

‘Pravaas’ on Celluloid: Representation of South Asian Diaspora in Select Post-Nineties Bollywood Cinema

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **‘Pravaas’ on Celluloid: Representation of South Asian Diaspora in Select Post-Nineties Bollywood Cinema**, submitted by Chitra P. M. to the University of Calicut, for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is an original work of observations and bona fide research carried out by her under my supervision and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree or diploma or similar titles.

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DECLARATION

I, Chitra P. M. hereby declare that the thesis entitled '**Pravaas' on Celluloid: Representation of South Asian Diaspora in Select Post-Nineties Bollywood Cinema**, submitted to the University of Calicut for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English is an original record of observations and bona fide research carried out by me under the guidance of Dr. Preetha M. M., my Research Supervisor, and Dr. Abitha Balagopal, my Co-Research Supervisor, and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree or diploma or similar titles.

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INTRODUCTION

Diaspora has emerged as a rich and variegated area of multidisciplinary research in the last few decades. Initially implying the exile and the forced dispersal of Jews and Armenians, 'diaspora' nowadays denote the transnational network of immigrants, guest workers, refugees and so on. Diasporic moves do not merely imply the physical movement of people, but the imminent possibility of inevitable cultural transactions as well as the transfer of socio-cultural background consisting of a predefined social identity, religious beliefs and practices, food habits, languages and so on. The renewed interest in diasporic discourses has shifted its interest into the spatial rather than the temporal while fathoming the social changes associated with it. Diaspora, as a cultural theory, has its roots deeply embedded with the historically significant 'black Atlantic', as mentioned by Gilroy in his work *The Black Atlantic* published in 1993, and of anti-Zionist approaches to the return to Israel and post-colonial studies associate diaspora to multi-locality, post nationality and the non-linearity of movement and time. "Diaspora constitutes a rich heuristic device to think about questions of belonging, continuity and community in the context of dispersal and transnational networks of connection" (Fortier 182).

It is widely believed that they are never cut off from their homelands and they always identify themselves as originating or belonging to their homelands. According to Gilroy, multilocality denotes the diasporic individuals maintaining multiple areas of bondness and this leads to "a historical and experimental rift between the locations of residence and the locations of belonging" (Gilroy 124). This way, diaspora can be considered as post-national since the multilocal elements of attachment within transnational sites goes beyond the national borders and also anti-national. Thus the conventional implications of culture, citizenship and identity of diasporic subjects based on their experience and presence cannot

be done since it goes outside the time-space of the nation. The dichotomous ideas of here and there, homeland versus the host society, freedom versus unfreedom etc become necessary for the linear narratives of migration. As far as diaspora is concerned, its main criterion is the forced migration and the transcultural and intercultural elements and structures that is attached to it. The point of focus in diaspora is the force behind the dispersal which may include famine, political unrest, wars, genocide, slavery and so on. Not only these, they are also pressurised with the regulations of settlement imposed upon them by the host society which involves the re-articulation of various localities, identifications and temporalities which help them to create a sense of belonging in the newly created place of migration.

The concept of 'space', that arises from the forced migration which retains an original placement as the priority, imposes the risk of reducing diaspora to its attachment with the nation-space of the 'homeland' only and many social theorists consider this relation with the homeland as a crucial element while analysing diaspora and its subjects. This belief leads to the myth of considering the diasporic communities as culturally unified with their common ethnic, geographical/national origin. The fault line in considering the centrality of the concept of homeland in diaspora is the assumption of this homeland as the stabilising factor to the discerning dangers of migration and thereby providing the nation state with the potency to discontinue the diasporic dispersal "the 'return to the homeland'—not so much in terms of an actual physical return as in terms of reducing diaspora to a single origin—brings diaspora to a halt" (Fortier 183).

Several social theorists have induced the concept of 'rhizome' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1984) as apt while dealing against the notions of cultural homogeneity. The rhizomorphic structures of diasporic dispersal points towards a unique and different mapping of homes in which a disrupted network of unified 'nodes' that helps culture and identity to be regarded as "inevitably the products of several interlocking histories and cultures, belonging at the same

time to several homes” (Hall, “Culture, Community, Nation” 362). In this way, diaspora is about “dealing equally with roots and routes” (Gilroy, “The Black Atlantic” 190) and hence the notions of space, place and culture along with the uprooted features of the postmodern life posits the contrastive image of diaspora as having the capability to comprise both attachment and movement side by side.

The answer for the binding factor inside this rhizomorphous network and the diasporic identity formation element rests upon memory rather than territory which is de-centred and erupted into numerous settings. Following Leroy Jones, Gilroy has defined this string of continuity as the ‘changing same’. He proposes that notion where those who opines about “we are more or less what we used to be” and the less or the more needs priority in the structuring of Identity is conflicting (Gilroy, “The Black Atlantic” 26). He further add up that this changing same reflects the stress between having been, being and becoming is mediated, attached or concluded and the transformation and retransformation of cultural forms result in the conversion of certain collective recollections as traditions. This changing same refutes the notion of the homeland as the ideal and only foundation of corporate mobilization and opposes linear assumptions of progress, history and continuity. As Stuart Hall in his “Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities” published in 1991 points out, the recovery of a common past, a place or a common ground is effectuated through reconstruction which is very much similar to Brah’s “the lived experience of locality” (Brah, “Cartographies” 192). Along with remembrance, the production of the identity of places, too, constitute the modality of diasporic identity. Migrants usually attach geographical locations to real life events and thus provide the place with a special prominence based on their events in the life course and exactly like this, the changing same denotes to the sustenance of a memory of place that which makes the memories place-based and not place-bound.

The 're-membering' practice of the diasporic identity formation procedure brings about a physical materiality that reinforces the act of memory by giving it a substance and it also disposes the rigid notions of territoriality and spatiality. "The emphasis on remembering refers to the process through which spaces of belonging—imagined and physical—are inhabited, in the literal sense of dwelling, in the sense of populating or 'membering' spaces with ghosts from the past and in the sense of manufacturing subjects" (Fortier 184). So, remembering is not only about the recollection of things about the past or furnishing the dwellings with objects or things that invokes certain place or people but it is also about the best possible members who are apt for it and fill in it.

Yet another topic that needs some consideration in the production of diasporic subjects is that diaspora is most often related to the myths of kinship and lineage and most of them follow the nationalist bio politics that upholds the heterosexual patriarchal figure and those who following tradition and the original culture as the ideal type. The issues of disseminated and fragmented identity will be overcome using the images of gendered structuring of culture with pre-determined notions about the family and gender roles. It may include women as the carriers and reproducers of tradition with men preserving its sanctity and the generations ensuring the continuity and integrity of that has to be maintained and followed. These presumptions show the inadequacy of the diaspora studies to overcome the liminality of the nationalist assumptions of culture, belonging and identity. The problem lies in the fact that if diaspora is supposed to examine the identity formation process that is happening within a transnational and multi local space of belonging, how can a culturally diverse community can be diasporic or imagined that way. In the present era of multiculturalism, globalisation and the frequent mobility of people, cultures and capital has prompted the nations to develop a horizon which is a spatio-temporal one in which conflict, dissemination, multi locality and diversity reigns supreme. As Avtar Brah has opined those

spaces, called as 'diaspora spaces', explores how or by whom determines a national home as a diasporic one or as an indigenous one. "As such, the concept of diaspora space foregrounds the entanglement of genealogies of dispersion with those of 'staying put'" (Brah, "Cartographies" 16). Diaspora envisages a reformula for the better understanding of home, identity and belonging since various migratory processes involve numerous characteristics unique to them and these elements are continuously lived and moderated in the production and establishment of diasporic as well as indigenous homes.

The 19th and early part of the 20th centuries witnessed unprecedented emigration of indentured and other labourers, traders, professionals and employees of the British Government, to the British, French, Dutch and Portuguese colonies in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. During the Post World War 2 period, there was far-reaching emigration of South Asians (mainly professionals) to England, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand and during the oil boom in the 1970s and 1980s, millions of South Asians emigrated to the Gulf and West Asian countries. The term South Asian diaspora consists of all the above mentioned categories of people. The emigrants from the sub-continent have been a heterogeneous lot belonging to various religious, caste, cultural, occupational and linguistic backgrounds. The economic, political and social dynamics of the host society created a deep impact on the evolution and predicament of the South Asians as a diasporic community. One of the main challenges they have to face is their ability to adapt in an alien land to follow various social organisations like family, kinship, marriage and so on. These various social institutions got effectively reconstituted bearing the stamp of the dynamics of the host society. The question about the socio cultural elements that they carry along with them is yet another challenge. These cultural elements will either be assimilated into a new one or will get completely disappeared. Viewing the diasporic life from a socio-cultural perspective, the question of identity and interpretation grabs one's attention. Whether in

literature or in cinema, they tend to deal with issues such as how the South Asians try to recreate Indian social structure where ever they go, how they hold fast to their native culture in their adopted land and the importance they give to economic interpretation rather than cultural assimilation.

“As transnational migrants settle in a new country, they transplant and naturalise cultural categories and practices, not simply because this is their ‘tradition’ or ‘culture’ but because as active agents they have a stake in particular aspects of their culture” (Werbner, “Ritual, Religion” 318). Culture, as an agency of social interaction, is not inactive and gets motivated within a medium of power relations and sociality. This way, culture can be taken as an area of transaction and relatedness. Secondly, in case of embodying the culture through performance like rituals, it transforms into an experimental force. Finally, culture becomes a political power in case of identity, selfhood, subjectivity etc as a digressive imaginary. Taking into consideration these three aspects of culture, one can say that the migrant culture is very much ‘real’, a power strong enough to produce social conflict, creativity and defensive mobilization. In short, such cultures cannot be stuck in time or space or objectified or simply excluded.

According to Pnina Werbner, South Asian migrants constitute complex or segmentary diasporas:

... the boundaries between Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Sri Lankans, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists or Sikhs, are not fixed or clearly demarcated social entities, but are fluid, situational, context-specific and permeable; they interpenetrate and cross-cut one another depending on whether the analytic lens is directed to religious, national, linguistic or regional divisions. (Werbner, “Ritual” 318)

This implies that the South Asian diaspora, whether Indian or Sri Lankan, are multiple and sometimes conflicted. Further, culture may imply numerous migrant performances from

traditional home rituals to collective public celebrations and the much complicated mass consumption of media, cinema and music. Hence, culture may include the popular or high culture with the numerous locally diasporic created products like music, novels, cinema etc. to the imported transnational cultural industry's products. All the combined aesthetic expressions jointly contribute for the formation of the transnational migrant culture.

Cinema has played a seminal role in the formation of South Asian diasporic culture, partially because of its key role in the visual cultural practices of South Asia itself. One of the major aspects of the immigrant culture is the acceptance of the imported as well as the local creativity of the diasporic aesthetic products that ranges from music to movies, from novels to plays. The current voluminous studies on Bollywood cinema's acceptance in the diasporic communities reveal the manner in which context and positionality deciding the acknowledgement, elucidation and performance of Bollywood by the migrants. The multiple level of understanding by the diasporic subjects in case of cinema varies from generation to generation. For the older generation of immigrants, the movies are a repository of genuine images set in a secure virtuous, highly admired and sexually modest cultural frame. But as far as the younger generation is concerned, they are attracted towards the Bollywood's colourful and melodramatic dance and song sequences and the high end stardom but often detaching oneself from the cinematic plots. Thus, their subjectivities are created by a "double subjectivity, a double consciousness" (Mishra, "Bollywood" 27).

The heterogeneous, buoyant and spectacularly popular medium of entertainment, Bollywood, shares a remarkable bond with the cultural, political and religious structures of the sub-continent. The movies play such an important role in their lives that it still remains the biggest diversion for and the major influence on the daily lives of its people so much that a crucial aspect of being "Indian" grows straight out of the movies halls. For them, these films have become "the most readily accessible and sometimes the most inventive form of mass

entertainment” (Rajadhyaksha, “Encyclopedia” 10). Producing the largest numbers of films every year, the Mumbai film industry is a blend of diverse elements that cater to almost all the people residing in the sub-continent as well as all over the world. Apart from the entertainment factor, Bollywood movies depict an intense insight into the “cultural flows between and within post-colonial societies and between home countries ... and the diaspora” (Srinivas 320).

The effectuation of the liberalization policy in the sub continent led to the surge of globalization which opened widely the door for change and modernity and also an opportunity for the diaspora to invest in their homelands. Since the 1990s, the sub continent began embracing the expatriate community by narrating their tales on screen and began utilizing the diaspora character as an innovative podium to mediate numerous issues of gender, identity, sexuality, religion and politics that may affect its in home audience. Movies pertaining to the NRI’s began establishing popular diasporic representations and themes and issues related to their connectedness to the homeland. Assessing the socio-political brunt of such movies, this analysis is an attempt to explore how the non resident Indian (NRI) is exemplified within the frame work of Hindi film narratives and how the increasing visibility of the diaspora within the cinema has started transforming those very filmic narratives. Using a couple of movies as a case study, this analysis will inquire deeper into the conspicuous shift of Hindi Cinema from a predominantly India-centric industry to the dimension of a transnational cinema through the images of the NRI. The terminology widely used in this analysis about the South Asian Diaspora can be taken as a collective innuendo to anybody beginning to or holding claim to India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Bhutan and Burma. These diverse ethnic groups amalgamate into one common movie watching demographic to create the Bollywood audience in major countries in the West as in the UK, USA, Australia, Canada etc.

The journey to the branding of the Hindi cinema as “Bollywood” facilitates a brief analysis of the beginning and development of the movies as a medium and entertainment for the mass residing in the sub-continent. Hindi cinema has formulated its own identity and pattern over the century of its existence and even though a foreign import, film has been accepted and acclimatised significantly by Indians which is much more than other national film industries can gloat of. Shortly after the premiering of the first moving images in Paris in 1895, the colonial power that controlled the sub continent at that time introduced cinema to the Indians on July 7, 1886 which the *Times of India* hailed as the “miracle of the century” (Gokulsing 11). This inspired many production houses to produce a large number of movies that foregrounded the south Asian locales and culture such as *Our Indian Empire* (1897), *Coconut Fair* (1897), *Poona Races* (1898) and so on.

Hindi cinema, in its initial formative years, adopted certain stylistic patterns from the various theatre components as well as from the lithographic prints that radicalized the Indian homes. The common folk plays and theatre, especially the Sanskrit plays and its adaptations, depended upon the epics like *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* as their major source and this led to the introduction of those images as pictures on the calendar art for so many years. Parsi theatre too played a prominent part in the transformation of the movies with their integration of local expressions along with certain colonial patterns which prompted into the adaptation of various successful plays into celluloid. Being a minority community, the Parsis of India imitated the colonial aspects by combining the local popular folk takes with stage props and enacting on stage the classics of Shakespeare and Sheridan, they wonderfully combined the traditional with the urban. Not only that, they experimented Indian classics like Kalidasa’s plays and Persian popular works like *Laila Majnun*. When the medium of cinema got established in the sub continent, the Parsi theatre has already imparted a strong foundation

with a powerful bevy of themes, dialogues and narratives which revolutionized the Hindi musical speech cinema style.

The British proscenium theatre that came to the sub continent with the colonial power was a major source of inspiration for the theatre that existed in the pre-colonial India. Instead of open theatre the British arch theatre introduced the technique of putting up a separation in between the actor and the spectator, new seating methods, a whole new lexicon for the stage and severed the actor from the spectator which has been followed by the Bombay cinema till recently. The seating of the audience was in such a way that each spectator enjoyed the vision as well as the voyeuristic pleasure but at the same time, a space that differentiated the actors from the audience. But the requested gaze from the actor is that of liminal and formal which led to the establishment of an informal role in between the actor and the spectator and an erotic understanding between the look and the counter look. This technique broke away all the laws of formality and like the Parsi theatre, the Bombay cinema too demanded the usage of body while enacting on stage.

A milestone in the cinema business happened in the year 1913 with the creation of the movie *Harischandra* by Dadasaheb Phalke. With this movie began the debates about the scuffle for artistic superiority among various cultural forms, the political pertinence of art and so on. “The first (struggle for pre-eminence) may be considered in transcendental terms as a debate about what constitutes the best form of cultural representation; the second (political relevance) in distinctly localised terms as what best defines the historical moment of the nation stage (and indeed what it is to begin with)” (Mishra, “Bollywood Cinema” 12). Phalke’s movies consolidated perfectly both the immediate (heard) as well as the timeless (remembered) into a coherent whole. He was prideful about his works as being both traditional and at the same time aesthetically connected to the imminent independence movement with a thorough homemade content and mode of production. “My films are

Swadeshi in the sense that the capital ownership, employees and stories are all Swadeshi,” Phalke has opined (Rajadhyaksha, “Indian Cinema: Origins” 398). Phalke exploited the ideology behind the collective gaze upon the screen and the antifascist theory that disbands traditional superiority and significance of any cultural artefact by breaking away from the shackles of cult, ritual and so on through his movies. The technological excellence and the mass reception and consumption of cinema helped cinema in breaking away from the bonds and transform itself as per the colonial India’s context. It is this unique capability of the Bombay cinema that resulted in the creation of a purely heterogeneous mode of production and the establishment of a particular film genre which made scholars name the dominant form “epic melodrama” (Rajadhyaksha “The Epic” 25) and the ‘feudal family romance’ (Prasad). “... claim that Bombay Cinema is itself a genre that is primarily a sentimental melodramatic romance... it is a grand syntagm (grandesyntagmatique) that functions as one heterogeneous text...” (Mishra, “Bollywood Cinema” 13).

The years 1930s and 1940s saw films with the aspect of the dissension between tradition and modernity being reflected as Ashis Nandy has opined in his work, *The Savage Freud: and Other Essays on Possible and Retrievable Selves* published in 1995 about the Indian mass culture and the role of the Bombay Cinema in creating a particular spirit among the urban middle class section of the society. He posits that Bombay cinema, more or less, signifies the popular mass culture in the recent times, by portraying the low forms and replacing the respect for the high standards which is reflected in the movies of 1930s and 40s. Combining together the traditional and classical elements with the regional differences, made the movies of those times unique and this trend later paved the way for movies that promoted transnationalism and assertiveness which is the by-product of globalization. Yet another peculiarity of the Indian cinema is that it doesn’t follow a complete westernized track of modernity which makes it highly appealing to Indians as well as those settled abroad. This so

called modernity in India is actually a state of mind and not at all applicable to any particular section of the society. The commercial cinema portrays an eternal India with the agenda of a universal critique of this modernity and they deviated from the strict rules of production of high art by stripping away the moral codes belonging to high art which resulted in the spectatorial identification of the modern that has been mixed with that which is dharmik and timeless.

A major turn point that has happened in the Bombay film world is the establishment of the Bombay Talkies by Himanshu Rai and his movies incorporating the song-dance sequences and the uniquely Hollywood-star style system. The year 1936 saw the release of Rai's film *Achhut Kanya* with a breakthrough camera technique belonging to the Hollywood. This particular movie stood apart for its usage of metaphysical component to rectify the historical consequences as well as the usage of a nationalist programme with the portrayal of the immanent triumph of dharma over evil and the predicament of a liberal world view. With this started the addition of prominent names likes P. C. Barua, Nitin Bose and V. Shantaram to the genre of Bombay cinema who experimented with numerous kinds of movies. P. C Barua's *Devadas* as a tragic hero, Bose's unparalleled camera tricks and Shantaram's ideal hero with the moral and social responsibilities towards the world, all created long lasting images in every Indian's mind.

Post-independence, Bombay cinema too changed drastically with a major shift in themes as well as imageries. Nehruvian era had its impact upon the film industry also with the creation of such movies as *Mother India* (1957) which brought back the rural and villages back to the silver screen. The Nehruvian concept of the Indian soul living in the villages and farmers had its own impact and effect upon the movies too. The 1970s and 1980s saw angry young man movies who fought against the corruption and injustices and the veteran actor, AmithabhBachan became the face of the angry young man through his super hit movies like

Deewar (1975), *Sholay* (1975), *Namak Haram* (1975) and so on. The much anticipated governmental policies and its failure made such movies possible with the hero rising from the gutter and raising his voice against the inequalities and injustices.

The economic liberalization policy as well as the introduction of the satellite television in 1992 let loose a chain of events that had long lasting effects. The relaxed economic approach by the national government influenced the society in such a way that almost all households started enjoying the satellite delicacies and the whole world got widely opened up in front of the burgeoning middle class. Even though the Indian television network Doordarshan has been established in the year 1976, the colour transmission and national broadcasting of the Asiad Games that happened in 1982 revolutionized the media landscape of the sub-continent. Beginning with videos that got transmitted through cable networks, this media boom began with hotel rooms and then to apartment complexes and finally to single households using the dish antennas. Though the Bombay film industry watched this media boom with much apprehension, the later years proved a much deeper and meaningful relationship in between them.

These channels offer filmmakers new avenues to publicize, promote and market their films and serve as another source of revenue since they are willing to pay large sums for the telecast rights of popular films. Many of these satellite channels are hugely dependent on Hindi films, film music, film industry news, celebrity gossip, film awards shows and stage shows featuring film stars for a steady diet of programming.

