-discerned change (by the ethnicity of the people being employed).

Questions of cultural identity are not, however, only evident in overt political struggles. They are often also at play in some of the most mundane aspects of everyday life. Several scholars and commentators have noted, for example, that for many years Indo-Trinidadian cricket fans would display their support for teams from India and Pakistan instead of their home team, the West Indies. This particular pattern of support has also been observed in Guyana.

The particular dynamics of Trinidad and Tobago's ethno-cultural relationships have engaged the attention of many scholars over the years. For many reasons, including the generally peaceful (if contentious) coexistence of the two main ethnic groups and several smaller groups, various commentators have attempted to make sense of the cultural and the national in Trinidad. They have variously experimented with notions of hybridities, cultural mixings, melting pots and even callaloo as metaphors for Trinidad and Tobago's culture. As we shall explore here, some analyses have been overtly political and frequently suffer from both cultural insularity and ethnic rancour. Indeed, many of the most prominent commentators on Trinidad society include some of the most ethnically biased and myopic personalities (some of whom are academics and religious leaders).

In pursuit of this divisive agenda, some commentators (academics among them) have tended to overstate questions of culture, heritage and national identity in terms of the divisive nationalisms that have been evident in many other countries. This tradition of couching cultural expression as nationalistic or separatist in some way harks back to Eric Williams and his political machinations to discredit his Indo-Trinidadian opponents. These opponents played into his hand in no small way by using names reminiscent of Indian nationalist groups and also by actions such as instituting the singing of the Indian national anthem in their schools following Indian independence (but prior to Trinidad and Tobago's independence).

Post-independence, there is evidence of competing tensions between cultural heritage on the one hand and national identity on the other, at least for those whose cultural heritage is defined as outside the national mainstream. This raises important questions about the very definitions of "givens" such as culture and whether concepts such as identity and heritage are as fixed or as

pure as we are taught to believe. By interrogating the very roots of these various elements of social and personal identity, and exposing their malleable nature, we may also be able to challenge the idea that these are essential, fixed or even relevant in the modern world.

At the same time, while it is necessary to lift the anchor of essentiality from historic, globalized identity claims to expose them as caprices of history and traditions of ignorance (often imagined into being), it is also important to examine the extent to which modern identities can be constructed and imagined out of modern global forces, including mass media with international reach. In the case of Trinidad and Tobago, this presents a particularly difficult set of entanglements – with often misremembered and generationally morphed traditions mixed with influences from old Indian films, as well as more recent involvements with Indian soap operas and commercial experiences of Indian traders. Into this complex mix of cultural involvements we must add the Indian radio station, whose connections with India are sometimes tenuous. The music played on these stations may be wrapped in a chimera of Indianness with a beat borrowed from Bollywood but with a rap or reggae refrain. Even when Bollywood songs are played in standard Hindi, there are few in the audience who can understand a word of it. Thus these stations represent not India or being Indian, but a particular construction of being Indo-Trinidadian, a set of imaginaries that, collectively, represent an identity.

To be clear, references to collective imaginations of identity are not meant to be disparaging. In fact, the notion that it is somehow wrong to call an identity claim imaginary demonstrates the extent to which we are invested in sacrosanct notions of culture. To question our heritage is somehow automatically an insult, even if that heritage is demonstrably an imaginary set of constructs (which many, in great part, are). In my previous work, I have argued that many of our cherished ideas in many different cultures are either fictitious reconstructions of past ancient events, or modern imaginings of narratives to support whatever our identity claims demand. I continue to hold to that position here.

To further complicate this issue from a cultural standpoint, we are no longer just concerned with the cultural imaginations, ancient or modern, of a small community in a defined area. There are two global dimensions to Trinidad's Indian radio. The historical global dimension brought Indians to Trinidad and Tobago through indentureship. The modern global dimension includes

the human-migration dimension that has created secondary diasporas of Indo-Trinbagonians in several metropolitan centres in North America and Europe. This modern global dimension also creates the conditions for local radio stations in Trinidad to have global reach. With the evolution of audio-streaming technologies enabled across the globally connected Internet and accessed through the World Wide Web and on mobile devices, radio stations that would have catered to small localized audiences in Trinidad and Tobago have now become global broadcasters. These stations simultaneously serve their local and foreign audiences, acting as a conduit for greetings and song requests and broadcasting news and current affairs as well as music to listeners in US and European cities, far-flung parts of Asia, and even small communities in other Caribbean territories. To this media-programming dimension they also add social media engagement, enabling audience participation with announcers and hosts through Facebook posts, tweets, and text messages. These stations also create global events, hosting parties and concerts locally and abroad – creating, as it were, cultural events that bolster the collective imaginary of cultural identity and belonging and connect the Indo-Trinidadian diaspora with its ancient and modern “homes”.