(Ganti, "Bollywood" 36)

In a way, these satellite networks helped the film industry and its stars to reach the drawing room of almost all homes, but certain high end, serialized soap operas, affected the movie business adversely, by making the middle class section of the population to watch those at home rather than going to cinema halls. Cable piracy was yet another hurdle that they had to

cross over. So, it became a task for the producers to woo the audience in order to lure them to the theatres. As far as India is concerned, affordability as well as reachability was a major criterion for the audience and this made the film stars to promote films vehemently for the reachability. Since 1997, internet too started playing a crucial part in the promotion aspect of a movie with the releasing of song and dance sequences months before the movie release.

One of the major outcomes of this liberalization policy is the accessibility of the Indian Cinema worldwide with the shifting of the shooting locations to any part of the world and even though since 1930's, Indian movies had a tremendous fan following and popularity in the West and USSR, globalization allowed the film industry to set up offices in New York, New Jersey etc. The numerous film festivals like Toronto, Tokyo, Venice, Cannes etc started nominating and exhibiting various Hindi as well as regional movies with many a Bollywood stars walking the red carpet caught the attention of the world. Even though cassettes were popular among the diasporic communities as old as 1970's, the establishment of movie halls especially for Hindi movies revolutionised the whole concept of this movie business. The immense popularity and success of these Hindi films in the UK and USA symbolizes the growing prominence of the South Asian diaspora as a lucrative market for Hindi movies. The revenue and popularity made the movie makers to ponder about the genre and kind of movies that has to be made exclusively for the South Asian diaspora and this resulted in the creation of super hit movies like *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (1995), *Kabhi Khushi Kabhi Gham* (2001), *Kabhi Alvida Na Kehna* (2006), *Salam Namaste* (2005) and so on. Wealthy transnational families, set against the back drop of luxury and comfort, became the major theme, style and marketing strategy which resulted in, "The Indian press castigated Bombay film makers for their lack of initiative and imagination and diasporic audience for their nostalgic and narrow taste in Hindi Cinema" (Ganti, "Bollywood" 40).

Yet another notable peculiarity of the post-globalized Indian cinema is the focus upon the wealth factor and the erasure of the class differences. Themes and contexts changed drastically with the wealthy and affluent characters dominating the silver screen as per the diasporic preferences. Another change that occurred is the absence of villains and loving and understanding father figures filled the reels in spectacular ways. The absence of class difference resulted in the elimination of parental discord and conflict and those movies gave prominence for the familial duty and sacrifice. “Thus the success of such films has been interpreted by the media and the state as a celebration of ‘family values’ and an affirmation of ‘Indian tradition’ in an increasingly globalised world” (Ganti, “Bollywood” 41).

Along with globalization, the 1990s saw the upswing and surge of nationalism being reflected in the Hindi movies. Even though nationalism played an important part in post-independence, 1990’s witnessed an extreme and intense type of nationalism. Before mid 1990s, West has been portrayed as immoral, materialistic and culture – less compared to the culturally superior sub-continent and majority of the villains on screen were either westernized or Europeanized Indians. Mid-1990s saw the upsurge of terrorism as a real enemy in many movies like J. P. Dutta’s *Border* (1997) which was based upon the Indo-Pak War. The growth of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has changed the political climate of India to such a level that many of the movies surpassed the censor board norms and began naming the enemy country with proper names. Even the diasporic characters too changed into people as pious and culturally orthodox with strict adherence to cultural and familial values, respect for parents, pride and respect for India and so on. Thus, these movies proclaimed the fact that anyone can be ‘Indian’ living in London, Paris or Sydney as in Delhi, Pune or Bombay. “One can be an ‘Indian’ in New York, London or Sydney as in Bombay, Calcutta or Delhi” (Ganti “Bollywood” 43).

Being a major powerful diaspora, the South Asian diaspora consisting mainly of those who migrated to the west post 1960's, has played crucial part in defining the Indianness abroad. What makes this recent South Asian diaspora unique is the bond that they share with their homeland and the Bollywood movies playing a crucial part in their orientation about their ethnicity and morality. With the film settings being shifted to diasporic locations, the South Asian diasporic community has always been portrayed as wealthy and powerful with their social acceptance and political involvement in the host society through representation, citizenship, self-empowerment and so on. "The differences between V. S. Naipaul's west Indian Novels (where the diaspora is relatively exclusive social formations) and the novels and films of Hanif Kureishi, Gurinder Chadha, and Srinivas Krishna (where the diaspora is keyed into the social imaginary of the larger nation) may be explained with reference to the politics and history of the old and new Indian diasporas" (Mishra, "Bollywood Cinema" 236).

One of the significant peculiarities of the first generation diasporic subjects is their despairing act of clinging on to their tradition and culture that results in a diasporic imaginary which differentiates them from the adopted society. This, in a way, obstructs them from affirming the 'new' nation state into their consciousness which attracts and repels at the same time. It is here that the Bombay Cinema plays a pivotal role of ushering the home land into the diaspora and also creating an imaginary connection in between the various ethno-linguistic and nationalist elements that combine to make up the South Asia. Along with the factor of globalization, deterritorialisation and globalisation is effectuated with the production of a narrow ethnicity among the diaspora. The Bollywood specific idioms has helped the diaspora to achieve a communal solidarity and being culture specific and self – contained, Indian cinema has successfully created a transnational space across the international divide. This sense of belonging or community produced in the diaspora by the cinema is the result of

a particular kind of cultural intervention while keeping intact the intangible connection with the home and a synthesized response to it.

The question of diasporic self-representation is much dependent upon the Bombay cinema. Vijay Mishra in *Bollywood Cinema: Temples of Desire* (2002), while dealing with the diasporic reading of the homeland, compares Walter Benjamin's notion of reproduced artifact with that of the reproduced in the diasporic contexts. Benjamin is of the opinion that originality can never be yoked together with "technical reproducibility" and adds that reproduced artefacts lack genuineness and is absent of inherent essence. But Mishra points out that, as far as the diasporic contexts are concerned, their reproduced artefacts has its own quality and genuinity , its own aura, which is not based upon the monetary aspect, but upon the original emotional aspect. As far as the reproduction in the area of cinema is considered "the artifacts are presented as Kitsch, the impure replica of the impossible-to-attain original" (Mishra "Bollywood" 242). This kitsch, as a cinematic technique of imitation, highlights the pretence and adulteration and its own constructions and evades the realist cinema's identificatory subjectivity. The post modern spectator, instead of identifying oneself with the situation, has taken a rather critical approach to the cinema. In case of diaspora, using emotion as an artefact, a critical diasporic theory involving personal vacillation has been achieved which is devoid of any self-identification. As a result of this, an incongruous double take on the veritably unique concept of homeland, as per the media construction, is achieved through the consumption of the kitsch artefacts by the diaspora. "The spoof of a hallowed diasporic beliefs (religion, struggle for homelands, and for many, integration into a benign multicultural nation), the use of parodic registers (both verbal and visual) are all meant to replace the authentic, the original, by the equally "authentic" artifacts of mechanical reproduction" (Mishra, "Bollywood" 243).

Yet another peculiarity is the voyeuristic pleasure that the diaspora enjoys which is highly primal in nature and is fabricated through an absence in the diasporic body. This deficiency is the result of a feeling of banishment from the active politics of the host society as well as an urge for self-representation and identification. This diasporic gaze, having an imperial, hegemonic element in it, has two aspects differentiating it from other gazes. Firstly, the gaze is centred upon the spectator, who refuses to acknowledge his power and privilege, can be considered as an ideology without any prejudice. Secondly, this gaze obstructs the spectator's/viewer's right to gaze back at the object on the screen (Kaplan 79).

In case of reciprocity and incorporation, the nature of diasporic space is an area of contention since unlike other diasporas, South Asian diaspora consumes rather than reformulating the cultural forms and they follow an international hybridity every where rather than an organic one. Another reason is the exclusion of the diasporic subjects from the active involvement in the communal homeland politics and the prominence of TV and video in their day to day lives. These facts highlight the cathartic effect these diasporic netizens enjoy by watching the Indian movies and thereby overcoming their exclusion from the social and the cultural mainstream host society politics and marginalization. The safe zone of the Bombay cinema allows them to accomplish a rare cultural and pleasurable achievement through spectatorship. As far as the consumption of the Bollywood cinema is concerned, the older generation finds solace through these movies by reducing the gap in between the estranged diasporic culture and the integrable home culture whereas the younger generation makes use of this gaze as a way of meaning making procedure and an answer to their existence in a culturally alienated nation state. While the older generation is frantically trying to create an artificial culture using these movies, the younger generation has long understood the importance of these cultural interpretations in the emotional and psychological existence of the diasporic imaginary.

Bombay cinema has played a crucial role in creating a significant version of the diaspora by conveying what the diaspora derives to be seen and felt the prominence being attributed to the value systems followed by them in the host societies. Displaying a better version of the diaspora, the Bombay cinema has outdone itself by portraying images that produced an imaginary illusion both in the homeland as well as among the diasporic communities. The primacy of tradition over modernity became their hall mark and with the passage of years, diasporic deterritorialisation occurred due to the emergence of a new type of travel culture that set in pace the film companies, travel agencies and impresarios to take advantage of the South Asian diasporic population and their desire to keep in touch with their homeland incessantly. So, the ideology that these Bollywood movies follow is that of fulfilling the diasporic fantasies and when these particular fantasies are viewed and accepted as reality back in the home land, they become the real that the diaspora pursues after. These movies follow the typical pattern of the home and the work place with the work place signifying the host society and its ethics where as home symbolising intense traditionalism of the homeland. The unchangeable and stagnant South Asian family forms their base with ethnicity and moralism.

Majority of the diasporic movies deal with either the gender and sexual politics within the racialised diasporic communities, or about the questions of subjectivity and representation in the globalized times. Having influenced the construction, activation and deferment of nostalgia in the South Asian cultural context, Bollywood movies' production, distribution and reception of its narrativity in a particular cultural aesthetics is quite problematic. It further adds up to the creation of a particular diasporic spectatorship and subjectivity that helps in the better understanding of transnational experience, culture and identity. The Eurocentric logic of branding anything that which is post-colonial as esoteric should not be applied while analysing movies dealing with diaspora and rather than the 'otherisation' (Desai, "Beyond

Bollywood” 2), posits that a broader outlook should be applied which involves the embodiment, identification, cultural production and reception and nationalism as it marks the diasporic movies unique and particular. In the process of analysing and evaluating certain genres of diasporic movies, transnational studies has played a prominent part by incorporating various disciplines like post colonial and globalization studies, black diaspora and Asian American studies in constructing a frame work for the evaluation process.

A close scrutiny of the South Asian diaspora reveals an amalgamation of the local and the global through the intermingling of the micro logical and macro-logical elements with the media and cinema acting as the key factor in the diasporic cultural formation. The term South Asia implies the trans-nationalities that are incoherent, diverse and mixed rather than coherent or fixed. ‘South Asia’, as a constructed category, is often used as a strategic geopolitical or geographical term indicating political alliances, both in Asia and in diasporas and it is something that configure social identities and categories without necessarily alluding to national identities. It can be considered as an area of study that consists of a fabricated geopolitical region with intermingled political histories and economies and at the same time something that has been envisaged as a homogeneous community from an extraneous point of view. Majority of the studies and discussions about South Asia has eclipsed the factor ‘India’ with the result being the production of an orientalist version of India with a homogenous culture representing the whole of South Asia. The notion of creating one’s own identity or politics and thereby deconstructing the common nationality needs a thorough understanding and acknowledgement of the various religious conflicts that has happened within and between the nations. In other words, only through an intricate analysis of the multiple layered power relations that resulted in the structuring of a singular Hindu Indian identity, needs to be executed. Beginning with the indentured labourers to the skilled and semi-skilled labour flow to various parts of the world resulted in the creation of the Brown

Atlantic and even though a common vein of similarity runs through in most of the diaspora, the existence of a rather heterogeneous and dissimilar characteristics among various diasporas all over the world should not be neglected.

Along with the economies of production and consumption of the Bollywood movies, their cultural politics in deciding the diasporic integration, identities and politics paves a better way for the understanding of globalization and transnationalism in the diasporic contexts. Global capitalism plays a determining factor in the cultural production as well as mode of production and a feasible way to analyse the global processes. Diasporic cinema, clearly belonging to the category of global processes, facilitates a way in decoding the Eurocentrism within the context of global capitalism. Compared to the South Asia, the South Asian diasporic communities maintain an entirely different type of cultural politics due to the impact of technology, globalization and post colonial elements. The so-called public and popular diasporic cultural politics determine the nation - state policies and thereby negotiates the specific way in which these movies are produced, circulated and accepted by the diasporic communities.

One of the prominent factors that determine the nature of diasporic movies is the influence of the popular culture. With their mass mediated policies, high culture help these communities to identify their connection with the everyday life and projects of the nation-state and these are the areas where the South Asian social difference like race, gender, nationality and so on are contested in the process of a transnational subject formation. But not all sections of the diasporic society may raise their voice in matter concerning the general welfare of the society. Those like the subaltern section of the migratory section including the racial underclass of the North and the Southern subaltern figures are often made mute or marginalized in the diasporic movies because of its stress upon the elite transnational subject. Triggered by the global capitalism, the mass migration to the west has created a rather

complex and contradictory cultural production and subjectivities which resulted in such movies where contesting debates and oppressive cultural politics of the diasporic communities are discussed.

Along with globalisation, post coloniality is one of the major elements in the construction of Brown Atlantic and its trajectories. In order to understand the role of post coloniality in the creation of transnationalities, there should be made a clear cut differentiation in between post coloniality and post colonial critique. According to Desai post coloniality has been defined as a social condition which is a non-permanent period that has its roots in the political and economic subjugation and domination which led to various struggles against the supervision. On the other hand, the term post colonial critique is something that facilitates in a better understanding of modernity and colonialism through the analysis of the relatedness between knowledge and power. "... postcolonial critique theoretically and politically attempts to identify and to deconstruct the universalising Eurocentric discourses of colonialism, nationalism and modernity, through challenging universalist narratives of history, critiquing the form of the nation, and interrogating the relationship between power and knowledge" (Desai, "Beyond Bollywood" 10). So far, post colonial studies has tried to leave aside the bipartite logic of colonial and anti colonial which highlights the elite nationalisms that do not deconstruct the Eurocentric logic of knowledge. It is here the subaltern studies and theorists like Ranajit Guha and Gyan Prakash who has successfully employed the Marxist and post structural methodologies in foregrounding the subaltern struggles in anti colonial nationalisms. By concentrating upon the notions of nation and modernity, these scholars has tried to re-read the gaps and silence that has been over looked by the nationalist and colonial elites and thereby bringing into prominence the anxieties, fears and turmoil felt by the subaltern sections. Deconstructing the elitist nation state, post colonial feminist studies such as that of Partha Chatterjee's and Gayatri Spivak's readings about the

failure of representing subaltern subjects within the nation by the anti colonial bourgeois nationalism resulted in the classification of a gendered subaltern proving the failure of a nation is note worthy. In contrary to this, the past few decades of South Asian migration has witnessed a flow of only the educated subjects of the bourgeoisie, with the skilled and semiskilled and even professionally qualified individuals migrating to Britain and other parts of the Common Wealth in search of a better future and they never disrupted the elitist history of colonialism.

Post colonial scholars like Homi Bhabha has tried to analyse the relationship between post coloniality and transnational migration. With his works pointing out the movement of transnational diasporas to the cities, marks out the return of the repressed and thereby they change the course of history of a nation. But most of Bhabha's work concentrates upon the cultural strategies of miming and hybridity that question the ideas of nationalism and modernity and thereby excluding the subaltern and non-elite section of the diasporic community. Challenging the notions of nationalism and national identity, the post colonial diasporic critiques have never back grounded the complete issues such as slavery, exile, post coloniality, transnationality, colonialism etc unlike the post modernist critique.

The effects of globalization on the nation states and transnational migration have been either enumerating or existent. Most of the scholars have employed the frame works of both global and local in order to comprehend the transnational occurrence as a heterogeneous and fragmented process. The displacement of people as well as mass movement of capital and culture across borders during the migration process has been viewed commonly as the unequal distribution of capital and economy which is the result of world system theories. This world system model considered the entire globe as a political and economic unit into which the component parts called the nation states got integrated into, through the process of exploitation and misused system theories. The end result won the division of the world

system model into the core and the periphery or as the North and the South. A different league of social scientists used ethnography in order to explicate the role of local as the medium for cultural resistance and creative engagement and often highlighted influence of the total as an innovative, contrary and transgressive factor opposing the consistent global forces ending to the formation of the categorization of the transnational processes happening in the local level as cultural specific and resistant.

The penetrable nature of the borders, the decoupling of the nation states and the adjustable transnational citizen enjoying multiple political and economic powers prompted scholar such as Arjun Appadurai to consider the incessant movement of people capital, culture and so on in a complex transnational flow as a unique and specifically postmodern condition in his works “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy” published in 1990 and *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* published in 1996. According to Appadurai things have reached such a phase where there no longer exist nation states but only the post national and diasporic identities that are disconnected to territorial states as a result of the globalization process. “We are in the process of moving to a global order in which the nation-state has become absolute and other formations for allegiance and identity have taken its place... and there will be a spread of national forms unconnected to territorial states” (“Patriotism and its Futures” 421). While earning the hyphen between the nation and the state, there produces an entirely new kind of global space in the local contexts of culture that resists the global. Appadurai claims that these new trends will accentuate the flow of ideas, images and resources worldwide and will effectively oppose the nation state while providing amicable pathways for large scale political loyalties. Even though capitalism is connected to the migrational process, these new kind of shifts happen only to a specific portion of the population. According to Desai these shifts or processes are

... specific flows that follow certain circuits of migration. It recognizes that globalization processes are differentiated, reconstructing transnational circuits and regions, rather than a homogenous global, structure; it recognises their complex relations with the local, urban, regional, national and international. This migration produces a certain heterogeneous and hybrid multiscalar spaces—that of the Brown Atlantic. (“Beyond Bollywood” 17)

Diaspora plays a crucial part in the perception of nation, race and identity and acts as a post colonial critique of the metaphor, home and origin. As far as their part in the production of cultural politics and knowledge, cultural studies has always given due prominence to diaspora for its critique of the racialized nature of national identity and interrogated the fixed and orthodox logic of modernity. It has always tried to disrupt the agenda of nationalists of belonging to the land through narratives of purity and rootedness. Post 1980s saw the involvement of the term in various discourses as a discerning factor in response to the ostracised and racist national narratives and also in relation to Bhabha’s convictions about post colonial migration and hybridity. Even though these diaspora discourses concretised the expansion of multiculturalism, globalization and its after effects of the death of the nation further consolidated diaspora the deterritorialized community that can succeed the nation – state. Classical definitions of diaspora always reinforce the element of nostalgia and desire for the homeland and the possibility of an imminent return, the later discussions and readings have revealed this desire for the return and homeland nostalgia as baseless and meaningless. Recent discourses often use the term diaspora interchangeably with that of exile, refugee, immigrant and thereby undermines the nationalist narratives and scholars have even posited that instead of going against the state, diaspora has this potentiality to go with the nation-state.

According to William Safran diasporas “regard the homeland as the true, ideal home to which they or their descendants should and will eventually return when conditions are acceptable” (Safran 84). The traditional perception of diaspora consider the return to the homeland as imminent but Safran points out that not all diasporas meet up with this specific feature. According to Khachig Tölölyan “It makes more sense to think of diasporas or diasporic existence as not necessarily involving a physical return but rather a re-return, repeated turning to the concept and/or relation of the homeland and other diaspora kin” (14). Thus, diaspora becomes something that which unbinds itself from a mere physical resettlement issue to something more heterogeneous that connects them to the homeland and to other diasporic locations through various methods such as memory, travel, imagination and cultural production. So, not all transnational feelings are nostalgic for homelands, since many forms of this return is possible in the ever increasing transnational scenario. Compared to numerous other diasporas, South Asian diasporas are invested with more economic and political power in the host society and what binds them together is some sort of South Asianness. This particularity is based upon an anticolonial nationalist agenda and how it influences the diasporic politics, recommends an understanding of the existing problematic relationship in between the diasporic communities and the notion of ‘native’. Initial discourses about diaspora considered the homeland as a place existing before the happening of the displacement and where as the modern discussions and studies of diaspora reveals it to be the production of various material practices and cultural discourses about diasporic displacement and imaginings. Desai is of the opinion that diasporas and homelands are constructed through narratives signifying wholeness and belonging like nations and envisages the diasporic subject as neither fragmented nor dispersed (“Beyond Bollywood 19). Envisioning an original and authentic homeland has become the hallmark of exilic narratives and for them, home is something that has turned unique and fantastic due to the distance and

loss. This loss leads to the strengthening of the nationalism's logic of authenticity and origin and thereby in the formulation and the construction of an imaginary home and nation.

Diasporas and homelands produce and constitute each other through the medium of narratives resulting in the production of a particular kind of identity and politics. Thus, South Asian homelands and their diasporas imagine themselves in a peculiar way and these imaginings are given due credit in the light of the critiques of home and origin.

Therefore, coupling an understanding of diaspora as a mode of interpreting the transnational cultural and economic politics with diaspora as a critique of the notion of an origin and homeland provides a complex framework for theorising contemporary migrations—migrations that also require considerations of race and other social categories of difference. (“Beyond Bollywood” 20)

Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy have got difference of opinion while theorising the notions of diaspora. According to Hall in “Culture, Community, Nation” diaspora is best validated through difference rather than stressing the return to the roots and antinationalist discourse can't be considered as its primary function. He opines that diaspora can be used as a framework in understanding the anti essentialist identities indicating difference like that of religion, gender, class and sexuality. Diaspora can be taken as a manoeuvre to reassemble, relocate and enunciate these dissimilarities in global capitalist methods of production. On the other hand, Gilroy advocates the forced migrations like that of African and Jewish ruminating in not similar essential experiences but to shared racial politics. Such forceful uprootings focus upon the memories and celebrations which is strongly defined by the threats included in forgetting the land of origin and the painful process of dispersal as mentioned by Gilroy in his work *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Colour Line* published in 2000. So, for Gilroy, diaspora acts as a tool for the identification and non identification process in relation to nation and against the post modern commemoration of mobility.