A Word on Methodology

The present work has relied on many years of research in which the author has approached the phenomenon under consideration in several ways. Bits and pieces of this diverse and messy data set have found its way into the current manuscript. Each approach has formed the basis of some prior research and guided the publication of previous academic papers on this topic.

Statements about the content of the stations considered here are possible because of numerous rounds of content analysis conducted on recordings made at different periods. Some of these recordings were made in the early 2000s, when some of the stations became available through Internet streams. Others were made several years later, in 2013 and 2014, for other papers on the stations. This approach involves coding content along pre-determined or emergent category schemes and using the counts from these coding schemes as the basis for analysis. Such content analysis can be useful for providing descriptive data about media content (such as how much of what kind of song is played or what percentage of time is spent on advertising) and for providing the basis for

statistical testing (for example, are there significant differences in the average length of English versus Hindi songs played?).

Content analysis was also used in slightly less conventional ways to gather and evaluate the sentiments of listeners using the Facebook pages of these stations, where available. In these efforts, the author gathered publicly available comments on Facebook to evaluate responses from audience members, with a particular focus on how local listeners differed from foreign or diaspora listeners.

The interview was also a key methodological approach used in the present work. A combination of short, structured and long, semi-structured interviews provided rich data from listeners and from key individuals involved in broadcasting and in various fields related to Indian radio in Trinidad and Tobago. Since this happened over a period of many years, approval was sought and obtained from relevant human subjects or internal review boards where available. Interviewees were duly informed of the nature of the project and other relevant details such as the identity and affiliation of the primary investigator, and their explicit permission to be interviewed and recorded were noted. In most cases interviews were recorded on tape or disk and transcribed for later use. Where possible, interviewees were provided with relevant sections to ensure that their words were used in context and within their understanding of their meanings. Some twenty-five interviews were conducted between 2015 and 2016, while another thirty or so were conducted periodically from 1998 to 2014.

Some of the content presented in the following pages is also the result of documentary research involving both physical and digital assets. While modern digital databases make finding documents much more easy and convenient, searches can still consume hours of time and cross-referencing. The most challenging efforts, however, involved tracking down physical documents and careful examination of aging paper by hand, evaluating relevant content and making manual notes. Newspaper searches were also an important component of the current research. Where these involved digital collections, the ability to reach into history and reconstruct events and situations was truly illuminating. Where the source material was not digitized or indexed, the search was much more tedious and only rarely as productive.

Academics in anthropology, folklore and many other culture-related fields debate the value of what they term *emic* and *etic* approaches – research from within and from without. In media studies, there is less of a debate on this, in that much of our work involves studies of content. Where researchers in media stud-

ies investigate media organizations and phenomena such as Indo-Trinidadian radio, the *emic/etic* distinction rarely, if ever, emerges. Media researchers are often both insiders and outsiders to their subject areas. In the present case, the author is a past journalist in Trinidad and Tobago with an insider's understanding of the politics and business of small media operations there. However, as an academic coming from the United States who has not lived in Trinidad and Tobago or worked in its media for more than twenty years, I was able to play the role of the outsider, using what might best be described as a case-study approach in which I used interviews and observation as the basis for data collection.

As a corollary to all of these different investigative techniques, the author was also privileged to benefit from the willingness of many people to contribute information and insights on both a formal and informal basis. These numerous collaborators were often eager to have their say when they learned of the nature of my project.

The Politics of Culture in Trinidad

It is very difficult to discuss culture in Trinidad without treading into politics. This is true of social politics and the dialectics of power relations in day-to-day life, and it is also true of politics in the sense of struggles for control of government. In Trinidad and Tobago, the identity struggles in which cultural voices jostle for position within the emerging schema of national identities have, for the decades since indentureship, presupposed (and manifested in) alignment with racial/ethnic groups. Thus both the formal (that is, governmental) politics and the politics of everyday life are tightly bound to questions of culture and identity, which have in turn been bound (despite generations of mixing, syncretism, hybridity, intermarriage and various other fusions) to essential notions of race and ethnicity.

These essentialist associations are neither academic nor intellectual in nature (though both academics and intellectuals are guilty of them) but rather deeply emotional and tribal in nature. They involve unchanging stereotypes held of either group by the other despite a rapidly evolving society and a flood of countertypes. In any faction of this factious struggle, adherents find their views reasonable and productive, while the views of the other group are dangerous and destructive. This kind of tribal societal division, of course, is not unique.

However, when these divisions become drawn not around personal beliefs or views, but rather broad associations between skin colour, hair type and politics, these assumed connections and the preconceptions that accompany them have the effect of closing the scope of debate. Essentialist stereotypes have the power to “fix” meanings, as Hall (1997) suggests, making it impossible to break out of established moulds of discourse even when they fail to be relevant.

It is in this context that one must tread carefully through the cultural landscape of Trinidad and Tobago. An investigation of Indian radio, for example, might in itself be perceived as a kind of political venture. A reviewer of an early paper on this very topic (co-authored by a Norwegian researcher) argued that the paper “smacked of East-Indian triumphalism” and declared it “revisionist history”. The reviewer also referred to Trinidad’s Indian music promoters in derogatory terms. While reviewers are all-powerful in the peer-review process, they are also human, and subject to the vagaries of stereotyping and essentialism.

At the same time, it is also easy, in an investigation of a cultural phenomenon, to be swayed by one’s own cultural biases – often unconsciously so. In this work, the author acknowledges many such biases, but they are not, perhaps, the ones that might be expected. Key in this discussion, for example, is the idea that the cultural and personal identities expressed in Indian radio or Indo-Trinidadian culture are not in fact “authentic” (a specious concept), “traditional” (having been reinvented many times) or essential. The author argues, instead, that these identities are cobbled together by choice, sanctified by time, consensus (and, often, ignorance) and adopted (or rejected) often as tools of political and social objectives. This is a very different approach from the culture/identity purists who posit the Indo-Trinidadian cultural identity as not only necessary and personally indispensable, but also as an inevitable component of one’s social being and a matter of pride and distinction.

As numerous political commentators have noted, ethnicity, race and/or culture in Trinidad and Tobago are associated with politics at various levels not only on the basis of nationalism, ethnic heritage or pride. These associations are also conditional on the notion that social or political dominance is necessary as a means to secure a fair share of scarce national resources. From a traditional view of culture this battle can be seen in the ever-present debate on government subsidies to cultural groups and events, including the traditionally Afro-Trinidadian (a tenuous generalization today) Carnival and comparisons with monies given to Indo-Trinidadian observances. From a broader view, access

to resources might be manifest in a particular area's being served through road repairs (this, too, being an outdated reference to traditional geographical segregation of neighbourhoods).

The postcolonial evaluations of Trinidad and Tobago society along such easy lines of demarcation, however, are increasingly being questioned. More current work (Meighoo 2008) suggests, for example, that these simplistic divisions are increasingly tenuous, with shifts of geography, occupation, and other factors redefining and blurring the comfortable boundaries that once clearly separated ethnic groups into categories such as urban and rural, professional and agricultural.

Terminology

In the present work several terms require some interrogation. These terms, their evolutions and their use can often warrant extensive examination and explanation. Since space prevents a thorough explanation of all these problematic terms, it is necessary to select some of the more important and problematic ones for demarcation early in the presentation. The term Indo-Trinidadian, for example, refers to a modern conceptualization of the identity claims of people of Indian ancestry who trace their presence in Trinidad and Tobago to the history of British indentured-labour practices in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I emphasize this because there were times in which the notion of an Indo-Trinidadian was itself a contentious issue. As Kris Rampersad (2002) has noted, letter-writers to the newspapers in the 1800s might describe themselves as "A Son of India" or "A Son of the Glorious East", with the use of the sobriquet "An Indo-Trinidadian" emerging in 1888.

While it is an acceptable term, Indo-Trinidadian does in fact inadvertently exclude the island of Tobago from its scope of reference, an issue which has not received tremendous attention because traditionally, that island had so few descendants of the indentured labourers among its population. Despite Rampersad's recording of the term Indo-Trinidadian in 1888, it did not evolve as a preferred nomenclature until well past the 1970s, when the term East Indian might be equally likely to be found, even in government documentation. Where possible, the present work uses the term Indo-Trinidadian.

The notion of "Indo-Caribbean" also comes into some question. As an adjective to describe the larger cultural nexus of Indian heritage in several

communities across the Caribbean, such as Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana, this term is a useful one. However, as I will raise in later discussions, there is no such thing as an “Indo-Caribbean”, either as an individual or a part of a defined group. The term used as a noun will arise, particularly in third-party quotes, but with some awareness of its weakness. This is a terminological weakness that exists in broader literature about the Caribbean in which some misguided authors refer to the people of the region as “Caribbeans”.