Gilroy challenges the need for questioning the nation as a cultural, political and socio-economic unit as well as the concept of purity attached to the notion of culture by the modernity. He point out that the cultural flow due to the crisscrossing of the Atlantic by numerous intellectuals, artists and activists to united states, Canada, Britain etc resulted in a peculiar kind of transnational and intercultural exchange that established a counter culture of modernity. He further adds that the Black diaspora is directly associated to its history of slavery and the discourses and theories pertaining to it cannot be applied generally to other diasporas without a proper understanding of the ways and reasons for their displacement and formations. Just like that, the South Asian diaspora and its structure that has happened due to indentured labour system, colonialism and even capital distribution resulted in a particular kind of diaspora with its own type of politics and culture. So, having different economies and histories, these transnational formations differ in every possible way and definitely need particular kinds of framework for analyzing them. There arises the need for strategizing within the borders as well as across the borders. The local as well as global needs equal balancing and must be co-constitutive and the concretization of the global as universal and monolithic where as the local as mobile, fluctuating and particular, makes them relational too.

Even though the Mumbai film industry and scholars has constantly criticized and rejected the umbrella term 'Bollywood' for its homogenizing effect and its proposition of Indian cinema's imitativeness, neither the masses nor the cineaste are resistant to the charm and magic of the Hindi cinema. Rajadhyaksha in his article :The Bollywoodisation of Indian Cinema : Cultural Nationalism in a Global arena"published in 2003, has deconstructed the term 'Bollywood' and put forward the fact that the after effects of liberalization in the Indian economy resulted in the corporatization of the film industry with a drastic change in the mode of production, content and form of the cinematic narratives and he further adds that it engendered Bollywood's close connected practices like song, music, dance, life-style and so

on. M. Madhava Prasad in “This Thing called Bollywood” published in 2003 has further interpreted the term as an “empty signifier” that can be “applied to any sets of signifieds within the realm of Indian Cinema” (44). By adopting a new genre that brought the NRI to the scene and also adapting to the requirements of the consumer capitalism, Prasad opines that the change in linguistics should be taken as “an index of social transformations”. He even added that the revolutionary changes that has happened in the Bollywood is actually an insight into “the changing modalities of Indian national identity in a globalizing world” (46).

Anjali Gera Roy discusses about the soft and hard powers that the Bollywood brand enjoys and how these powers function as ethno-cultural signifier of Indian national identity and how it has been elevated into the position of a means through which the nationalist ideology been articulated. Joseph Nye, in his work *Bound to Head: The changing Nature of American Powers*, published in 1990 coined the word ‘soft power’. He further elaborates the term ‘power’ into three categories namely “coercion (sticks), payments (carrot) and attraction (soft power)” (167). For Nye, soft power is more powerful and potent than coercion and apart from united states, modern times has seen the rise and prominence of various other nations like India, Japan and China and their exercise of soft power over the other nation states. In 2006, he even exclaimed about the popularity and success of Indian films across Asia, Africa, Middle East and Europe with the soft power over navigating things. Soon, even Indian strategists too publicising the jargon ‘Soft Power’ with Bollywood asserting its influence and impact not only upon the diasporas in the Canada or UK or USA, but around the globe, even to the Cinema halls of Syria and Senegalese alike. Apart from the south Asian audiences, statistical data revealed a rise in the number of non-south Asian Bollywood consumers too which ignited the hope in the Bollywood directors to broaden the influence of Indian movies further ahead.

According to Raghavendra ‘Bollywood’ has evolved much further from being simply “mainstream Hindi Cinema” (“Mainstream” 30). Apart from enjoying a hegemonic position for being made in the national language, Bollywood, right from the beginning, has presumed the position of a national cinema with its widespread reach and it will be the only cinema industry in the world that deliberately avoids local influences that may disrupt the interests of the state even though it has been regarded as a national cinema without any patronage from the state. Thus, according to Raghavendra “... the Indian nation continued to be discernibly ‘inscribed’ in main stream Hindi filmic texts which is another way of saying that Hindi popular cinema assisted (in Benedict Anderson’s terms) in the imagining of the Nation.” The concept of Nation in most of the Hindi movies is symbolized through the imageries of the land, the state and the tradition. Even though the concepts of land and state sidestepped with the prioritisation that happened in the Indian Cinema, tradition outlasted everything with different images connoting tradition in each era. The 1970s saw the ‘mother’ image standing up for tradition in movies like *Deewar* (1975) and later the notion of ‘community’ signifying the state becoming the over powering element in the Hindi movies. Providing with the attributes of the Nation, the concept of community been allegorised by including religious minorities, social stratas and different castes that make up the sub continent. Just like the Nation, the notion of community in Bollywood movies demands allegiance and punishment for betraying or neglecting its norms and conditions. “The community as a microcosm of the notion also means that the depart conflict in the narrative is arranged within and not caused by agencies external to it” (Raghavendra, “Mainstream” 28).

It is quite evident that Bollywood retains a particular kind of relationship with the south Asian Diaspora through numerous communication networks and its consumption. Recent academic discourses consider Bollywood as a paramount element in the diasporic imaginary with its provision of “... the most tangible links to the homeland” where

Bollywood acts as a “...complex terrain for the production of multiple and intersecting narratives about “homelands” and imagined communities of diaspora across transnational sites” (Bhatia 5). Post-globalisation rendered an escalating consumption and global circulation of Bollywood that necessitated the analysis of the rearrangements done by the Bollywood cultural industry, and in case of the meanings and nuances, the implication of the return to the homeland and an assessment of those movies that implement various economic and ideological strategies in order to cater to the Non-residents abroad needs to be analysed. Being highly heterogeneous in character, the south Asian diaspora responds and interprets the meanings and implication communicated through Bollywood in a varied manner.

Beginning with the indentured communities settled in Fiji, Caribbean and Africa and their tangible link to their homeland through the medium of Hindi cinema, Bollywood has acted as “temples of desire” that enabled them to evoke pleasure and nationalistic pride through the medium of melodrama and song-and-dance sequences. Mishra points out that the Bombay cinema has succeeded in providing the homeland to the diaspora and also in constructing a feeling of unitedness (even though imaginary) among the heterogeneous linguistic and national sections that sums up the South Asian diaspora (Mishra, “Bollywood Cinema” 237). Depending upon the diaspora for its global outreach as well as revenue, Bollywood has started representing the non-resident South Asian in such a way that a deterritorialisation of the connection between the sub-continent and the diaspora has achieved which led to the production of a particular kind of solidarity and sense of belonging among the various transnational communities. The year 2001 saw the assigning of a formal industry status to the Indian Cinema that rendered a national identity to this global cultural industry and in Rajadhyaksha’s words, Bollywood works as a “diffuse cultural conglomeration involving a arrange of distribution and consumption activities from websites to music cassettes, from cable to radio” (Rajadhyaksha “Indian Cinema in the Time” 20). These

developments paved the way for the framing of a notion about the sub-continent and this idea is transmitted and communicated to the diasporic viewers, there by catering to their desires about the values and ethics of home. Even though the nostalgia for home is being satiated through these movies, the image of India that Bollywood produces exclusively for the diaspora concentrates upon the nation's heterogeneity and follows a unified narrative which is in proportion with the presiding ideologies and viewpoints. One of the recent prominent trends that Prasad in his work *Ideology of the Hindi Film: A Historical Construction* points out in the functioning of Bollywood as "an ideological" gadgetry that caters highly to the presiding diction of those who are in power. The movie characters moving in between the sub-continent and the west either for business or through transnational marriages and their wealthy and affluent life style has become a common feature in many of the Indian movies. Thus, Bollywood acts as one of the dominant forces in the structuring of the conscious production among the elite transnationals through a mix up of both reality and fantasy and thereby it becomes "an (ambivalent) participant in a worldwide hegemonic formation" that popularises "the modernisation formula" (Chakravarty 118).

Alongside popularising and supporting modernization and technological advancements, one peculiarity of Bollywood films is their adherence to the notion that India will attain its glory only through the conservation of its moral and cultural values. This affinity leads to the portrayal of anti western or anti modern narratives on screen which is highly prevalent and constant. These narratives mostly occur using family plots with a fixed moral and social code formulated for women which is sacrosanct and has to be followed both in India as well as in the diaspora too. The end result of such gendered portrayal of the so called 'Indianness' through westernised but Indian heroine, is the recasting of the white woman as both "Other and desirable" and the definition of a connection with whiteness that is decided by the shifting nature of the diasporic spectatorship. This attempt of Bollywood to

reproduce India for the global west has resulted in a limited understanding of India and its culture and also a diminutive picture of the diaspora too. The immediate post - independence themes of colonization, socialism and worker's equality all got replaced with new ideals with the music and dance creating particular spaces in club and discotheques where the younger diasporic generation tried to articulate their "hyphenated identities" (Bhatia 7). This adaptation and adulteration of the Bollywood music into the clubs and discos of West has resulted in the denigration of the relationship in between the nation -state and artistic meanings. In order to highlight the peculiar and multi-faceted history of Hindi films and its connotations, Bhatia makes use of the readings done upon the various version of the canonical film *Devdas* by Madhujā Mukherjee in which she discusses about the journey of the protagonist from Landon to the sub continent due to globalization where as the early versions were very much about the journey back to the village from the city. These show the post-globalisation effect on the medium of cinema and their locally and specifically located meaning production mechanism.

One of the major reasons for the widespread global outreach of the Bollywood cinema is the issue of accumulating better revenue which resulted in the corporatization of the whole film industry under huge banners. This corporatization has directly affected the themes of almost all the movies with the location as well as the protagonist being diaspora centred. This visibility attributed to the diasporic netizens prompted further the film producers to assert some other types of connections and involvements that solicited an articulation of embarrassment among the diasporic spectators which prompted them to contribute materialistically as well as emotionally back in their homeland. In case of Bollywood dispensing feasibility for political or social critique, it is quite evident that diasporas utilize Bollywood for their own subjectivities. Recent studies reveal the watching of Bollywood movies creating complex and intricate pleasures that allow the diasporic communities to go

beyond and evade the so called idealized desire for the homeland which is the out come of the longing for the homeland or the loss of it. In short, as Nandi Bhatia has analysed, keeping apart the popularity and the success of Bollywood, its relationship with the south Asian diaspora has been that of contradictory and ambivalent. The one reason being the role played by Bollywood as the negotiating force in between India and the south Asian diaspora in matters of political activism, moulding opinion and from reaffirming the prevalent ideologies. Thus, it can be considered as a juncture, where the political and the cultural domains get connected. Yet another reason is the reality of the diasporic spectator as not passive consumer of Bollywood films even though majority of the movies produced post globalization has attempted to cater to those who manages power and authority with the portrayal of connections between India's wealthy elite, middle-class NRI's and white people. "While India may remain the idyllic homeland or a fantasy space, it becomes for many viewers a tangible cultural artefact that enables the assertion of a cultural identity in contexts in which the consumers of Bollywood can speak to the politics of multiculturalism as social minorities, and yet also negotiate their (gendered) identities at the personal and familial levels" (Bhatia 8).

The first chapter, titled as 'Cinema and Cultural Transmission', deals with how cinema as a medium helps in transmitting the various cultural traits and modalities worldwide. Being highly fluidic in nature, culture has always played a prominent part in the progress of a society and the levels of meanings that it produces and imprints upon the people. Reflecting a society, cinema has always incorporated and amalgamated those traits that resulted in the production of a forever mark across the globe. As far as Bollywood cinema is concerned, the after math of globalization resulted in a particular kind of transnational cinema that catered exclusively for the diasporic communities. Serving as a transmitter of culture, the Indian film industry has successfully disseminated values and

ethics that the diaspora yearns for, through the movies. This chapter has incorporated two movies, *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* and *Aa Ab LautChalen*. *DDLJ* titled as 'Branding Bollywood', deals with the transformation and popularity of Hindi film industry under the tag 'Bollywood' and its after effects. It further elucidates the brand name and the evolvment that has been initiated to the Hindi film industry globally. The second cinema, *Aa Ab LautChalen* titled as 'Exotic Other in Exile', is about the resurgence of the orientalism where orientalist practices been used in various cultural productions for the purpose of popularity and recognition. Promoting oneself as exotic, the Orientals have been promoting the re-Orientalistic patterns and desires in order to satiate the desires and urges of the Occidentals. This particular movie has further incorporated the 'Vilayati' sentiments in order to drive home the feelings of nostalgia and longing for the homeland among the diasporic communities.

The second chapter titled as 'Gaze and Desire' deals with the notion of gaze as a form of mastery with the male character and the viewer's mastery over the female object. Following Laura Mulvey's seminal work dealing with the male gaze and the female object, it further elaborates how gaze and desire controls and dominates the medium of cinema. The two movies that have been incorporated in this chapter are *English Vinglish* and *Pardes*. *English Vinglish*, titled as 'Gender and Representation', is about the stereotypical representation of women in Bollywood. Considered as carriers of tradition and culture, these women are often represented as those alluding ethics and morality. *Pardes*, titled as 'Hybridity and Purity', deals with purity and the homogeneous nature of the South Asian culture and tradition. Initially portrayed as a version of East/West dichotomy, post globalised Bollywood movies have exuberantly celebrated the uniqueness and purity of the culture belonging to the sub-continent.

The third chapter, 'The Politics of Imagining the Homeland' elucidates how the concept of homeland been manipulated and utilised by the Bollywood film industry to evoke the feelings of passion and nostalgia among the diaspora. The glorification of one's own land that has its roots deeply embedded, has been one of the weapons used by the Hindi film industry to arouse the feelings of nationality and thereby gain popularity for themselves. The two movies that have been incorporated in this chapter are *Namaste London* and *Kabhi Alvida Na Kehna*. *Namaste London*, titled as 'Cultural Imaginary', deals with the production and circulation of an imaginary culture through the medium of cinema. As a result of granting visibility to the NRI through the medium of cinema, an imaginary kind of culture got incorporated into Bollywood that satiated the desires and longings of the diasporic communities. *KANK*, titled as 'Cultural Cosmopolitanism', is about the promulgation of global citizenship. It elucidates the porous nature of national boundaries that resulted in the cultural heterogeneity and upholding the trans-national or trans-local attribute of the global citizen. Not bounded by any nation or state, new cosmopolitanism advocates the withdrawal from the old norms of diaspora as being static and homogeneous into something fluid and highly heterogeneous.

CHAPTER – 1

CINEMA AND CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

Along with the symbolic representation of a cinema screen as a cultural mirror, the ability of the camera to reproduce culture is a great attribute which is much more powerful than a mere simple reflection of visuals. Cinema literally devotes to a culture's self-image, fine-tuning and not just seizing the daily experiences. The relationship between cinema and popular culture needs a thorough examination of the arguments on cultural production and issues that narrate power, ideology and representation, nationalism and post-colonialism. Popular culture of any given society is expounded by the common values and topics that any society seeks to build and follow, and since its invention, the medium of cinema has proved to be one of the most successful and powerful tools to popularize and transmit culture worldwide. Since culture is not static and is very much fluid, the progress of a society through time leaves its mark upon the various levels of meanings that a culture produce and imprint upon the people.

As far as Bollywood is concerned, the aftermath of globalization resulted in a unique and particular kind of transnational cinema that has the natural ability to transform the national into international and a cross-cultural transmission of ideas, aesthetics and other traits. This new genre of Bombay cinema has made possible the immigration of cultural aspect to the various South Asian diasporic communities worldwide. While analyzing the movies dealing with the culture and transmission, the concept of multiculturalism needs special elucidation since it consists of numerous factors such as race, religion, language, culture etc. Among diasporic individuals, culture plays a dominant role in moulding and creating a particular kind of identity, as far as the medium of cinema is concerned. One of the prominent features of the globalization effect upon the sub-continent, is the cultural flow

through the medium of art especially, cinema. The term cultural flow is frequently used in the consumer culture in relation to the production/consumption processes and products. Cultural flows can be described as the multi directional movements and re-allocations of ideas, human beings and artefacts within the so-called domain of 'culture' in its international, national and local dimensions.

According to transformationalist globalization theorists, migrations and movements result in ever-changing cultural productions that eliminate imagined boundaries and territorial borders that help the nation-states in legitimating their power. They argue that mass mobilization of the cultural flows help the nation-states in legitimising their power. They argue that mass mobilization of the cultural flows help in disseminating identities and thereby paving a better path for intercultural discourses. Transformationalism does not consider culture as a monolithic structure consisting of multiple practices and values but instead gives prominence for the aggregation of cultural trajectories through time and space. These flows promote human creativity both in the organized as well as in the non-organized forms and the production and consumption of such cultural specific products and ideas gets inter linked, where by the consumers will start designating new meanings to them which leads to the transformation of them into symbolic 'producers' and assigns them with some source and acceptance in a consumer community.

The notion of cultural flows is closely connected with anthropologist Arjun Appadurai's seminal essay "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy" (1990). According to Appadurai, the time has come to re-evaluate the binary oppositions that colonial history has taught us.

The new global cultural economy has to be understood as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order, which cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center periphery models (even those that might account for multiple centers and peripheries).

Nor is it susceptible to simple models of push and pull (in terms of migrations theory or of surpluses and deficits (as in traditional models of balance of trade), or of consumers and producers (as in most neo-Marxist theories of development). (296)

Instead, he proposes that the flows or 'scapes', sweep through the globe, taking along with it information, ideas, capital, people and technologies. In the act of this flow, national boundaries get blurred and the products produce different combinations and assurances where by mutation and splitting of the cultural imagination into nation state will be the end result. This is how the international barriers get destructed and people jointly construct imagined communities which are formed beyond the place where they were born and raised.

Dismissing the traditional migratory theory due to the push and pull elements, Appadurai puts forward a 'disorganized capitalism' hypothesis supporting Scott Lash and John Urry (1987) whereby he classifies the global cultural flows into five categories, namely; ethnoscapas (human migrations), technoscapas (configurations of technology), financescapas (global business networks), ideoscapas (landscapes of images) and mediascapas (cultural industry networks).

I use terms with the common suffix scapes to indicate first of all that these are not objectively given relations which look the same from every angle of vision, but rather that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected very much by the historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as sub-national groupings and movements (whether religious, political or economic) and even intimate face to face groups, such as villages, neighbourhoods and families. ("Disjuncture" 296)

Appadurai is of the opinion that global flows happen through and in the developing disjunctures between 'scapes.' By 'mediascape,' Appadurai implies the electronic and print media in the global 'cultural flows'. For him, mediascape consists of the electronic

capabilities of production and dissemination as well as the product, ie the images of the world created by these media.

‘Mediascapes’ whether produced by private or state interests, tend to be image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience and transform them is a series of elements (such as characters, plots and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places. (“Disjuncture” 299)

These strips do often get subdivided into composite groups of metaphors through which people live and these help in the construction of the narratives of the Other and an exemplary set of narratives that make lives and fantasies possible which eventually facilitates the force and desire for mobility and accession. Cultural flows produce ‘hybridity’ which controls the amalgamation of the tangible and intangible categories that were originally considered as separate entities. Just like the consumer products being produced in the various local, national and international markets, national cultures too goes through various mix ups, multiple understandings and reproductions by different groups consisting of both producers and consumers.

‘Travelling cultures’ is yet another term similar to cultural flows which was coined by James Clifford in his essay “Travelling Cultures” (1992). For Clifford, the anthropological site is not a perfectly framed field but it is something that is created together by both the observers (outsiders) as well as the observed (insiders). He opines that culture is a huge travel where people travel between home and outside and returning with mixed up cosmopolitanism which is the result of the encounters with others. This idea of Clifford got adopted by other sociologists while analyzing the virtual as well as the actual action of travelling and tourism. This tourism and travelling as a kind of mobility creates ties between the global and the local, resulting in what Ronald Robertson terms ‘glocalisation’ in his work “Glocalisation: Time-

Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity” published in 1995. It is also actually the end product of the produced consumer goods travelling through the globe and these flows creating an amalgamation of the global and the local.

The technological boom and convergence that happened after globalisation made easier the transfer of media from one place to another, and as far as the subcontinent is concerned, media has always played a dominant role in the process of reshaping the ways of this transfer. Among media, movies can be considered as the appropriate example for this so called technological convergence and means of cultural transmission across the borders. Bollywood, the popular and mainstream cinema of the Indian subcontinent, is one of the most successful forms of global media which has frequently competed against the monolithic Hollywood and sometimes even challenged its hegemony in terms of popularity as well as the revenue. The reason behind the popularity of Bollywood movies rest upon two factors: one, it deals with the portrayal of that tradition which is an altered version of the western modernity and proliferate culturally, and the other, the cultural cover of the Bollywood films are equally cosmopolitan, modern and future welcoming. Bombay films has always brought out the mobilization of hope and illusion that prompted the world wide cultural flow and what makes these movies special is that they have found popularity in those regions where there seems no significant connection to the sub- continent apart from some meagre south Asian diasporic communities that can hardly influence the local culture. Various societies all over the world have different access and exposure to media and, people, accept and enjoy these pleasures in their cultural contexts.

South Asian Diaspora has played a prominent part in popularising and exchanging various cultural traits all over the world through the medium of cinema, especially Bollywood cinema. These movies have helped them in regaining and igniting the cultural knowledge, a sense of belonging and a casteless and classless utopian world. These films are a powerful

repository of memories and images from the past that produces nostalgia among the diasporic individuals. Bollywood, in actuality, mediate between the homeland and diaspora through which the South Asian diaspora finds a way to reconnect with their tradition and culture which they had left behind pretty long back. The cultural flow initiated by Bollywood movies has helped the second- and third-generation South Asians to create an identity for themselves based on the various cultural artefacts exchanged through these movies. There happens the prevalence of the homogenisation of culture in these movies where the whole of the sub-continent is completely represented through Bollywood movies.

Cultural ethnography plays an important role in the reception of these movies. Even though these films remain a suitable way for them to reconnect with their roots and culture, the imagined world and events portrayed through these movies are accepted by various south Asian diasporic communities differently based on nationality, class and caste. In spite of all these, South Asians all over the world considers these movies as a cultural repertoire of South Asianness, which in reality is far away from the world they see and imagine. The liberalisation policy implemented in the sub-continent facilitated the middle class section of the society for a better consumption of services and products and the usage of the better technological gadgets too deepened the cultural transmission between the homeland and the diasporic communities. Along with this, there happened a renewal of interest in Bollywood films among the diasporic communities and the ascension of the South Asian culture in the United States and the United Kingdom where the satellite television channels started broadcasting these movies due to the huge demands.

Transnationalism as a theoretical practice evolved as a result of globalisation and it had its own effect upon the Bollywood film industry too with the emergence of a new genre of films based upon the experience of the diaspora and their cultural convergence led to much more popularity and better audience market overseas and its economic strength. This fact

proves that the connection between diaspora and the homeland is not merely based upon nostalgia and not at all endangered by the westernization of cultures. The most prominent transformation occurred is the loss of the prominence of the cultural dichotomies of the past and people living in both the subcontinent as well as in USA and London has started to contribute for the new transnational diasporic culture. So, Bollywood, even though a monolingual and regional entity with its own cultural shackles attached to it, has spread across regional boundaries and has its feet stuck deeply in the South Asian diasporic communities. This had led to a continuous cultural exchange and transmission in between their movies and the diaspora which resulted in the amalgamation of Bollywood culture and codes of conduct among the diasporic youth communities.

According to the current and popular definition, cultural transmission can be defined as a process of carrying cultural information from one generation to another and from one group to the next. “Cultural Persistence is essentially a question of transmission, the passing on of information from individual to individual from groups schonpflug to other groups” (Schonpflug 2). The popular notion of the roots of cultural transmission being located in biology, biologists like Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman in their seminal paper entitled “Cultural Transmission and Evolution: A Quantitative Approach” (1981) advocates the idea of transmission connected to culture as not biological and they point out that cultural transmission can be applied to attributes which are gained by any method of non-genetic transmission, let it be imprinting, observation, conditioning, imitation or as an outcome of direct instruction. They further add that along with genetic transmission that forms the basis for parent-children similarity, social orientations, skills and collective knowledge are also important factors in the parent-offspring similarity and recent scientific studies uphold the non-connection to genes. What makes human beings unique is their ability to transmit knowledge comprehensibly to other individuals in time and space through such techniques

such as intentional instruction and thereby shaping the character and behaviour of other individuals. Most of the myriad human behaviour relies upon such distinct social learning processes and moreover various behavioural accessions would not be made possible without them.

Cultural anthropology has adopted an out of the theory approach to the accretion of culture. Pascal Boyer, in his article “Cognitive Constraints on Cultural Representations : Natural Ontologies and Religious Ideas, published in 1994, dealing with cultural representations, coins a theory of ‘exhaustive cultural transmission’ that defines cultural accession as cognitive. According to this theory individuals brought up in a culture are provided with a ready-made abstract strategy which gets sucked up in a peculiar, passive manner which is beyond description. Cultural anthropologists have got an inclination towards the notion that children gradually possess adult cultural proficiency, in many of the subjective areas, through experience and in this, language plays a major role in the mode of transmission. But Boyer criticizes this notion of cultural anthropology on the basis that cultural representations are under determined by cultural transactions because they are implied, incomplete and unpredictable. “It may be concluded that not all cultural information is transmittable or is transmitted and that individuals work with the same implicit assumptions because they are equipped with the same intuitive principles emerging from their general inferential capacities” (Schonpflug 3). So, cultural transmission naturally contributes accurate suggestions that are expected to generate in almost all individuals a roughly similar impromptu presumptions.

In “Culture and the Evolutionary Process” (1985), Boyd and Richerson defines culture as the transmission of knowledge, values and other elements that dominate behaviour from one generation to another. They are of the opinion that ‘vertical transmission’ like that of parent to offspring, serves the purpose of broadening the primitive cultural traits and

values in a lesser way when compared to the 'horizontal' one in which friends and peer groups are more advantageous in a swiftly changing , spatially heterogeneous environments. This idea gets extended by the evolutionary intergenerational thinking by considering the investments in offspring over more than one eventual generation, and Boyd and Richerson argue that such vertical investments like grandparents to grand children will drag the process of cultural change through transmission more slow. The reason they point out is that the cultural transmission from parent to offspring does not generate suitable adaptation to changing environments. As far as the rate of genetic evolution is concerned, the capacity for cultural transmission has a complex effect upon it, and that is the reason why recent studies and approaches integrated both socio-biological and anthropological theories to the analysis of cultural transmission. Not only directing towards genetic assimilation, culture improvises the criterion for group selection which can also be considered as a mechanism for genetic assimilation.

According to Lee Crank's seminal work "Is There a Role for Culture in Human Behavioral Ecology" (1995), there is a clear cut distinction between "transmitted" culture and other aspects of culture. He opines that transmitted culture is that which is the expanded form of mental representations from one individual to another and all other aspects of culture will be the alterations that appear in one era or period and are omitted in the next.

Ethno cultural variability, just like biological variability, is very much essential for cultural transmission. It is a fact that the insistence upon homogeneity results in the omission of alternatives and options that are necessary. In case of adaptive evolution, variability is a necessity, since it leads to the differences that are required for adaptation to changing environmental demands. Schonpflug differentiates between an 'enlightened' and 'unenlightened' society in which the 'unenlightened' society resumes to persist upon cultural homogeneity and stern reproductive transmission and there by promotes its own death. On

the other hand, an 'enlightened society' concedes and encourages diversity and thereby supports its own survival.

Sociologists have dealt the transmission issues from a cultural-capital point of view in which education and family acting jointly as a mechanism in the process of human development. Both these have a social as well as a familial dimension to it in matters concerning investments and exchanges. Certain other sociologists uphold the idea of cultural capital that provides a general outline of what is transmitted and points out that in many of the contexts, schools and families work in unison to ensure the educational advantages of certain section of the society where as the disadvantaged group in the society whereas the disadvantaged group in the society still persists. In order to understand the joint action of cultural-capital transmission, we need to take into consideration the complex relationships among school types, families, educational experiences and its outcome. When this cultural transmission occurs in a culture-contact situation, it turns out to be an extra ordinary process. Along with this, certain other sociologists insist upon the fact that the segregation of intergenerational transmission happens due to the societal transformations in the same content location and it is usually neglected and hence the similarity between a parent and children is based upon the zeitgeist of the period in which they living along with the transmission processes too.

As far as the carriers of transmission is concerned, numerous social systems or cultures advocate different possible models or transmitters in the cultural transmission mechanisms in which parents, teachers, friends, media and so on role play different parts while transmitting particular traits or behaviours. Sociologists are of the opinion that the best transmission effect is made possible with the implementing of homogeneous transmitters with reference to the transmitted contents and they have shown similarity between generations of migrants which is absent in the host society families because of recognizable

uncertainty and inconsistencies of orientation prevalent in the transmitting parents. Furthermore, they have advocated that offspring or the receiver of these cultural traits, possess a powerful selective filter that intensifies the transmission from the parent generation and the non-youth centred. As far as the migrant community is concerned, various cultural contexts allow the individuals to copy more than one type of culture and the problem that social scientists raise is the selection of a particular model when a certain cultural context does not limit the number of models. This is clearly applicable to the media transmission when a wide variety of cultural models are available for an individual to select and copy.

Almost all the theoretical approaches to the concept of cultural transmission put forward the ‘three channels’ or directions of transmission that transport various transmission contents. The first one is ‘vertical transmission’ that transports personality attributes, achievements, occupational and educational ranking, designs of upward/downward movability, sex-role inceptions, sexual activity, outlook towards feminism, political orientations, religion and dietary habits, phobias, self-esteem and language and linguistic attainment. The second one namely ‘horizontally and obliquely’ consists of attitudes mainly with career and social movements, desires, sex role and sexual orientation, moral and social values, dressing manner, rituals, stories and so on. Usually most of these kinds of traits are transmitted either way and others follow a dual-inheritance method. The third one ‘genetically and culturally’ transmitted contents include intelligence, possible religious and political beliefs handedness and over all, this kind of transmission insists upon the transportation of values in specific. Taking the case of the diasporic community, there three types of content transmission happens through various modes and as far as media is concerned, a multiple schema of attributes are laid bare of them in order to chose and adopt while framing their character and identity. Post globalization era has made media an

important element in the act of cultural transmission when the act of identity formation is made standardised using the contents transmitted through it.

Initially the mechanisms of the transmission process have two stages: one with the first stage is an apprehension about the information that has to be transmitted and the second one is the acceptance of which is transmitted. The prevalence of these two stages are considered only if there exists the choice to accept and not to accept. The spontaneous tendency to teach and thereby spread knowledge is one of the transmission processes and social theorists suggest that the externalization aspect of the transmitter and the internalization part on the side of the receiver makes the two important mechanisms necessary for the transmission process. In short, teaching as well as imbibing the facts is highly motivated in any give cultural context. In this mechanism process too, media or cinema plays a prominent role in imparting cultural norms and traits that teach the migrant communities about the specifications and uniqueness of their own culture and ethnicity. In case of media as the carrier and the migrant community as the receiver, certain frame works determine the transmission dynamics and its potency. Cinema being the most powerful transmitting tool in the diasporic communities, the specific parameter it adopts depends upon the prevalent social, political, economic, cultural and religious environment in the homeland. There will be a discrete set of agendas that has to be transmitted explicitly that moulds and shapes the diasporic behaviour and identity.

The ideology of the Bollywood cinema depends upon the contemporary demands that the nation-state demands which is transmitted obliquely to the migrant community. There are certain belts/areas that are considered the most effective with the provided carriers, contents and circumstances of transmission. Post globalized sub-continent regards the 'non-resident' as a powerful category in the overall development aspect of the nation and they being the recipients, those belts of transmission became the cinema 'industry's' main criterion for the

revenue aspect as well as for certain particular political ideological transmission too. Being the powerful medium for communication and transmission, cinema has been successfully carrying and disseminating the contemporary and the currently needed contents globally. Having formulated an initially different kind of transmission dynamics, a popular mass media like cinema has always adopted the easiest mechanism to impart cultural variants among its viewers. Bollywood is the typical example for this dynamics with its high rated film personalities, glossy look and luxurious settings, this sub-continent film industry has powerfully enacted the role of the culturally transmitted for more than three decades. Its power has risen to such a stage where it has started challenging the monolithic hegemonic structure of its eastern counterpart, Hollywood.

There is theses and current discourses about the contemporary mass media and new media disrupting the weaves of cultural transmission and there by altering the structure of the modern life. The twentieth and twenty first century advancements in the communication technology made possible the immediate and sudden transfer of transformative cultural ideas worldwide. Along with the newer internet based media technology, older mass media outputs like TV and motion pictures has joined the band wagon in revolutionizing the area of cultural transmission. Some social theorists are of the opinion that contemporary mass media intervention in the cultural transmission procedure has resulted in a rupture of the chain of transmission ending up in a cultural confusion that has its own social, cultural and political effectuations. Even though multi-interpretative, culture can be considered as a crucible, full of information that is connected with one or more populations. The individuals belonging to particular culture may or may not be geographically connected and likewise the collective of information is likely to overlap with others and associate with different polities. The terminologies like “enculturation” and “socialisation”, professed social stability in the later part of the twentieth century by social scientists, and they concentrated upon the culture and

psychological/personality anthropology, that is, focusing upon the personality rather than cultural transmission.

Contemporary discourses regarding culture insist upon both stability and change as crucial elements determining the nature and characteristics of a particular culture. “The stability across generations requires that at least a significant portion of the information pool be reliably acquired by younger from older, brain without major editing. While the change requires the new information and new editing become part of the pool” (Barkow 123). Even though for the absence of a proper term for this process, we may call it cultural transmission where as in the current scenario ‘transmission’ totally highlights the information acquisition/editing procedure. Cultural transmission is uniquely interconnected with the ‘popular culture’ and can be considered as a subset of culture due to the considerable speed in which its contents change drastically. In case of fashion, music and other entertainments they tend to alter rapidly when compared to religious or moral polices and beliefs. Current situation has made the internet and its subsequent social media to break the mass media into overlapping social networks, each having its own unique entertainment and fashion styles. The notion of a singular popular culture is highly debatable and the fault line in comparing the popular (low/mass) culture to non-elites and high culture with that of social elites is equally obnoxious. In the current scenario, the paradigm of some aspects of popular culture as evanescent and certain others as enduring is out of the question and for the sake of understanding the process and mechanism of cultural transmission, it has to be taken as an all inclusive of transmission of popular culture only.

Being a slippery concept, cultural transmission transfers information embodied in a physical artefact that can be passed around and some other times there won’t be anything physical in cultural transmission. Unlike the genetic transmission that consists of a material continuity of DNA from the parent to the offspring,

culture is composed of an unknown number of different kinds of information, each of which may or may not be processed differently by different brain and by different centres of the brain; be acquired in different ways; and be influenced by the “recipient’s” age, sex and early experience (the last raising the real possibility that different cultural groups may process some kinds of information differently). (Barkow 123)

For example, language, being a crucial part of culture, is a form of information like that of kinship, religion or morality. In language too, there are many sub-fields like linguistics, sound systems, grammar and syntax, various language groupings etc but any theory of cultural transmission that omits language is considered as incomplete. In short, more than a general theory of cultural transmission, we should be more concerned about the multiple theories of transmission of the numerous information based sectors of which culture is made up of.

Unlike the electrical and the genetic transmission that are composed of DNA and electrons respectively, cultural transmission consists of numerous domains that are synthesized variedly by the brain and are based upon age, sex and ethnical differences with a definite developmental route. At the macro-level, cultural transmission comprise of the cultural editing mechanism done by the population, belonging to a particular culture. This cultural editing process maintains a close relationship with the neurological aspect, having a genetic element. There remains a belief that both culture and cultural capacity is based upon a positive mutual response relationship and based on that one may argue that the more culture one has, the more intense will be the dependency upon it, leading to a greater selection for cultural capacity and this ends up in a cultural dependency and accentuated genetic selection for cultural capacity and so on. This belief got replaced by a school of thought led by Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman, and Boyd and Richerson who developed a thought known as “dual-

inheritance” or “gene cultural co-evolution” which dealt with a body of work designing mathematical models of cultural transmission and of gene-cultural co evolution.

Thus, models of transmission of popular culture can be taken as the subset of the numerous powerful simulations and cultural transmission will become accumulative only through cognitive mechanisms happening in the brains of the individuals that includes the population and their participation in the information collection procedure. For this, a better understanding of the human psychology is much required and what challenges the transmission theorists is the probability of a calculated awareness and additional editing technique.

BRANDING BOLLYWOOD: DDLJ

Derek Bose opines that,

I do not know who is responsible for coining the word, Bollywood... The Oxford English Dictionary recognises Bollywood as a colloquial representation of India’s popular film industry based in Mumbai—a blend of Bombay (Mumbai was earlier known as Bombay) and Hollywood.”... Bollywood cinema upholds a tradition of film making replete with mindless songs and dances, star-crossed lovers, ostentatious celebrations of glamour and spectacle, lost and found brothers, convenient coincidences and happy endings. (11)

In spite of the relentless success and popularity in the face of widespread competitiveness from Hollywood, the cinema from the subcontinent has always been side-lined by cultural and film theorists, frequently ridiculed by critics and belittled by international film savants. Anyhow, in actuality, these Bollywood movies present a pivotal insight into the “cultural flows between and within post-colonial societies and between home countries and the diaspora” (Srinivas 320). One of the after effects of an unrestrained globalization is the

evolution of Bollywood as a genre in the new millennium and thereby bestowing sufficient materials for the study of probable tendencies and their representation.

Being set in Mumbai and the language of production being Hindi, the movies from the subcontinent rose to prominence pretty fast. According to Gokulsing and Dissanayake, in their work entitled *Indian Popular Cinema: A Narrative of Cultural change* (2004), the five most majority-accepted, cultural influences upon the popular cinema includes the Hindu epics, Sanskrit theatre, folk dramas, parsi theatre and the Hollywood musicals. The two Hindu epics, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, influenced the popular Hindi cinema in formulating the non-linear narrative formulations and cultural imagination. The second influence, Sanskrit theatre, incorporated stylized musical enactment and the importance on spectacle. This Sanskrit theatre paved the way for the regional folk theatre that amalgamated numerous ethno-linguistic elements to the Hindi Cinema. Fourth is the Parsi theatre that insisted upon the song and dance and melodrama traits and the fifth element being the Hollywood, popular cinema added their technical perfection and differing story lines. These five elements made the Bollywood movies a spectacular and special experience.

With the growing popularity and success, the filmmakers started inventing novel ideas and formulas exclusively catering for the Bollywood movies. Server in his work highlights a particular element that is prevalent in the Hindi cinema, apart from the aforementioned five traits, that made the movies exclusive and significant, with a special narrative and technical structure. Masaala films, occupying the soul position of the film industry, have articulated a heterogeneous structure in which the right ingredients like a love saga, a hint of comic relief, Song-and-dance segments, a touch of tradition and some physical or highly dramatized conflict all amalgamated to become the artery cord for the filmic narrative and thereby fulfilling the myriad desires and fantasies of the millions residing in the sub-continent as well as trans nationally. Fused with relevant sub-plots, these ‘masaala’ movies influenced the

people so much that, the 1930s economic depression and the mobility of the peasants from the rural area to the cities, made the movie producers to market the films in which “... the studios crafted busy, colourful circus life movies with simple repetitive stories and archetypal characters-the masala was born” (Server 122).

Regarding the root and history of the Bollywood cinema, its unique imagination strategy is been highlighted in a specific way by Rajadhyaksha and Willemen in their work *Encyclopaedia of Indian Cinema* (1999). They have quoted that the history of the subcontinent and its cinema was highly influenced by the “extraordinary variety of ideological movements, from Orientalists to Utilitarians, Evangelists, Reformers, Nationalist and religious revivalists” that dominated the society from the mid 19th century to the colonial period (Rajadhyaksha, “Encyclopedia” 10). They have further added that more than anything, the epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* have played the predominant part in the non-linear structure and subplots while narrativising tales and dramas. Just like the origin of the Bollywood narrative style, it is equally worth mentioning ‘how’ to criterion the unique narrative style of the Hindi film industry. M. K. Raghavendra in his article “Structure and Form in Indian Popular Film Narrative” has out rightly dismissed the assumption of the Bollywood cinema as being a fairy tale and insist that the films cater to a “deterministic viewpoint” with realistic feeling but through an escapist lens. A disparaging comment on Raghavendra put forward by Valicha, who supports and agrees with the neo-realist genre of Hindi cinema over the popular cinema, advocates the uniqueness of the former over the latter because of the “rejection of songs, juvenile melodrama and cheap romance”, and the depiction of “plain ordinary people who correspond more closely to the actual world we live in” (Valicha7).

There exists an ethnographic association that connects the Hindi cinema with the audience it caters to. M. Madhava Prasad, in his work titled *Ideology of the Hindi Film: A*

Historical Construction (1998) observes that popular cinema stands for realistic escapism in such a way that it acts as a proof of the tenacity of the sub continent's culture over the centuries and that too in the wake of the intrusion of modernity. He further comments that those who watch these kinds of movies are satisfied in a particular way, considered as a closed group that tackle modernity in a balanced manner and almost all their cultural wantonness being satisfied by these movies. Yet another perspective to the notion is put forward by Sumita S. Chakravarty in *National Identity in Indian Popular Cinema: 1947–1987* (1993) in which she culminates that the cinema's "distinctive signature" is the notion of impersonation, which in turn stands for transformation and changeability. These movies are those spaces where characters mimic real men and women and the film watching experience imitating a dream. In this respect, Gokulsing and Dissanayake supports Chakravarty's claim, quoting that "the stories may be filmed in a realistic setting, but the styles of presentation are products of cultural stylisation" (Gokulsing 96).

Combining all the elements and structuring a unique genre, Bollywood movies rapidly became an enigma for the South Asian all over the world that can be taken as "an achievement in India's polylingual society for which the[Hindi] film itself has claimed its fair share of credit" (Chakravarty 5). Thus Bollywood, representing the subcontinent has got its strong foot hold due to this wide range of influence and narrative as well as technical perfection. Not only have that, Bollywood film makers too has come up with interesting and innovative narrative styles and techniques in order to reach out to the vast population. Taking advantage of the notion the notion of the traditional versus modern as a stimulus, these movies adopted and adapted itself to the changing times in the face of globalization and modernity.