Some Notes on “Ethnic Media” and the Politics of Immigrant Identities

Since Indian-format radio in Trinidad and Tobago caters to a specific ethnic audience, it may be considered under the label of “ethnic media”. Much of the academic social-science literature has addressed media outside of the commercial mainstream that have a particular cultural or group focus in terms of “ethnic” media or minority-ethnic media. The various explorations of these media have emphasized tropes of difference and questions of ethnic identity, with a general tendency towards treating such media as tools of immigrant cultural maintenance and/or assimilation. As early as the 1920s (prior to the commercial development of radio) scholars were already investigating the roles and functions of media focused on ethnic minorities. Evidence of this may be found in Robert E. Park’s publication of *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (1922). Park, considered by many to be the father of sociology, focused on several issues which persist in studies of ethnic media, including assimilation, nationalism, language and culture. Pretelli (2013, 442–43) noted that in the urban Italian immigrant communities in the United States widely characterized as “Little Italies”, these ethnic media were both important and widespread, with over a thousand newspapers in Italian being published in the United States from 1850 to 1930, such that “the ethnic press was pivotal in helping immigrants comprehend (and adapt) to the new land”.

In response to negative stereotyping of immigrant communities typical in mainstream media, ethnic media provide the basis for oppositional discourse that not only questions the dominant hegemonies of host societies but also creates opportunities for positive portrayals. For Bratu (2014, 199–200), these media offer migrants “the possibility of self-(re)presentation in the new country”, helping migrant communities “gain a voice within the host society”.

Under these broad terms scholars have investigated newspapers, radio and television stations that serve or are produced by a variety of ethnic minority groups in many countries. Halter (2013), for example, has outlined the migration of Cape Verde islanders to the United States starting in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Following a period of drought and economic hardship in Cape Verde, many of the inhabitants of what was a Portuguese colony at the time made their way to the New England region of the United States, eventually using mass and digital media to express their cultural heritage.

There exists within these explorations of ethnic media an implicit temporal difficulty that is frequently overlooked. This has to do with the descriptive titles of immigrant, ethnic and minority. When, for example, does a community evolve from being an immigrant community to being an ethnic minority, and when does an ethnic community become accepted into the mainstream?

In Trinidad and Tobago a similar question arises with continuing perceptions of an Indo-Trinidadian community forming the “ethnic minority” despite being (depending on the statistics used) either equal in numbers to the other main ethnic group or in a slight majority. The “ethnic media” frame thus faces some difficulties when applied to Trinidad’s Indian radio environment. The clear demarcation between immigrant minority and dominant established majority evident in “ethnic media” scholarship is not as clear in the Trinidadian context, since the community served by Indian radio is numerically approximately equal to those who are not in its target group, and the Indian community is no longer characterized by immigrants, but rather people who have settled for several generations with little or no additional immigration.

Despite the fact that ethnic media are defined in a variety of ways and include a wide range of media products, there remains a tendency to ghettoize these media and, in doing so, exclude them from a role in the mainstream of societies. Ross (2014, 1316) noted that “ethnic media models tend to categorize ethnic media as alternative, diasporic, community or ethnic minority language media”. Yu (2015, 133), similarly, wrote that “there seems to be a rigid perception that ethnic media are media only by, for, and about ethnic communities, and any attempt to extend their role to broader society is questioned at best or dismissed entirely as nonsense”.

The diversity of form that may be found within ethnic media reflects the diverse strategies that diasporic or multicultural communities may use for exploring transnational and transcultural content. This is true even within a

single media platform such as radio. Two examples of Indian ethnic media in the United States reflect something of this diversity.

In the ethnically diverse and well-populated areas of San Francisco, San Jose and Oakland, California, a radio station with the call letters KLOK (otherwise calling itself Desi 1170 AM) has, since 2009, boasted of being the largest and most powerful South Asian radio station in North America (KLOK AM 1170/Desi 1170 AM, 2016). The station, with a dedicated Indian content format, offers a wide range of programming, including live hosted music, singing competitions and call-in shows (Das 2010) and attracts both listeners and sponsorship from the surrounding urban areas. On the other hand, Venugopal (2001, 20) described a much more modest effort at Indian programming, with *Music of India with Nag Rao* broadcast at the time in “the open wilds of Fairbanks, Alaska, just outside the Arctic Circle . . . a town with fewer than 1,000 Indian families”. The latter effort was much more typical for many years, as Indian communities or Indian music enthusiasts found ways to negotiate programme time on community or commercial stations for their specialized broadcasts.

In Trinidad and Tobago, Indian-format radio, which may arguably be considered a form of “ethnic media”, raises questions about the role of such media in identity processes, cultural preservation and societal voice. These are among the many questions that we will examine in the following chapters, using the methods outlined above and within several conceptual frameworks including historic globalization, media history, imagined communities and hybridity.