The opinion that the prevalence of the images and themes of globalization in Bollywood movies as a recent one, is totally at fault, because for decades Hindi movies have

combined successfully transnational identities within the frame work of South Asianness. The best example is the famous song from the movie *Shree 420* (The Gentleman cheat, Dir. Raj Kapoor) which was released in 1955. It can be considered as one of the initial symbolic representation of the inclusion of transnational elements while positing a traditional South Asian identity. Being a huge hit in both the subcontinent as well as in the Soviet Union, it goes like this;

My shoes are Japanese,
My trousers English,
The red hat on my head is Russian,
But my heart remains Indian. (Kaur 11)

Raj Kapoor, strolling down a street, with a backpack and singing this song merrily, became an icon for classic Bollywood in “assert[ing] an Indian identify in the face of global consumerism” (Srinivas 321). This particular song became the “narrative about the production of nationalism through its intricate entanglement with the global, that even though the Indian nation is swamped with all kinds of forging influence on products, this does not need to undermine the strength of patriotism” (Kaur 11).

The year sixties and seventies saw Bollywood movies with intense nationalism fervour because of the attainment of freedom from the British and also themes and plots about wars and conflict with its neighbouring states, Pakistan and China. As a result of the subcontinent’s polices of non alignment and self-isolation in the wake of the bipolarization of the national politics, Bollywood too joined hands with the national policies. Movies of this period include the crime gangsters drama *China Town* (Dir. Shakti Samanta, 1962), Guru Dutt’s take on the decaying feudalism *Sahib Bibi Au Ghulam* (Master, Mistress, Servant, 1962), the nationalist propaganda movie *Haqeeqat* (Truth/Reality, Dir. Chetan Anand, 1964) and the adaptation of R. K. Narayan’s view on the growing capitalist culture in the movie

Guide (Dir. Vijay Anand, 1965). The ensuing war between the sub-continent and Pakistan in 1971 which made the United States of America get in a tug with India and the integration of Goa as a part of the nation from the Portuguese rule all became factors in the movies to propagate and cement the nationalist identity. How Bollywood reacted to these transformations is by depicting the ‘foreigners’ or even those settled abroad as villains or as “harbingers of the bad ways of the West — a corrupting influence or counter-reference to Indian values” (Dudrah, “Bollywood: Sociology” 67).

The popular concept of the ‘60s and 70s’ that reflected in the Bollywood movies about the non-resident were that of immensely wealthy, morally corrupt and having no sense of tradition or South Asianness and this culminated in the production of a long-enduring and reckless synonymous relation in between the trait of opulence, absence of morality and negotiable discern of culture. Apart from the NRI, the foreign locales too attracted the audience much and gradually it was given more importance and prestige in the Hindi movies. As Rajan and Sharma pointed out,

...Bollywood films frequently employed the West (for example, Switzerland) as beautiful and exotic foreign backdrops documenting and displaying the production cost of the film as well as promoting a reverse exotic tourism of the metropolises; but seldom were the film concerned with the subjectivities, experience or oppressions of those who lived elsewhere. (124)

The continuing years too followed this pattern of representing the diaspora and the foreign locales in reverence and one notable movie of this period is *Purab Aur Paschim* (East and West, Dir. Manoj Kumar, 1970). Famous for dealing with patriotic and nationalist themes, Kumar’s *Purab Aur Paschim* deals with the main protagonist Bharat (another name of India), who is the son of a freedom fighter and going to London for his studies. Arriving there, he gets the shock of his life, seeing the NRI population there condescending and ridiculing the

traditional and morally rich south Asianness and their rat race in getting assimilated into the Western society and culture. The movie is about the male lead taking upon himself, the task of transforming them, so that they will begin accepting and respecting their ethnicity. No Bollywood movie is complete without a song and dance sequence. One particular song of this movie is all about Bharat explaining the NRI crowd about the uniqueness and wonder of the homeland,

So maternal are the rivers, that we call them ‘mother’,

Not only is there respect for man, we worship rock as well,

I have been born on such a land, that I fill with pride at the thought,

I am from India, and let me tell you more about it. (Translated by Datta, 2007)

These lines highlight the prevalent concept about NRIs of that period and it is glaringly depicted in the female lead in most of the films. In *Purab Aur Paschim*, the female protagonist is Priti (played by Saira Banu) who is a south Asian donning transparent and tight attires. They were depicted as a group who is extremely wealthy and flaunting luxury accessories and devoid of morals and ethics. Women wore only western outfit that are revealing and men in white suit and not respecting the tradition and culture of their homeland.

The repudiation of the West in the form of angry young heroes challenging and fighting against the authorities and social corruption and thereby adapt and adjust to the sub-continent’s role and involvement in the global politics became the themes and sub-plots of Bollywood films in the late 70s and 80s. Apart from this, domestic injustices and political instabilities too reflected in the movies of those times with the ‘angry young man’ with his uprising from the gutter to prominence in order to fight against inequalities and injustices. This particular genre of movies made the veteran actor Amitabh Bachchan a superstar along with the infamous scriptwriter duo Salim-Javed. These kinds of movies completely over powered Bollywood movies in the 1970s and 1980s with films such as *Zanjeer* (The Chain,

Dir. Prakash Mehra, 1973), *Aandhi* (The Storm, Dir. Gulzar, 1975), *Deewar* (The Wall, Dir. Yash Chopra, 1975), *Muquaddar Ka Sikandar* (Master of Destiny, Dir. Prakash Mehra, 1978) and so on. And this period also reflected the Bollywood industry's reduced animosity and criticism against the NRI and foreign influence which later became a trend setter that set in motion a different genre of movies in the nineties.

The nineties created a landmark in the subcontinent with the acceptance of the foreign investments and this helped in creating a positive attitude towards the West. In "Viewing the West Through Bollywood: A Celluloid Occident in the Making" (2002), Raminder Kaur has opined that the 90's Bollywood saw the rise of a chain of big budget melodramas, aimed at both the upcoming middleclass in the sub-continent as well as the South Asian diasporic audience, whom the movie producers realised rapidly the potential that they held in them in making the film industry much bigger than ever. This new kind of films often described as "diasporas films", "urban tales", or "NRI films" were "glossy, consumerist fantasies featuring middle class worlds and transnational lifestyles" that "captured the imagination of the audiences within India and abroad" (Srinivas 321). In short, as Rajadhyaksha has observed that the "Bollywoodization" of the Bombay cinema should be understood as a "diffused cultural conglomeration involving range of distribution and consumption activities" signified by the divergent and composite powers of privatisation, liberalisation and globalisation which has altered drastically the production and consumption of the Mumbai cinema ("The Bollywoodisation" 25).

According to Rajadhyaksha, Bollywood has a vital part in refashioning the public in their awareness and understanding of the technical and administrative operations of the modernity through the filmic narratives. Bollywood owes much for the contemporary structuring of itself from the cultural functioning of the post-colonial states as well as the overseas which include ex-colonies and communities having South Asian population. Being a

by-product of globalisation, this movie industry always insisted upon uniqueness and unprecedentedness with the dramatic presentation of its developments by the print and television media in the 1990s. “By the early 2000s, the craze for ‘Bollywood’ masala exceeded anything we had seen before; from Tokyo to Timbuktu people were dancing to Indi-pop, and names like Shah Rukh Khan were circulating in places where people may never have heard of Indira Gandhi” (Rajadhyaksha “Indian Cinema in the Time” 70).

Even though it is quite difficult to demarcate when this term Bollywood got suffixed to the Mumbai film industry, the year 1995 saw the arrival of a different kind of cinema dealing exclusively with NRI characters. Veteran director Yash Chopra’s son, Aditya Chopra’s directorial debut happened with the aforementioned movie and they named it *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* or *DDLJ* (The Brave Heart will Take the Bride). Until then, the East/West dichotomy was so glaring in the Hindi movies with categorising anything and everything connected to the West as morally and ethically at fault and corrupt. What made *DDLJ* distinct from the yester year movies is the visibility and the positive aura attributed to the NRI individuals. Ashish Rajadhyaksha has opined that being a country with a huge population and also one with the highest number of movies produced per year, the revenue collected from the movies, when compared to its Western counterpart, Hollywood, is relatively less. “It was a distinct kind of accountability crisis where the astonishingly small amount of revenue, in contrast to the high visibility, suggested a cultural-financial zone occupied by invisible intermediate, mostly non-resident, agents, making the markets structurally incapable of transparency” (“Indian Cinema in the Time” 71). The cultural crisis that the film industry faced during the 1990s and 2000s were the challenges faced by them in the task of providing an effective strategy on how to capitalise appropriately this new marketing opportunity that has come to them post-globalization. It was at this juncture that

DDLJ revolutionized the whole concept of Bollywood movies and marketing it effectively for the overseas audience and thereby a better revenue.

The young and tender love story follows Raj (Shah Rukh Khan), a rich and spoilt British Asian boy who falls head over heels in love with Simran (Kajol Mukherjee), a modern British Asian girl who adheres strictly to her traditions and roots, on a tour across Europe. On realising later that she has been betrothed to her father's childhood friend's son back in the homeland, makes him follow her to the rural, native village in order to win her hand with the proper acceptance of her father. After much melodrama and an ensuing fight, the family realise their love for each other and her father, with his blessings and approval, lets her go with Raj. What made this movie distinct from the previous NRI movies is that the director, Aditya Chopra, has successfully portrayed the male protagonist as a person respecting traditions and familial values who is much against the idea of eloping with the girl whom he loves so much. He finds that much against the tradition in which he has been brought up by his father and in one scene, he is seen telling his lady love that only if her father allows; he will take her with him. Most of the popular movies that had come out dealing with lovers, has always been with the lovers rebelling and leaving their respective families to be together but Aditya Chopra, in his initial attempt to add an altogether new twist to the age-old Bollywood formula and NRI characters, designed a very much westernized hero for whom consent from the parents is equally pivotal for the victory of his relationship with the girl he loves. So, he presented before the parched audience a reshaped Bollywood love saga and NRI's with the theme of love as ever young and universal in its appeal but very much traditionally rooted.

The film created unprecedented hype and became one of the biggest grossing and the longest running movie in the Mumbai cinematic history. As of October 24, 2018, *DDLJ* has turned twenty-three-years old and entered its 1200th week of continuous screening at Mumbai Maratha Mandir Theatre, a second perhaps unheard and unmatched anywhere in the world

definitely. The hit pair Shah Rukh Khan and Kajol were thrown into instant stardom without any looking back. Most of the film historians and sociologists consider this movie as the harbinger of diasporic Bollywood films and with its success, Yash Raj Films got into the whirlpool of producing mega-budgeted movies that are exclusively catered to the diasporic audience and the doubling wealthy middle class section of the sub-continent society. Thus, the Bollywood film industry got categorised as the 'pre *DDLJ*' and 'post *DDLJ*' signifying the tremendous changes that happened to the industry in its themes, imageries, treatment of diaspora and the huge capital of marketing movies overseas.

Till *DDLJ*, the movies from the sub-continent treated the west as a threatening place where the south Asians were forcefully migrated to amass wealth and thereby the men surrendering their culture and the women their self-effacement. Unlike *Pardes* (1997), *DDLJ* initially headed the same path with the beginning scene showing a foul-faced Chaudhury Baldev Singh (AmrishPuri) feeding the Pigeons in Trafalgar Square and a monologue as the background score with his yearning for the green fields and incredible culture of his homeland back in the sub-continent. Even though it bagged so many awards back at home, what is so special and unique about this movie is the fact that it became a blockbuster among the South Asian communities overseas, to whom it finally contributed some positive recognition and visibility. Its varied but appealing take on the diaspora and globalization, breathtaking locations of London and parts of Europe and amazing array of song-and-dance sequences made it one of the most appealing of the romantic family films of the 1990s. The domineering and over-powering patriarchal figure, Baldev Singh, who still feels a stranger in the adopted land even after twenty years, is afraid of and disdains the western ways. He runs a petrol pump and a mini-market in London and lives with his wife Lajjo (Farida Jalal) and two daughters in a neat suburban row house. The elder daughter Simran (Kajol), who has turned eighteen years, has spent most of her life in London and dreams of a stranger whom

she romances in her dream and shares it with her mother. But his dad has already decided her future by planning and arranging her marriage to his childhood best pal Ajit's son back in the homeland.

Even though Simran is not happy or ready to get married to a person whom she hasn't seen or met till then, her dad reminds her of filial piety and admonishes her from getting away from tradition and thereby from the clutches of patriarchy. Baldev symbolises anything and everything that which is traditional, eastern and pure and has been successful in bringing his wife and children under the shadow of patriarchal rules and regulations. Even though Simran half-heartedly complies with her father's demands, she, with the help of her mother, cajoles her father in allowing her to go with her friends on a Euro-rail trip to Europe for a month. He accepts on the condition that after her return, they all must go to his homeland and get over with her marriage with a stranger. This is where she meets Raj (Shah Rukh Khan), son of Dharamveer Malhotra (Anupam Kher), an Indo-British millionaire, who intimidates her with his fast-talks and fast-tracks. The wealthy father and son shares a chummy, beer-chugging relationship which got the approval of the NRIs and Raj too has started a rail trip with his friends in order to celebrate and commemorate his failure in getting a pass-out of the college. Naturally, both the male and female leads meet in the train and the first half of the movie is all about Simran's aversion towards Raj for his overbearing and self centred nature. Both of them got late to get into the train and misses the companions and got separated in Switzerland. Simran got drunk with cognac and a near-sexual encounter that would have made her lose her virginity but being a true-born South Asian who values and respects his tradition and culture, Raj never makes use of the situation and this wins her heart for him. By the time they join their friends, both realise their feelings for each other and when she confesses her feelings for him with her mother, her dad overhears. In an act of rage, he packs the family off to the sub-continent the very next day itself.

The second part of the movie focuses on the prolonged impact between the unstoppable power of Raj and Simran's love for each other which grows more and more plausible and engaging as the film progresses, and along with that the immovable and choking grip of Baldev Singh's patriarchy and adamancy. Reaching his homeland that which has remained fresh and pure in his dreams, his friend's son, Kuljit, whom he has decided to make his daughter get married to, proves to be a less-than-perfect and brawny, brainless man who is all eager to possess and admonish Simran under his forceful love and subjugation. Nick of the time, Raj turns up in the village and through heroic deeds and co-operation, he wins everybody's heart except Baldev's. There are instances in which Simran gives away a piece of her heart to her mother and sister, and her mother helps her in conducting the 'KarwaChawth' (a tradition when a women fasts a particular day till moon rise entirely for the benefit of her husband) and thereby wins the heart of Raj as well as the audience. Even though she forces him to elope together, he insists upon his Hindustani lineage that won't allow him to steal a girl but rather her father willingly gives her away to him. "Achieving matrimonial freedom of choice for the younger generation while ostensibly upholding patriarchal authority and control is a clever trick, and though a feel-good ending is a foregone conclusion, the director keeps us guessing as to how he will pull it off" (*Dilwale Dulhaniya Le Jayenge*). After few songs and gimmicks, her marriage approaches when Raj openly declares his love for her which infuriates Baldev Singh and a fight ensues. The movie ends with the phenomenal train scene in which Rajboards the train back to his father when Baldev Singh catches hold of Simran's hand and won't allow her to go. There follows the much celebrated and acclaimed dialogue of Baldev Singh 'Jaa Simran Jaa' (Go Simran go) and left let go of her hand and she running to him and he rescuing her. This scene is much remarkable in the sense that no woman is free to do or act as she likes. This final scene of *DDLJ*

epitomizes the liberation less and subjugated woman who gets freedom from her father who is a male and immediately thrown into the hands of another man, even though her lover.

Aditya Chopra has craftfully utilised the traditional, religious and familial attachment, and nostalgia that forms the base of any given South Asian family. It is worth interesting how the concept of 'desire' been treated in various contexts in numerous societies. Being regulated while thematising, the question of desire has been disciplined in the post liberalization sub-continent society. Considered an one of the greatest Bollywood monarch and so far the longest running movie in the film history of Hindi cinemas, *DDLJ* stands unique and spectacular for its depiction of the South Asian diaspora as firmly rooted in South Asianness and reflects the post economic liberalization policy that got implemented in the sub-continent in the 1990s. Director Aditya Chopra has expressed his intentions to portray the position and role of women in the South Asian households as well as shared his views on the callousness of lovers who elope much against the family's permission (Uberoi 312). This way, a person's desire for love within the frameworks of a South Asian family structure and the dream and desires of the female characters in the film should be taken into consideration in order to understand how the patriarchy works in a South Asian household. In majority of the South Asian communities, "families adhere to a patriarchal ideology, follow the patrilineal rule of descent, are patrilocal, have familistic value orientations, and endorse traditional gender role preferences" (Rao, 22). One of the notable features of any South Asian family is the subordination of the individual to the family and the male members occupying the controlling and authoritative positions where as female members are marginalized as supporters of the family (Chowdhury 59). A detailed analysis of these factors will reveal how familial constructions and patterns act as an obstruction to desire and its attainment in South Asia as well as in its diasporic trajectories. While discussing about *DDLJ*, Patricia Uberoi explains that "Indian family system" and thus "Indian family values" formulates the initial

social structure that forms the basis for being a South Asian (Uberoi 308). *DDLJ* has used these values as portable and totally applicable and acceptable elements even to those living in South Asian diasporic communities too.

Simran's family is patterned around the menacing and strict patriarchal head, Baldev Singh, her father, whereas her mother, Lajjo, is more like a companion and confidante for her and her little sister. She expresses her innermost desires and romantic longings only with her mother and the best instance is she and her sister suddenly stops dancing to western music the moment their father rings the door bell and switches to pious classical music which reveals their inability to do as they like and his ability to control and dominate the family with his mere presence. He has even gone beyond his limits by giving her no agency or freedom to choose her life partner by arranging her marriage with his childhood friend's son since they were children. Resigning to her fate and accepting the worthlessness of her desires, Simran recoils into her duty of fulfilling her father's promise, but asks her father to allow her to go with her friends for a one-month Europe trip in order to fulfil her own desires and "be herself" before tying the knot (Uberoi 323). It is during this trip that she meets Raj and falls for him but even then too she justifies her not having the liberty in marriage issue by saying that "in our society [Indian], that's what happens" (Chopra, A). Returning back, she confides her feelings and love for Raj to her mother which her father overhears and considering it as a breach of trust, he takes them away back to his homeland with the intention of making her get married to the betrothed one. "Baldev's character is, thus a typical Indian patriarch whose anxiousness to uphold the family honour results in complete negation of both his daughter's "desire" and "agency" for love and marriage (Chopra, S 3). Even the director himself has commented on the foolishness of the lovers who elope without the family consent and it is been reflected in the character of Raj's refusal to run away with Simran without her father's permission. Though Simran insists on getting away, he disapproves and this reflects placing

her desire as secondary to that of Raj's, whose love and consideration for her family overpowers his love for her. *DDLJ* comprehensibly uphold the idea that "gratitude to family should take precedence over individual self gratification", a conviction expressed by the male protagonist Shah Rukh Khan (Uberoi 320). Only after Baldev's permission, Simran joins Raj for life and Raj accepts Simran's hand in marriage. Uberoi puts it thus: the dichotomy between individual desire for love, and family honour, is resolved in the film through the "contemporary ideal" of an "arranged love marriage" where a romantic choice is later endorsed by "parental approval" (Chopra, S. 3).

The way tradition and customs been visualised in *DDLJ* is equally arresting while expressing and acknowledging the desire. Partially it tries to question the traditional aspect but ultimately yields to the "tyranny of tradition" (Uberoi 322). The best scene to imply this fact is the scene in which Raj jokingly tease Simran of having sex the night before when she got drunk. When she gets hysterical and emotional, he tells her that he is not such a bad guy to molest a girl, and that too, a South Asian one, and he is very much a "Hindustani" who understands and appreciates and honour the value and importance of a "Hindustani ladkiki izzat" (Indian girl's honour) which makes Simran immensely grateful (Chopra, A. 1995). The notion that her honour lies in the chastity and virginity is very much the core to tradition and being a purebred South Asian; Raj never thought of taking advantage of the situation even when he undressed her while she was drunk. So, the notion that unmarried women must be chaste as per their tradition has been followed strictly by both. Even when she forces him to elope with her, Raj valiantly admonishes saying that it is improper and it exemplifies "a woman's sexual impulses, when let free, have the ability to run wild if not checked by a male counterpart" (Sathian 30).

Robina Mohammad in her seminal work "Phir Bhi Dil Hai Hindustani (Yet the heart remains Indian): Bollywood, the 'homeland', nation-state and the diaspora" points out that

the Raj's character lives on the assumption that a woman is a man's property and he won't accept her till her father hands her over to him. In short, Raj can be best described as "self-sacrificing" but not at all a "victim of tradition" because unlike Simran, he got his agency and authority over his life and choices (Sathian 30). In a part where Simran confides her innermost secrets to her mother, her mother points out to her that women like her and her daughter are supposed to sacrifice and dedicate themselves for men and she should honour her father by forgetting Raj. There lies this hint that her mother too has unfulfilled desires and suppressed emotions while fulfilling the duties of a wife and a mother (Uberoi 324). Thus, nationalistic pride, longing for the motherland, adherence and acceptance of patriarchy and tradition, all these made *DDLJ* a huge success and also the major factor for its success in the depiction of the South Asian diaspora as part of the nation who upholds and appreciates everything traditional even in the face of western temptations.

EXOTIC 'OTHER' IN EXILE: AA AB LAUT CHALEN

"According to Edward Said's Foucauldian take on imperial discourse, the cultural construct of Orientalism was the European imperialistic strategy of composing a positive image of the western Self while casting 'East' as its negative alter ego, alluring and exotic, dangerous and mysterious, always the Other" (Lau "Introducing" 3). Edward Said revolutionised the discourses based on the Western ideology about the East and its culture with his much acclaimed work entitled *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1978). He deconstructed and laid bare the historical, cultural and political views about the East that are created and controlled by the West. They had this popular notion among themselves that the orient exists to be studied and that too by the West who considered themselves to be superior to the 'Others', which is how they described the East. Considering themselves to be active, treated the others as passive who exists only to be ruled and dominated. "... the orient has

helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience” (Said, “Orientalism” 1). This notion of ‘Others’ helped the West to overcome and deal the inner contradictions and become an intrinsic part of the western culture.

Lisa Lau and Ana C. Mendes critiqued that orientalist perceptions still exist in the institutional and popular constructions of culture and identity and terms this as “re-Orientalism” that has developed into a strange terminology with the opinion of Orientals advocating Orientalism exactly like that of ‘non-orientals’ and that too certain specific types of Orientalisms.

Where Said’s *Orientalism* is grounded in how the West constructs the ‘Orient’ and the ‘occident’, re-orientalism is based on how cultural producers with eastern affiliations come to terms with an organised East, whether by complying with perceived expectations of Western readers, by playing (along) with them or by discarding them altogether. (Lau, “Introducing re-Orientalism” 3)

Discursive practices and rhetorical strategies pertaining to re-orientalism are often sites of deprecation where meanings are in a constant alteration whereby it reveals the power of the orientalist discourse while accentuating its vulnerability and anxiety.

It is worth analysing and discerning how re-orientalism is expanded, broadcasted and recognised by cultural producers as well as consumers within the definitive context of South Asian identity construction. As far as the South Asian diasporic cultural formations are concerned, both literary works as well as the medium of television and film, plays a crucial part in the negotiation act of power and influences within the spatiality of South Asian textual practises. So, more than displaying an obvious ‘east’/‘west’ dichotomy, re-Orientalism emphasise the complex and refined post-colonial cultural production and the engendering of re-orientalist outlooks. Being highly heterogeneous in character, in Said’s own words, “the ontological and epistemological distinction... between “the orient” and “the occident” (Said,

“Orientalism”²) is the result of the colonial discourses and its authority that is specifically designed for “dominating, restructuring and having an authority over the Orient” (Said “Orientalism”³). Even in re-Orientalism, too, the epistemological and ontological forces of work are very much there in the amalgamation of numerous discourses.

Lisa Lau’s approach in reconsidering orientalism led to widespread interest and discussion regarding re-Orientalism since this concept has been in the sphere under various guises for the past two or three decades. Under numerous terminologies such as ‘ethno-orientalism’, ‘self-orientalism’, ‘internal orientalism’ and so on has been there in the academic circuits since 1999 with the publications done by economic historian and sociologist, Andre Gunder Frank with his controversial work *Re Orient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (1998) that has sparked various criticisms. In the contemporary period too, the refashioning of the ‘Orient’ for global consumption and the contemporaneous tactics behind the profiteering by making it as a market strategy has sparked much debates and controversies in the academia. “These and other post-colonial critics have raised the issue of how some orientals—South Asian-origin authors, for instance—are aggressively promoted in order to make a marketable commodity out of eroticising the ‘Orient’ or products from the ‘Orient’” (Lau, “Introducing re-Orientalism”⁴). Even in case of media too especially movies, the movie-directors has promoted the films as well as their identity as an ‘Orient’ as a technique in commodifying for the market and the element of eroticisation has played the key ingredient in adding that extra bit charm for the non-orientals out then.

Taking into account the historical understanding, applicability and the after effects of re-orientalism, it can be described aptly as the theory that inquires into the procedure and the functioning and the reason behind its occurrence. There is a general tendency among many of the ‘Orientals’ to project an exotically flavoured schema, whether it is in literature or in the movie business and to indulge in this demand and accept the ‘self-Other’ and thereby leave

the customers always insatiable and looking for more. In *Indo-Anglian Fiction: The New Orientalism* (2006), Shivani points out the new kind of Orientalism infringing the literary coherence by employing the shallow types of stereotype with the pure aim of getting appreciation and attention not for the inherent quality of their work but for portraying fluidly their post colonial trauma and guilt. This trend among the writers as well as the South Asian themed films and media lays bare the inter connectedness between the western strong holds and the 'Oriental' elites who feed and watches over this re-Orientalism. They promote and accept certain particular kinds of re-Orientalism and it reveals the power dynamics and other strategies in the race for advantageous positions.

In the current scenario of advanced and increased level of global exchanges, re-orientalist theory can be of crucial importance in the field of post colonial cultural production since it prepares a sustainable forum for numerous forces and refutations of post colonial production and also for examining and investigating the limits of the culturally ostensible and subverted patterns in the South Asian scenario. Moreover, this theory is much pre-occupied with the power dynamics involved in the South Asian cultural production and the role of the texts and the creators who are involved in this power play. A deep analysis of the major part of the Asian narratives and productions reveal the readiness on the part of the artists to incorporate these 'oriental' elements in response to the insistence ushered upon them by the global cultural market economy. "... the disruption and renegotiation of subversive representations within shifting notions of Orientalism and the resulting anxieties spelled out by post colonial cultural producers" (Lau, "Introducing re-Orientalism" 5).

While analysing re-orientalism, Edward Said's 1978 theory of Orientalism and its three significant and interrelated repercussions have to be incorporated in order to cement the arguments. Firstly, Said has pointed out that 'Orientalism' is a way of understanding and assimilating the 'Orient' which is based upon the special position enjoyed by the Orient in the

European Western tradition. Re-Orientalism theory traces the practice of Orientals reconfirming themselves as the 'Other' with the west as their centre and even those who adorn elite and prominent positions in the society are equally involved in the Self-Othering practice. Not only themselves, they are marginalising others too as the 'Other' and even though given every bit of opportunity to represent themselves not as the Other they are engaged in the self-othering process. In a way, a postcolonial space, which has been a part in normalizing the orientalism process earlier, now plays an equally similar part in normalizing the re-Orientalism too. Moreover, the positions chosen by these re-Orientalists are equally advantageous points through which they are concretizing their newly found position at the top of the hierarchical order by perpetrating re-Orientalism. So, the aspects of self positioning and re-positioning of these re-Orientalists need to be analysed and scrutinized in order to evaluate the propagation and popularity of this theory.

Secondly, in his theory, Edward Said has quoted that Orientalism is more about West rather than the Orientals, explaining how the West describing an Orient, exposes the traits pertaining to the West and not about the 'oriental'. Likewise, re-Orientals are also engaged in an act of deconstruction and not re-construction of the 'Orient' that many of the matters related to their motives and ideas need detailed analysis in order to understand the manner in which they portray themselves as the contemporary intelligentsia. One particularity of them is their tension-filled love/hate but at the same time intimate relationship that they maintain with their former masters (colonizers), a relationship that which is more significant and important for them than what they share with their fellow 'orientals'. According to Timothy Mitchell, in her work *Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order* (1998), re-Orientalists always insist upon maintaining the world-as-exhibition while keeping alive the tradition of Orientalism. Timothy Mitchell elaborates that converting the East as a spectacle and world-

as-exhibition, re-orientalists uses it as a method through which the East is furnished upon a spectacle for the consumption with the adequate and necessary flavourings.

Third, Said is of the opinion that Orientalism possesses an internal consistency in itself and its notions about the Orient. In his own words, “The phenomenon of Orientalism as I study it,” he remarks, “deals principally, not with a correspondence between Orientalism and Orient, but with the internal consistency of Orientalism and its ideas about the ‘Orient’” (Said, “Orientalism” 5). Taking the case of re-Orientalism, even though followed by many in numerous forms all over the world, a detailed scrutiny of their narratives expose a consistency or a coherence which one may call it a meta-narrative even though cannot blame them of having an exactness in the representation. “Re-orientalism theory therefore always has to take into account the radical instability of representation and never more so that when orientals are perpetrating (new form of) Orientalisms, and this in turn raises the thorny, problematic issues of accuracy and realism of representation or, in a nutshell, authenticity” (Lau, “Introducing re-Orientalism” 7).

One of the prominent features that differentiate Orientalism from re-Orientalism is the fact that as far as Orientalism is concerned the narrator, gazer or the writer is often portrayed as universal and objective and the identity of the gazer is not revealed since it is not relevant. The representation of the Orient in its attempt to be detached and objective would seek to eliminate from the picture the presence of the European observer “... To establish the objectiveness of the orient, as a picture reality containing no sign of the increasingly pervasive European presence, required that the presence itself, ideally become invisible” (Mitchell 470). The ability to be invisible while watching and representing is what the orientalists considered as powerful whereas the re-Orientalists makes use of their positionality while elucidating their eligibility on the representative and the plausibility of the authority and testimony. Promoting as a ‘witness’, re-Orientalists almost always were aware

of a higher authority present and that authority's critical justification is necessary for their existence.

The question of essentialism too is important to re Orientalism while analysing the manner in which re-orientalism is re-etched in to the cultured imaginary especially by South Asians themselves. The tendency of the re-Orientalists is to segregate the Orient as a completely separate structure, as separately Oriental and as fundamentally oriental. "The case of Orientalism shows us, moreover, how this supposed distinction between a realm of representation and an external reality corresponds to another apparent division of the world, into the West and the non-West" (Mitchell 472). The expanse to which the re-orientalism is victimised of this paradigm and the range to which they have overcome it is worth debatable. There are theorists who advocate this re-Orientalism as not being a product of the nineteenth century and just a mere after-product of colonial subjugation and they insist upon considering it as a complete technique or path that is necessary for the modern world and thereby consider re-Orientalism as a natural heir to Orientalism.

Re-orientalism theory questions the relationship between East and West where the West visiting the East as tourist, with no active engagement and if so only superficially, and the elite East acting as tourist guides without any objections. Even though heterogeneous in nature, while dealing with the various categories like 'the West', 'the East', 'the South Asian writer', 'Western readers' and so on, precautions must be maintained while dealing with such encompassing terminologies and the various crevices of class, culture and social diversity must be kept in mind. Simply by supporting the mentality of the Western publishers while dealing with the appetite of Western audience and feeding them with third world products or supporting the economy movements as being determined and controlled by the institutions having interests of corporate profit would not help much. As Deepika Bahri has pointed out "[n]otwithstanding the need to address the politics of exclusion and the provinciality of

ersatz cosmopolitanism ... a defeatist surrender of the putatively elite text to the politics of metropolitan reception must likewise be resisted” (Bahri 3). The South Asian re-Orientalist practices aiming at the non-South Asian market raises the prickly question of if the non-South Asians consume the re-Oriental imagery and tropes produced by the South Asian, then can the West be guilty in Orientalising the East. The reply to this will be the unavoidable categorisation of the world as ‘the West’ and ‘the Rest’ (Scruton 54) to be imbibed while dealing with the power hierarchies involved in it and ultimately the acknowledgement of re-orientalism as slipping into the polarised, binary logic of Orientalism.

The effect of re-orientalism is present in almost any creation and it point towards the fallacies/fault-lines that are present while the collaboration of Orientals in Orientalism happen. This collaboration is prone to deepen and broaden the chasm rather than bridging it. The best, specimen is the re-orientalist who acts as the ‘translators’ and while translating one culture to/for another, helps in a better communication but at the same time highlight the disparity between the two entities which is advantageous for the significance of their part. Rather than accentuating the commonalties present in the East and the West, these re-orientalists heighten the stress upon the differences which can be seen in many of the literary as well as media creations. This leads to the alteration of them as well as the orients and their pay masters and the Western audience too.

Whether such stereotypical representation of South Asia leads to the creation of a second hand South Asia, a fossilised one with the element of nostalgia and exoticism and there by transforming it into a misrepresented and larger than life is worth debatable. The re-inscription of Orientalism into the cultural imaginary has been done by the Orientals themselves. The various specimens of literary, television and film creations’ analysis through a re-orientalist lens reveal the various complexities of easy vouch safe premises and approaches, concern of misinterpretations, narrow, imperfect or biased representations

leading to disfigurements and inaccurate Orientalistic practices and products. Edward Said has identified many varieties of Orient like the 'Freedom orient', 'Linguistic orient', 'racist orient' and so on and this definitely points towards the variety of Orientalisms yet to follow. Modern globalised world has made sure that the occident is no longer confined to the West and an Orient to the East, both occupying a common ground too is happening.

Re-Orientalism, like Orientalism, continues to shape fragmentary representations of the East in some instances displacing the primacy of the West and calling for a new non-Euro centric cultural mapping where Europe is but one node among many others, and in other cases, re-enforcing the primacy of the West and inventively producing new forms of so doing. (Lau, "Introducing re-Orientalism" 10)

For an Orientalist, an Orient is always a vast array of colours, exclusively created as a spectacle for the western eye. Above all, the orient is a much contented space of pleasure, uncontaminated by the dubious eye/I of rationality. In Edward Said's words,

The orient is watched, since its almost (but never quite) offensive behaviour issues out of a reservoir of infinite peculiarity; the European, whose sensibility tours the orient, is a watcher, never involved, always detached, always ready for new examples of .. 'bizarre jouissance'. The orient becomes a living tableau of queerness. (Said "Orientalism" 103)

Created by the Orientalist, the Orient is situated in a "nexus of knowledge and power creating "the oriental" and in a sense obliterating him as a human being" (Said "Orientalism" 27). And the 'Jouissance' or the happiness is achieved by the Western critic, observer or scholar which is supplied by the orient. Bollywood movies acts as a supplement for the orientalist exactly the same way since the Western observer approaches the movies from the sub-continent, with the notion of a 'dazzling spectacle of colour' (Banerjee 128).

Much more than the colourful fabric that the eye identifies in a Bollywood cinema, the Mumbai based films act as an Orientalist spectacle with its own unique and versatile culturally specific intra-south Asian coding of both colour and fabric. In other words, even through the western observer may find like Said argued the 'bizarre jouissance' in Bollywood movies, it may not be entirely about what the Western observer conceives it to be. The cultural pride and cultural nationalism that one may see being celebrated in these movies may in turn become a pleasure for the sore eyed Western observer and a relief for their desires for the colours of the Orient. As far as the element of Orientalism in the Bollywood films are concerned, the creation of an 'Oriental' version of the sub-continent by the Bollywood directors faces the risk of confusing and obscuring this internal dimension of the contemporary Hindi cinema. So, what the confusion, is the heterogeneity that is inherent in dimensions such as the East and the West and a deeper analysis of any of the Bollywood movies raise the question of what actually Bollywood films 'do' for the West in order to quench and satiate their desire for the 'bizarre jouissance' and also an enquiry into how a Bollywood film's message is disparate for numerous South Asian audiences too.

Apart from sustaining the Western bias of what a cinema or cinematic technique provides to the West, a deeper probe in many of the movies dealing with diaspora reveals the various methods through which the given representation of the 'Orient' speaking to a non-Western and specifically cultured audience. In other words, a Western onlooker watching a Bollywood movie may identify the manifestation of bizarre jouissance but what intrigues a theorist/researcher is the nature of the intra-cultural interpretation immersed in this 'jouissance' and also the connotation of an intra-South Asian colour co-ordination presented through Hindi movies that which an Occidental lusts for. That is where Lau's re-orientalism and its trajectories should be applied in answering various questions about the Orient itself producing and perpetrating Orientalism through the movies and the dilemma of whether this

Orientalism is produced not only for the West but also for the indigenous too. For this Lau and Mendes have emphasised the fact that “the perpetration of Orientalism in the arena of contemporary South Asian (cultural production): no longer an Orientalism propagated by Occidentals, but ironically enough, by Orientals” (Lau “Re-Orientalism”, 571). It is this ambivalent issue put forward by Lau with regard to South Asian literature in English that can be related to the moral, cultural as well as aesthetic debate on the contemporary Bollywood movie, *Aa Ab LautChalen (Come, Let's Go Back)* which was released in the year 1999.

Graham Huggan has pointed out that the notion of ‘the post colonial exotic’ and incorporating this, Bollywood movies have started amalgamating the Orientalist and neo-Orientalist elements into their narrative while representing the east as ‘authentically’ different in-order to catch the attention of the West and become a success in the global economy. “..Bollywood manages to cater to Western desires while at the same time telling the very story it wants to tell and wants to tell to itself and its Indian audience” (Banerjee 128). So Bollywood re-Orientalises the sub-continent for the desire satisfaction of the Western audience and taking advantage of its exotic tagline, these movie directors have highlighted the ‘Otherness’ as a market strategy for popularity as well as revenue.

The yesteryear popular actor, and the son of the veteran actor cum director Raj Kapoor, Rishi Kapoor, made his directorial debut with this movie, *Aa Ab LautChalen* on 22nd January 1999. Being the last production made by the R.K. Films company, this movie made a “below average” classification at the box – office, but due to its exotic locations and song sequences and above all the exotic beauty, Aiswarya Rai, made the movie an ever memorable one in the minds of the South Asian audiences at home as well as abroad. Set majorly in the United States of America and only a part in the sub-continent, this romantic Bollywood flick stars Akshaye Khanna, Aiswarya Rai, Rajesh Khanna, Alok Nath, Suman Ranganathan and so on. The plot of the movie is the same old one with the male protagonist migrating to the

West in search of wealth and money, and getting transfixed by its liberated and carefree mode of life and the female protagonist taking upon herself the task of bringing him back to his roots and culture. The title of the movie, translated as ‘come, let’s go back’ itself is synonymous with the diasporic nostalgia of longing and the eventual return to one’s own homeland. *Aa Ab LautChalen* is also about the coming together of a long thought dead father with his son and the title implies his urge too to go back to his roots and reconcile with his family back at home.

Peripheral reading revealing the age-old, typical Bollywood theme of East/West binary differentiation, *Aa Ab LautChalen* metamorphoses into a ‘Self-othering’ weapon with its usage of exoticity and features that are essentially and entirely applicable to an Orient. The post colonial component of nostalgia and the alienation affecting due to the exile has been utilised by Rishi Kapoor in making him as well as his work as the ‘Other’. Celebrating and upholding the special status enjoyed in the power hierarchical status, the director of this particular film has come out somewhat successful in flavouring the movie with the essential ingredients that are necessary to gain the attention and applause from the western as well as the homeland media and audience. Like *Purab Aur Paschim* and similar movies, *Aa Ab LautChalen* too begins with the male protagonist leaving the homeland in search of riches and wealth exactly like his father, Balraj (Rajesh Khanna) many years back and whom all has considered dead. Getting the permission from his grandfather (Alok Nath), Rohan Khanna (Akshaye Khanna) flies to the United States of America thinking his friend, Ranjit, who has settled there will help him in securing a job and thereby make up his life and career there. Meeting a Pakistani cab-driver, Sardar Khan (Kader Khan) becomes a blessing in disguise when his friend Ranjit asked him to leave his motel due to certain difference of opinions between them. Khan permits Rohan to share the apartment with another friend and there happens the entry of the female protagonist, Pooja (Aiswarya Rai), who is working as a part

time cab driver. Her brother cheated her and this made Rohan take her to his apartment and a bond of friendship and love develops between them.

The issues related to the extension of his visa made him choose a girl named Loveleen (Suman Ranganathan) as his wedded wife in order to acquire a green card for him and he had decided to divorce her later. But he gets attracted towards her baseless living and Pooja, heartbroken, finds a job as a caretaker to an old and unhealthy person. It happened to be Rohan's long thought dead father and the movie ends with Rohan understanding his fault and going back to Pooja, and Balraj, who accepts his son, and their eventual return to the home country. Mainly intended for the diasporic audiences, this movie inculcates all the major components that are necessary to demarcate as the 'other' in order to make itself visible and appreciable. Using shallow stereo typical themes and images like the predecessors, this Bollywood movie too has incorporated various orientalist agendas in the process of self-othering. Beginning with colourful 'Holi' festival, *Aa Ab LautChalen* up hails the multi-ethnic and culturally varied sub-continent and its rich, homogeneous traditions and rituals. Set against exotic locales in the sub-continent, the director has tried real hard to get along with the tag of an Orient.

How re-orientalism works in this particular movie is the glorification and the morally superior connotation attached to the South Asian motifs and imageries. Hailing from a rural, traditional village, Rohan epitomises almost everything that South Asia stands for. Educated and well-mannered, he has spent most of his life father-less but made sure he never let his mother down. Even when he decides to move to USA in search of a livelihood, he gives word to his mother about not going out of the way no matter what and has been so till he met Loveleen. In order to acquire a citizenship card, he marries her on the pretext of loving her and with the idea of divorcing her afterwards. Loveleen, a western vamp, lures him with her liberated living and western ideals and he falls for her way of living, thereby forgetting Pooja.

But being a hardcore South Asian guy, he realizes his folly and returns back to his true love, Pooja. The age old theme of women as the carriers and preservers of tradition and culture has been repeated through the female protagonist and she acts as the anchorage for him in times of turmoil and confusion. When he forgot about his mother and grandfather back at home waiting for him, it was Pooja's job to remind him of his responsibilities and roots.

Even though the glaring theme of this movie will be East/West dichotomy, a deeper analysis reveals the re-Orientalist patterns imposed upon almost all the characters in the movie. Loveleen and Balraj's son, Karan, exemplifies West and its way of living. Karan, who has lost his mother at a very young age, has been morally and ethically corrupted by the western society and without his father's knowledge, he has taken a huge loan from an underworld drug peddler, Marko. To pay him off, Karan is always blackmailing and harassing his father. It was during this time that Pooja joins the family as a caretaker and realizing her qualities and moralities, Balraj wishes to marry her off to his son, Karan. But fate having other plans, a transformed Rohan leaves Loveleen for good and comes back to Pooja begging for forgiveness and professes his love for her. As a token of love, he gifts her a chain with a pendant, with a picture of his mother inside, and in a tussle in between Pooja and Karan, it falls off and Balraj picks it up. Seeing his first wife's picture inside it brings flashes of memory into his mind and asking Pooja about it, she tells him about Rohan and their love. Being a guilty father who left his wife and new born son to fend themselves alone, he appoints Rohan in a very good position in his office and the film ends with Rohan coming to know about his boss as being his father and his mother being ready to forgive him, thereby making it a happily ever after movie.

The last few decades saw the rise and prominence of the term 'Bollywood' which represents the Mumbai film industry. Not everybody accepts this terminology and some are of the opinion that it has become an antiquated term comprehending non-contemporary

cinema into its orbit. Even though not used universally, critics belonging to the sub-continent have got contempt towards its imitative nature, utterly accusing it as a form of re-orientalism.

Its critics charge that it overshadows and erases the diversity of other regional cinemas within India, privileging one particular region (Mumbai) and language (Hindi) over others; that it is a poor second cousin to Hollywood, marking the commercial Indian film industry as a derivative and mimic of its western counterpart; and that it refers to the increasing globalization and diasporisation of the film industry and its attendant industries which are proving to be more profitable than the films themselves. (Desai, “Pulp Frictions” 76)

Critics often points out the colonial background and the uninventive nature of the term to cite its attentiveness and obsession on Hollywood as a mark of origin and allusion. According to Nitin Govil,

Bollywood’s primary claim towards the multiple histories and directions of cultural flow, however, is contained within ‘Bollywood’ itself, a heteroglossic term that connotes a complex set of material and discursive limbs between Bombay and Hollywood. At the same time, in its equivocation to a global yet distinctly Indian—if not alternative—modernity, Bollywood is a frictional term. (Govil 86)

Rajadhyaksha, in “The Bollywoodisation of Indian Cinema: Cultural Nationalism in a Global Arena”, opines that Bollywood implies a modern development in the mode of production, a particular kind of culture creation within national and global context which is intrinsically connected to the Indian nation – state and the liberalisedpost colonial economy. Bollywood stands for the sub-continent and in many of the movies produced, there is this element of national identity being asserted within the global contexts. In this manner, it goes along with Partha Chatterjee who, in *The Nation and its Fragments*, describes this notion of national identity assertion as anti-colonial nationalism’s redevelopment of orientalism’s and

Eurocentrism's divergence between the West and the (post) colony. He posits that while dealing Eurocentrism's adherence to the belief that the colony is both different from and inferior to the West, the anti-colonial nationalism strictly insisted upon the difference between the native and the West by highlighting the superiority of the native through the declaration of a spiritual/material segregation. Anti-colonial nationalism makes use of the separation of the spiritual/ material to propose that the nation vouchsafes the sovereignty of the natives by preserving and safe guarding the autonomy and tradition of the national culture from the West. The movie poster of *Aa Ab LautChalen* is rather eye catchy with the United States' flag as its background and the caption "an emotional journey back home". Home, for any South Asian, signifies his/her own roots and a personal space where tradition and culture plays a prominent role. The implication of returning to one's own home is part of the nationalist programme implemented by the sub-continent's government as part of the involvement programme of the NRI's into the major economy and its trajectories. Bollywood, dancing in tune to the economic policies, upholds the anti-colonial nationalism as a prominent element in most of its movies and also the protection and nurturing of its tradition and culture from the malicious grips of the West.

"... the global appeal of Bollywood is often explained by suggesting that it is oppositional to Hollywood, a logic that continues to engage an us/them distinction by reversing the terms of subordination" (Desai, "Pulp Frictions" 77). In short, the popularity and success of Bollywood lies in its insistence upon the usage of anticolonial nationalism and the invented and imaginary challenge that it creates to the global hegemony of Hollywood which can be taken as a possible kind of re-orientalism. Partha Chatterjee also adds that the anti-colonial nationalism is present not only in South Asia but in numerous parts of the world like Africa, Latin America, other parts of South Asia and so on and all these locations are those where Western Eurocentrism and the colony segregation operated. The ability of

Bollywood to attain cross over popularity and blur the national boundaries may be the outcome of its ability to provide the frictions of globalisation from the paths of anti-colonial nationalism and Bollywood creates criticism as well as favour for its explicit as well as implicit adherence to the factors of comparing to, divergent from and equality with Hollywood. According to Desai, “Bollywood being offered in comparison to Hollywood as a global phenomenon is a case of Eurocentric metrics at play, Orientalism at work; however, Bollywood offering itself in comparison to Hollywood, in a deliberate juxtaposition and contrast, is a case of deliberate re-Orientalism” (Desai “Pulp Frictions” 77). In short, *Aa ab lautchalen* belongs to that typical genre of Bollywood movie that portrays *vilayatias* something exotic and at the same time alienated and ‘Otherised’. Amalgamating the ingredients of desiness and exoticity, this movie is a humble attempt made by Kapoor to romanticize the imminent nostalgia for an ultimate return to the roots. This movie has conspicuously used a clear-cut re-orientalist approach in order to drive home the fact that a South Asian will always be an ‘Other’ in any foreign land.

CHAPTER – 2

GAZE AND DESIRE

Cinema has always exhibited a fundamental kinship with the irrational that psychoanalysis has always attempted to explain. This kinship between cinema and irrationality is determined by the two varied facets of cinema, namely the particular visual properties of the cinematic medium and the attribute and disposition of mass cultural narratives. Further, the correlation between the visual aspect of cinema and irrationality can be understood in two distinct but inter related ways. The initial feature concentrates upon the inclination that cinema has towards thought process and dream. This also brings home the idea of human capacity of recognition and the cinema's enhancement of perception. In other words; it stresses how and what cinema grants us to see and how this contribute to our self-understanding. Yet another aspect of the relationship between cinema and the irrational has its networks deeply embedded in its agenda of mass culture and the mobilization of the people in the utilisation of pleasure. Cinema activates the most universal desires of the spectator through fantastic stories with super-human characters and thereby creating god like characters and mythically proportional tales.

While applying the psychoanalytic theory to cinema, it is mainly to expose and expedite the particular way in which cinema, as a medium, augments or transforms the aspect of vision. According to Eberwein in his work *Film and the Dream Screen* published in 1984, taking into consideration the correlation between film and dream, psychoanalytic theories explain the manner in which film acts as an image upon the spectators' mind exactly like that of a screen upon which the dreams are projected. This is yet another opinion about the imaginary quality of a movie with its intensified importance for the aspect of vision resulting in the production of perverse pleasures. Incorporating the manner in which the visual fictions

of mass culture acting as the fantasy fulfilling narratives, psychoanalytic film criticism depends much upon Freud's dream analysis method while interpreting their meanings. These interpretations, later on, led to the Marxist critique with the intoxicating mix of Althusserian Marxism, Lacanian Psychoanalytic theory, and semiotics in the 1970s and re-interpreted again in the 1980s through the observations done by feminist psychoanalytic theorists who stood for the perverse pleasure of the cinema that has been functioned at the cost of women. This so-called Marxist-feminist tradition has dominated the popular strand of psychoanalytic film theory till recently.

The concept of 'gaze' began dominating the academic circles with the publication of Laura Mulvey's seminal essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1975) which dealt with the diagnosis and analysis of the composition of gender hierarchy and inequality in narrative cinema using the theoretical base provided by the psychoanalytical theory. She was of the opinion that the "conditions of screening and narrative conventions give the spectator an illusion of looking in on a private world" (Mulvey "Visual and Other Pleasures" 17) and thus cinema is highly voyeuristic in nature. Mulvey further added that this particular voyeuristic gaze is active, male and sadistic. One of the reasons for this voyeuristic gaze for being so is the Freudian concept of gaze as being sadistic, active and male. Yet another reason is that this voyeuristic male gaze is deployed through an arrangement of identification process in which the male spectator, through the discerning gaze of the male star, looks upon the exhibition of the female body. Psychoanalysis has effectuated a formative and long-lasting effect upon the narrative film theory with the filmic structure and images engaging the spectator on an unconscious level and thereby instigating and flaring up their desires, seaming or disentangling the onlooker from the cultural norms and issues and thereby ending in the recreation of psychological processes.

Mulvey's essay has a unique and formative effect upon film theory because it led way for the establishment of a feminist formal analysis and interpretation that resulted in the foregrounding of form as content and its connection to cultural definitions. For Mulvey, the notion of gaze is all about mastery which is the viewer's as well as the male character's mastery over the female object. Mulvey's observations about the patriarchal structure of an active male gaze expanded its influence way beyond feminist critiques to cultural and film theory and to theories of perception in general. Using psychoanalysis as a weapon to uncover the patriarchal stronghold over Hollywood cinema in particular and cinema as such in general, Mulvey explicated the manner in which the unconscious of patriarchal society has layered and constructed the film form. This patriarchal power is basically seen in 'pleasure' which is 'the pleasure in looking' or to be precise, scopophilia as used by Freud. She points out that if this patriarchal influence over the cinematic pleasures has been explicated once, it is quite easy and a possibility to develop an altogether new type of cinema.

A deeper understanding of Mulvey's application of psychoanalysis to film and film-making reveals an ironic return to Freud and Jacques Lacan. For Mulvey, gaze acts as a tool while examining the male pleasure in narrative cinema. But, according to Lacan, gaze is something that which is a primary part of human subjectivity than patriarchy and although it is very powerful, it can be considered as a secondary manifestation of culture. Lacan's theory of the 'real', that exists much prior to the imaginary and the symbolic, explicates the power of the eye, the notion of spectatorship and the visual character of agency. Motivated by Freud's *Three Essays on Sexuality* (1905), Mulvey attributes the asymmetrical economy of the gaze: "Freud isolated scopophilia as one of the component instincts of sexuality which exist as drives quite independently of the erotogenic zones. At this point he associated scopophilia with other people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze" (Mulvey "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" 8). For her, scopophilia is one among numerous

drives that help constructing the patriarchal sexual order and is essentially active (Mulvey "Visual Pleasure" 9). Freud has pointed out the significance of visual manifestation as the prominent factor in the arousal of libidinal excitations. He observes it common among normal people to linger on to gazing at something that has sexual tinge to it with the aim of a sexual gratification. This pleasure in looking, otherwise known as scopophilia, turns into a perversion, due to three major factors that Freud explains elaborately in his work. He points out that, in the act of looking and being looked at, the sexual aim happens in two forms; active and passive ways.

Mulvey points out the libidinal power inherent in the eye and its potency to look where Lacan steers ahead with a broader theory of drives. Mulvey's reading of Lacan comes mainly from his mirror stage essay in *Ecrits* (1966) but the concept of gaze has its beginning in his *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (1978) which deals with the unconscious, repetition, transference and the drives. As far as the drives are concerned, Lacan exemplifies the oral, anal, invocatory and scopic drives. Lacan makes use of these four drives while theorizing the psychic investment that we have in our biological functions. These readings suggest that even though the basic biological functions like seeing and hearing are always considered unrelated to the psyche, in actuality, they are in fact connected and as far as Lacan is concerned, this connection is further established through the spontaneous event in which an object becomes the embodiment of our psychic orientation. Lacan calls these objects partial objects since they may be an actual object or sound or movement but are conditional and illustrative. This partial object of scopic drive, Lacan names as gaze.

Unlike Mulvey who described gaze as a point of view, Lacanian gaze is a point in the visual field that we recognise as gazing back at us. In other words, there occurs certain instances in which an object in our visual area that personifies or arouses our unconscious desire. According to Slavoj Žižek, "They are objects, that is to say, they are not on the side of

the looking/hearing subject but on the side of what the subject sees and hears” (189). This observation of Žižek is purely subjective since it is dependent upon the desire of the subject over the object. Lacan further elaborates his point of view about gaze as “The gaze I encounter ... is, not seen gaze, but a gaze imagined by me in the field of the Other” (84). Here, the gaze is more a strategic point or connection between the psyche and the external world. These Lacanian notions about gaze demands various conceptual alterations in the psychoanalytical film theory which is equally difficult while perceiving the potency of the word gaze as knit closely to the camera itself and the camera’s point of view. This re-impression has much to offer for the film theory and might be able to explicate certain contemporary filmic movements.

Lacanian gaze or this re-conceived gaze that has drifted from the camera/male character to a blotch in the visual field, is directly in opposite terms from Mulvey’s notion of gaze. This re-conceived gaze drifts from behind the camera to the front and this visual revision of mastery to that of lack. Gaze is something individual and based upon the unique cultural experiences that one have. Being completely individual and unique, Lacan posits that it can never be interconnected with one specific cultural dynamic like that of gender hierarchy as suggested by Mulvey. Further, Lacan’s idea of gaze elaborates that there are certain instances in our lives where we can never neglect our fears and desires. To be precise, there are moments when one acknowledges his/her unconscious out there in the visual field and he further adds that this encounter prompts us to feel as though it is really ‘out there’ gazing back at us. This kind of encounter with gaze usually instigates one to retreat from it due to the revealness associated with it. No matter how much one gets transformed or influenced by the result of this encounter, nobody can stay or hold on to the experience forever and instead, Lacan details that this confrontation with gaze is a transitory participation or realisation of our unconscious. This way Lacan further elaborates Freud’s

dream analysis and establishes the notion that the unconscious can make itself alive in our visual field and this visual field is a powerful area for approaching and pervading the unconscious.

Coming back to Mulvey, her readings about how the power proceeds and the effects of gaze upon the subject needs further detailing and analysis. Even though Freud made distinction between passive and active behaviours and motives, he didn't associate the concept of gender being aligned with gaze. Mulvey opines that all narrative cinema "develop(s) Scopophilia in its narcissistic aspect" (Mulvey "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" 9). She further posits that movies in general are perverse in nature and this perversion is regional to mass culture. Freud's "Instincts and their Vicissitudes" (1915) offers an initial and incomplete theory of the 'drive' or 'instinct' which later Freud reach into the conclusion that a "death instinct" is present while considering the overcoming aspect of the drives.

In "Beyond the Pleasure Principle" (1920), Freud discusses the subject's drive towards death and opines "But how is the compulsion to repeat (death drive)—the manifestation of the power of the repressed—related to the pleasure principle? It is clear that the greater part of what is re-experienced under the compulsion to repeat must cause the ego unpleasure, since it brings to light activities of repressed instinctual impulses." (19). Discussing unpleasure, Freud opines that the persuasion to repeat bring back that which the subject has understood as unpleasant and harmful and "... the compulsion to repeat also recalls from the past experiences which include no possibility of pleasure, and which can never, even long ago, have brought satisfaction even to instinctual impulses which have since been repressed" (20). Beyond pleasure remains as fantasy only and for Freud, this 'compulsion to repeat' remains as unique and solitary as this tendency to seek and attain pleasure. This tendency in the subject to desire unpleasure is accommodated by Mulvey in

her reading about gaze and scopophilia by incorporating the function of unpleasure and repetition directing towards castration.

Mulvey further acknowledges the Lacanian argument of the “mirror stage” while analysing and describing about the narcissistic aspect of scopophilia. She has quoted,

Jacques Lacan has described how the moment when a child recognises its own image in the mirror is crucial for the construction of the ego... Recognition is thus overlaid with misrecognition; the image recognised is conceived as the reflected body of the self, but its misrecognition as superior projects this body outside itself as an ego ideal, the alienated subject which reintegrated as an ego ideal, prepares the way for identification with others in the future... This is an older moment of fascination with looking (at the mother’s face, for an obvious example) collides with the initial inklings of self awareness. (“Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema” 9)

This ‘misrecognition’ is the element that is inherent in the subject and that prompts him/her to look through the drive, neglecting pleasure in-order to avoid repetition and sometimes even to death.

Coming back to Mulvey’s polemic essay, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema”, this particular work deals with the patriarchal language that is dominant in the Hollywood cinema where women are represented as ‘other’, as an object rather than a subject, thereby materialising the man’s unconscious. Mulvey analysed a couple of movies while explicating the nuances of phallogentrism which concretizes the co-existence of the male gaze with that of the camera gaze in the act of producing the image of the ‘castrated woman’. Both the male as well as the female spectator is bound to gaze and attain pleasure in a particular way when the “male hero acts” where as the “women are seen and showed at the same time” and “their appearance is so much coded for a strong visual and erotic impact that it can be argued that they connote the true essence of being seen” (Mulvey “Visual Pleasure” 9). This resultant

manner of gaze, according to Mulvey, establishes the gender identities in an irreparable hierarchical relation. Even though this approach of Mulvey faced much criticism for having accepted the heterosexual pattern and for reflecting the various procedures of spectatorship, her work remains much influenced in the area of gender identities, the aspect of passive/active dialectic and its recognition through visual narratives.

Mulvey further admits the importance of visual representation in the structuring of gender identities and this particular representation remains onerous for women. “While classic Hollywood movies give us back a woman – Object through a male gaze that projects his own fantasy on the female figure in two ways – voyeuristic (which sees the rebel woman as temptress and prostitute) or fetishist (which sees the rebel woman represented as Virgin Mary)– Mulvey indicates a possible way out in the exploration of alternative representation strategies informed by feminism and a vast – grade cinema. (Sassatellini 124)

Mulvey herself admits the major influences that motivated her in the creation of her seminal work in 1975. And these impact included, of-course, the Hollywood cinema that incorporated the French movement of re-invention or re-evaluation of film which made people like her oppose the isolationism followed by the Anglo-centric nature of the English culture. Secondly, definitely feminism which was hitting hard during the 1970s and it is through feminism, that she got the opportunity to read and assimilate and the psychoanalytic theory of Freud and Lacan which got translated during those times. These influences altogether transformed the American Culture to one that of a popular one with the whole world gazing upto them for inspiration and modernity.

Deviating from the thematic and visual patterns of Hollywood cinema, Mulvey expanded the notion of male gaze that later became one of the prominent paradigms in feminist film theory. Mulvey opined that she had made use of the psychoanalytic theory as

“..... a political weapon, demonstrating the way the unconscious of patriarchal society has structured the film form” (Mulvey “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema” 6). For her, the obsession with the cinema can be explained psychoanalytically through the concept of ‘scopophilia’ which is the desire to see which, according to Freud, is one of the fundamental drives. Like other driver, Scopophilia or the desire to gaze is sexual in origin and this curiosity to see remains the fundamental fascination of cinema. According to Mulvey, cinema invigorates the desire to look by incorporating structures of voyeurism and narcissism into the tale and the image. This voyeuristic visual pleasure is attained when the onlooker reaches the satisfaction by wallowing up in unlicensed gazing at an image, especially of a woman. Also she points out that narcissistic (mis) recognition of the self in an admired figure on screen, usually the male protagonist, is yet another visual pleasure.

The element of scopophilia in cinema for Mulvey, acts as a structure that works upon the axle of movement and apathy, a doubled resistance, which is gendered and manifested, through sexual disparity. “In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy on to female form which is styled accordingly” (Mulvey “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema” 11). She notes that in almost all traditional cinema, the narrative arrangement is designed in such a way that it clearly installs the male character as powerful and active for he is the executer around whom the dramatic enactment unravels and the gaze gains the organised structure. This seminal work by Mulvey explained how narrative and filmic assemblage in traditional cinema makes use of voyeurism a male prerequisite. Smelik in her work, “And the Mirror Cracked: Feminist Cinema and Film Theory” (1998) notes that Mulvey’s essay revealed the point that the filmic narratives possess the capability to hold the male protagonist’s direct gaze towards the female characters and the spectator in the cinema

hall is spontaneously and usually unconsciously forced to identify with the male gaze because the camera rolls from the optical as well as the carnal perspective of the male character.

In narrative cinema essay, Mulvey explains the three stratum of cinematic gaze, namely, the camera, character and spectator, that objectify the female protagonist, thereby turning her into a mere spectacle and in traditional cinema, voyeurism signifies women as ‘to-be-looked-at-ness.’

In their traditional exhibitionist role, women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote to-be-looked-at-ness. Women displayed as sexual object is the leit-motif of erotic spectacle: from pin-ups to striptease, from Ziegfeld to Bushy Berkeley she holds the look, plays to and signifies male desire. (“Visual Pleasure” 11)

Mulvey, expanding the Lacanian concepts of ego formation and the mirror stage, explains the narcissistic visual pleasure. Using the analogy between the manner in which a child attaining gratification and pleasure from the identification with a refined mirror image and constructing its ego ideal based as their idealised image, Mulvey points out the exact similar way in which the film spectator acquiring narcissistic pleasure from identifying with the ideal image of a human figure on the screen. This cinematic recognition is clearly disciplined along the contours of sexual difference and the depiction of the “more perfect, more complete, more powerful ideal ego” of the male character stands in flagrant contradiction to the anamorphic image of the passive female character (“Visual Pleasure” 12). Thus, the onlooker is vigorously forced to identify with the male rather than the female character in the film. Therefore, there happens to be two altogether different aspects to visual pleasure that can be mediated through sexual discrepancy: the voyeuristic–scopophilic gaze and narcissistic recognition. And Mulvey further posits that both these developmental arrangement relies for

their meaning upon the regulating power of the male hero as well as upon the objectified depiction of the female character.

In psychoanalytic particulars, the illustration of woman is essentially cryptic and dubious because it incorporates both appeal and allurements with an ambiguity of castration angst. Her presence on screen emphasises the male spectator's fear of the deficiency of a penis, and hence she is a harbinger of much poignant fears. Mulvey is of the opinion that for the male unconscious, in order to evade this fear, has two channels of escape, namely, through the narrative design and the other through fetishism. The first procedure demands the female characters to be established as guilty and in need of punishment or her errors to be reclaimed. The second path is by fetishising the woman, that is, converting her defined character into a fetish or an exhilaratingly glossy object that will avert the concentration from the female death (of the phallus) and thereby mutate her from a deadly item into a relieving object of physical beauty. "The beauty of the woman as object and the screen space coalesce; she is no longer the bearer of guilt but a perfect product, whose body, stylised and fragmented by close-ups, is the content of the film and the direct recipient of the spectators' look" ("Visual Pleasure" 14).

Male gaze, soon, became one of the shorthand terms for the analysis of the complicated structures inherent in the cinema. Cinema, having complex formations such as voyeurism, narcissism and fetishism, compelled film critics and theorists to involve the issue of male gaze as one of the major subjects while having discourses and debates about cinema as a visual medium. Apart from Mulvey, Claire Johnston, Mary Devereaux and Sharon Smith took sides with Mulvey about the gaze being essentially masculine. They all opined that within "a sexist ideology and a male dominated cinema, woman is presented as what she represents for man" (Johnston 33). Devereaux further added that the artistic canon is dominantly "androcentric" and thus "politically repressive", which leads to the finality: "the

medium = male = patriarchal = oppressive” (Devereaux 338). Sharon Smith posits that even though the woman’s part in the cinema whirls around her sexual appeal and the role plays she does with the male counterpart, the male protagonist is not portrayed entirely in relation to the female characters but in a vast array of performances.

Johnston, like Mulvey, elaborated the concept of fetishism using the Freudian Psychoanalysis and detailed fetishism as a phallic restoration or an extension of the male narcissistic fantasy. She also opined that women are doubly victimised initially, they are arranged in a particular manner in the films by men and secondly, they are eroticised. All these theorists insisted upon the fact that in a highly masculine and male-dominated cinema industry, even though female film makers do exist, a patriarchal fashion of seeing the world controls things and only scant filmmakers consider twice about their involvement in the sex-role stereotyping. Smith airs the point that even though certain movies do have one strong female character, their actions will invariably be defecated into clichéd ones that are meant to motivate and invigorate other female characters. For this, Johnston comes up with an alternative to the austere patterns of male-centred and dominated cinema and it is through the concept of films as both an entertainment and a political weapon to “counter our (women’s) objectification” and thus women’s films will be a “counter-cinema” (Johnston 36).

There arose much opposition and criticism against the view of Mulvey and among them Ruby Rich, D. N. Rodowick, Jackie Stacey and Noel Carroll are the prominent few. They critically opposed Mulvey’s male gaze theory and opined that both Johnston and Mulvey are way too pessimistic in their scrutiny of a woman being missing among the spectators, a woman who has to identify with the active male gaze of the film and a woman who is removed on the screen too because she is a nobody but a fetishism or a depiction of the phallus. They totally rejected the usage of psychoanalysis as a weapon in the cinematic studies. They primarily supported the question of sexual orientation in order to contradict the

concept of gaze being masculine and active. Rodowick in “The Difficulty of Difference: Psychoanalysis, Sexual Difference and Film Theory” (1982) has noted that the active sexual gaze can be conducted towards the male hero in the film and Mulvey did not consider this aspect seriously. They attacked the Psychoanalytic film theory of male gaze by highlighting a particular film situation where a female character is the advocate and articulator of desire for another woman in the cinematic narrative and pointed out the inadequacy of male gaze in such a situation.

Edward Snow has aired an interesting aspect about the male gaze as being phallogentric, ideological and patriarchal in feminism/feminist film theory and this term ‘Male’ has been casted incessantly as a negative term. He reasoned that the notion of male gaze, that has been delineated merely as powerful, violent and control freak “can become an unwitting agent to the very forces of surveillance it wishes to oppose” and this can assist to alleviate the male gaze that which is outside of “patriarchal”, “guilty”, “damaging”, and “illicitly possessive every male view of women,” since no other designation could have handled better the “paternal super ego” (Snow 31).

Psychoanalytic theory in film studies soon paved the way for the issue of the gaze towards the concepts such as race and class, and Jane Gaines and Bell Hooks are the prominent among those who dealt with the concept of gaze in a much wider and broader way. According to Gaines, even though the perceptions of male gaze and masculine spectatorial pleasure are inadequate to theorise a lesbian spectator position, it omitted the precision of black women’s viewing positioning too. She further pointed out the fact that the poignant feminist paradigm clearly instigates one not to assume all along any abuse or domination other than male dominance and female subjugation and also coloured women like lesbians, are in actuality a reconsideration in feminist scrutiny of films. Gaines is of the view that black feminist critics especially women, unlike their counterpart, white feminists, do not consider

the black male as a patriarchal adversary but rather they do trend to partake their racial oppression with men together.

Finally the notion of patriarchy is most obtuse when it disregards the position white women occupy over black men as well as black women. In order to rectify this tendency in feminism, black feminists refer to ‘racial patriarchy’ which is based on an analysis of the white patriarch/ master in US history, and his dominance over the black male as well as the black female. (Gaines 295)

GENDER REPRESENTATION

Gender and feminist studies share a common genesis so that it is quite difficult to explore their emergence and development as two discrete entities, since the two overlap often. But gender studies research differs from feminist studies theoretically, politically and methodologically. According to Dow and Condit,

come too far as to categorise all research on women, or even gender, as feminist in its orientation. Rather, the moniker of “feminist” is reserved for research that studies communication theories and practices from a perspective that ultimately is oriented toward the achievement of gender justice, a goal that takes into account the ways that gender always already intersects with race, ethnicity, sexuality and class. (449).

In order to corroborate gender justice, feminist theories have always acknowledged the importance of examining how gender is represented, the manner in which the audience makes sense of them and how mass media bestows the accentuation of sexual inequalities. The crux of these approaches are based upon the view that hierarchical gender relations emulate social inequalities across time and culture which results in the difficulty for men and women to be equal in a democratic setup. In short, gender studies, rather than promoting social equality,

concentrated upon promoting awareness about the various means through which gender affecting individual life, choices and chances.

The question of gender mainly concentrates upon the various ways in which sex-roles or the distorted belief that men and women are innately dissimilar has been portrayed in everything including the mass media. Beginning as early as the 1960s, gender studies mainly dealt with the issues pertaining to women including the stereo typical representation and the numerous female sex roles, resulting in the construction of various kinds of femininity. Having a close knit relationship with the disciplines of psychology, sociology, anthropology, linguistics and so on, gender studies was facilitated with a strong foot hold with the beginning of 1970s. With the publication of *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction* by Teresa de Lauretis, she openly proclaimed for the recognition of the struggle between the “non presence of ‘woman’ in discourse and the very real fact that, ‘women’ write, look and act in practice” (Lauretis “Alice Doesn’t” 6). Following the main argument propounded by Michel Foucault through his ‘technology of sex’, de Lauretis supports Foucauldian theory of sexuality being utilised through discourse of power, such as juridical, medical or religion which constructs sexuality through its suppression/repression. For Foucault, the sexuality remains ungendered. But for de Lauretis, the question of issues remains a crucial factor for feminist studies and theory since gender is essentially a representation with oppressive cultural and political consequences. In case of theory, cinema and fiction, the gender is constructed through “the meaning effects and self representations produced in the subject by the sociocultural practices, discourses, and institutions devoted to the production of men and women” (“Technologies” 19). Hence, the technologies of gender are pivotal areas of contestation for feminists.

Teresa de Lauretis has further elaborated and examined the repressional aspect of gender representation. Challenging Michel Foucault, Umberto Eco, Jacques Derrida and

Jurij Lotman, de Lauretis makes use of the feminist social history in order to explicate how the predominant gender neutrality of numerous discourses like scientific, social, critical and philosophical executed an act of violence by deviating our attention away from women towards a 're-presentation' of woman. She points out even postmodern fiction as well as theories has copied out gender, even though they made reading and representation, two vital areas of concern to feminist critics, their themes. Like the discourses pertaining to modernism and history too, de Lauretis points out the erasure of 'gender' and only a feminist critique can "account for gender" and thereby alter the technologies of gender. She provides an answer to this pivotal issue with a fresh approach and listening to Laura Mulvey and the avant-garde cinema. Following the footsteps of Yvonne Rainer's 'evolution' process from female to feminine to feminist, de Lauretis detects the trajectory of women's cinema completely. Directors like Laura Mulvey and Yvonne Rainer have turned down the aspect of narrative suturing in order to foreground the assemblage of cinematic images de Lauretis has further noticed that most of the feminist cinema has evaded these suturing techniques in order to affirm the women's voices and narratives on screen. On the other hand, feminist work in films has neither put up the heterogeneity of differences among and within women nor it has associated subjectivity to sociality by amalgamating the social relations and the construction of the spectator that bring forth numerous audiences.

As a remedy, de Lauretis suggests an acknowledgement of the heterogeneity which is the space, the 'elsewhere' of feminism because when a subject is established as gendered, other differences will start to burgeon and to erode the position considered to be that of the masculine spectator. Thus, a feminist film refusing the aestheticising devices, apply approaches that encourage a wide spectrum of responses within the audience. The profound potential of gender for feminist theory is not that it diminishes all women to indistinguishable subjects but "... it explodes subjectivity across a series of fields, each differentiated from the

other, each multipliciously developing in dialogue across radically heterogeneous spaces” (Rabinowitz, 154). As far as the speculations based on the ‘feminine aesthetic’ as put forward by Silvia Bovenschen (1977), de Lauretis upholds the notion that since the questions of gender are basically the questions of representation, feminist theory definitely designs an aesthetic and the technologies of gender forged within numerous discourses like fiction, film, theory, history, fashion etc are accountable to re-vision.

The role played by media in the construction of gender ideologies and gender socialisation is very crucial while analysing the power play that is happening behind the issue of representation. The material that the media culture provided us has determined and shaped our identities, sense of selfhood, fabrication of ethnicity, sexuality and above all the ‘Us’ and ‘them’ difference. Among the mass media, cinema plays a prominent part in negotiating our social realities and personal fantasies and also in re-channeling the cultural and materialistic aspect of our day today lives in a humanistic manner. While analysing the representation of women in cinema in accordance to the ‘male gaze’, it is crucial to be aware about the long tradition of women performing for the camera within the monolithic structure of Hollywood. The positionality of women and their representation has been that of an insistent one with the negative stereotypical representations and the absence of female creativity portrayal that resulted in the generation of wide gender inequalities. Every culture and society has insisted upon the representation of the female gender roles as per the traditional criterion and the medium of cinema has actually initiated the widening of the gender chasm as never before. It was actually the ‘second wave’ of feminism that happened in the 1960s and 1970s that resulted in the scrutinising of female images in film and the roles that they play using the psychoanalytic film theory.

According to Judith Mayne, women’s cinema consists of the women who make movies as well as those who watch it. She posits the differences between the accurate and

inaccurate representation of women on screen are also the traditional and the historical relationship of women as film creators as well as film consumers. She opines that majority of the female portrayal on screen has been that of an object of spectacle and an overt projection of the male desires and fantasies. She has analysed both the public as well as the personal areas of a woman's life in which the public sphere consisting of the cinema as business where as her personal life consisting of her family, personal life, home and so on. Applying feminist theory, Mayne has analysed the movement of women in the public as well as in the personal areas so effortlessly. While discussing about the male western gaze, she analyses certain movies that deals with the Oriental themes or characters where veiled women signifying dominance and subjugation. Movies like *Ishtar* (1987) and *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) objectified the oriental women as being under the spell of western men and being subjugated by the Oriental patriarchal figure, they were always under the spell of the western male gaze. The writings of Laura Mulvey, Judith Mayne, Mary Ann Doane, Linda Williams, Annette Kuhn and others expose the biased and racially based gender elements at play in the western film industry with the white skinned woman being desirable for the male hero and coloured skinned women as sexually submissive.

As far as the Indian film industry is concerned, the issue of the impact of gender representation, determined by the ideological as well as the market forces, require an altogether different apparatus for its perusal. Maintaining a close association with the world cinema, especially the European and Hollywood cinema, Indian movie directors began making movies as early as the 1920s. Himanshu Rai, with the help of the Indo-German collaboration, began making silent movies and later to talkies through which he created films based upon Indian history mythology and finally to social issues. Rai, like Satyajit Ray, concentrated upon creating a feeling of 'Indianness' to those at home as well as abroad. Rai glamorised the Indian film scenario with the portrayal of the mythical women characters

using European actresses and even named them ‘Sita Devi’, ‘Lakshmi Devi’ and so on. Introduced as ‘educated Hindu women’, these Eurasian actresses posed a particular colonial and highly problematic representation. He experimented with a thoroughly Indianised filmic narrative with Eurasian actresses, European crew and an Indian director cum script-writer and this set in motion the motion of globalization in the sub-continent. One notable figure is Devika Rani, who collaborated with Rai as a costume helper in the initial years and later became one of his heroines who portrayed the village damsel and this made it hard for the later years realist film makers to get away from the stigma of a ‘westernised village woman’.

The post independent nationalist rhetoric of India witnessed the glorification of the mother figure with the remake of Mehboob Khan’s *Aurat* (1940) as ‘Mother India’ in colour in the year 1956. This movie came out at such a crucial time when a new nation concept was in the making and the introduction of the Indian cinema to the world market has begun. Along with it, there coincided another factor in which the first international Film Festival was being conducted at New Delhi and all these contributed for making this particular movie a blockbuster in India as well as abroad. This movie facilitated for the establishment of the concept of nation and mother in the national consciousness. “Nationalist discourse constitutes the female body as a privileged signifier and various struggles are waged over the meaning and ownership of that body” (Datta 73). For Homi Bhabha, the importance of nation has always been voiced through language, rhetoric, signifiers and textuality (1990). He opines that nation, being different from a fixed set of policies, regulations, authorities etc, culturally addresses the totalisation of the national culture and the numerous ways in which the subjects form the ‘field of meaning’ that which is associated with the national life.

The various women movements and struggles for equality and equal opportunity have its reflections made in the Hindi Cinema world too. Many women film makers started making movies that highlighted the women as the centripetal force which resulted in a thorough

female subjectivity and in the creation of movies that are sensitive and in search for sexual and social identities. The boom created by the satellite introduction to the sub-continent in the 1980s altered the so-called world view drastically and the narrative cinema gave way for the high end masculinity and male domination. Valorising the male with his masculine body and physical aggression, a type of patriarchal domination overpowering the female sexuality invaded the media culture. “The visual spectacle and collage have taken over as mandatory song and dance sequences through confusing international locates which disrupt the viewer’s sense of time and space” (Datta 74).

The end of the 20th century saw the emergence of the free market with movies utilising nation as a family signifier with women being represented only as traditional or motherly ones. But certain filmmakers like Aruna Raje, Aparna Sen, Vijaya Mehta and so on made movies that are female centric, with the celebration and upholding of their sexual as well as social identities as paramount. This prompted certain main stream commercial movies also to foreground issues like rape, widowhood, marriage etc and thereby bring forth the plight of the women. But this transparency attributed to women and their issues calumniated in only a handful of movies and the majority still persisted with the representation of women as mere sex symbols and lesser than images of their male counterparts. The wide disparity in between a real woman and her representation as per the ritualistic, mythical and custom bound, delineated her into the male gaze and control and thereby crippling her subjectivity into that of a mere sexual object.

While analysing the representation of women in the Indian popular artistic scenario, the commodification of women and the tropism of women in a culturally hegemonic and homogenising context needs to be taken into consideration. Majority of the Hindi movies portrayed women as objects of male gaze and their potential possession and the patriarchal society and media has together made them invisible due to the imposition of marginalisation

upon them. Men, having the possession of authority and along with the legitimate myths, women were forced to become inadequate in donating their part for the society. These stereotypical representation of women in the overzealous society has affected the potentiality of women in almost all walks of life and this resulted in hegemonisation and a particular kind of homogenisation that is happening to the 'womanliness' in the recent times. Even though, the parallel cinema, that came out as a trend in the 1970s with an active social and political involvement, tried to break away from the shackles of patriarchy, but soon lost their charm and foot hold. Partly funded by the public, these offbeat movies dealt with women's image, status and role as a social criterion in the society. In order to understand the role and interplay in between women and cinema in India, it is equally essential to deal with the differences between the representation 'of' women and representation 'by' women on screen. Being fuelled by patriarchy, the role of 'agency' in women's lives decides and facilitates for the representation and position that has been allocated for them by the society. Here, 'agency' refers to the privilege an individual has, while deciding and acting independent and thereby make one's own personal, free choices. In short, 'agency' refers to actors in the micro level and collectives that can act in the macro level.

The liberalisation policy installation in the sub-continent led to the insurgence of globalisation which affected the movie industry too in a tremendous way and this created a confined cultural scenario in which the necessity to accommodate the overseas Indian too as its audience. Notable film directors such as Subhash Ghai, Yash Chopra and others have made movies allocating due prominence for the overseas Indian and those films made use of the consumer image culture in order to negotiate between modernity and tradition and these negotiations always happening over the women's body. As a result of this, majority of the Hindi Film's heroines are trapped inside the filmmaker's 'imaginary feminine'. Being controlled by the print and digital media along with the social media, nowadays the Hindi

film industry has been under the constant gaze of voyeurism. The prevalent consumer culture has made the Hindi female stars as mere objects of fantasy who are always under the limelight and they are ripped away of their control over their own bodies with the mass media altering and shaping up life and stories. The customers, fashion and glitz all made her an object of desire overriding her potentialities and are highly muted and manipulated so that they fit easily into the male narrative. The Hollywood tycoons like Warner Brothers, Fox Searchlight etc has began producing and distributing Hindi movies worldwide, due to their economic viability and all these raise the question of global and local filmic representation of gender and its acceptance worldwide. Even though post liberalisation Hindi Cinema made movies, keeping in mind the global NRI, the ideology behind the characterisation and narrativity remains conservative. “So, despite that fact that we cruise through a dozen different foreign locales in every song sequence, idealising the concepts like duty and tradition limits the possibilities for any emancipatory journey for the heroine” (Datta 78).

While analysing the role of the nation and transnational cultural practices in the construction of sexual politics, there is the need to incorporate the global elements’ role in deciding and framing the locality of ideology and culture. The influence of the increasingly dynamic and influential cultural media worldwide has played a prominent part in deciding and shaping up the cultural politics of the Bombay film industry and hence considering the Hindi film industry as an exclusive local modality is not ideologically proper. With the import of a large number of Hindi movies around the globe establishes the actuality of the tremendous popularity and fan following that Bollywood enjoys. “The earlier generation of Indian migrants saw these films for the sake of nostalgia. The present day generation view these films more in terms of an identity issue and has appropriated Hindi film music and dance as a means of cultural assertion in order to hold on to something of their own” (Datta 76).

One of the notable features of globalization is the construction of the NRI and the South Asian diaspora which rapidly became an active part of the Bollywood film industry. With the production of such movies that deals with diasporic locations and south Indian diasporic characters, certain particular kinds of cultural specific attributes began to be assigned to them through these movies. This peculiar diaspora is imagined and shaped using an unique Indian lens which further problematised into a confused reality. Globalisation has further shifted its prominence to a postcolonial framework that appreciates the diaspora as a novel cultural sphere by allowing the female collectives of the Bollywood to shift away from following the patriarchal views and values explicitly. Still, the question arises about whether the film industry will allow the diasporic women to remain a thorough cosmopolitan exactly like their male counterparts.

Bollywood cinema has played an active role in the creation of a certain culture and according to Appadurai in "Grassroots Globalisation and the Research Imagination" these "texts-in-motion" acts as a strained site in the constant struggle in between the homelands traditionalism and the modernity of the West. In the numerous struggles while representing diaspora in Bollywood movies, gender can be considered as the most signifying one. "The woman in Bollywood cinema is a projected space into which the anxieties of the masculine NRI, lost in modernity, aims to discover tradition" (Sathian 24). The creation of the new NRI, with an identity that needed a steady re-negotiation, occurred in the 1990s and the Bollywood movies catered much for this re - bargaining process. In the absence of a nation, it was this filmy cultural space that garnered for the formulation of an 'identity' and the filmic space of Bollywood assisted the diaspora in moulding one. In such a condition, the subaltern/the NRI woman got no space to express herself within the confines of Bollywood. While maintaining the ideals of tradition and feminine, diasporic women always found it strugglesome while maintaining the balance between the diasporic actuality and the filmic actuality.

According to Appadurai in his work *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation* (1996), diasporas provide an appropriate medium for transnationalism to gather momentum and further adds that the scholars and studies of postcolonial nations show a tendency to create an identity by portraying tension through an anti-colonial or postcolonial critique by upholding the deconstruction of the Eurocentric logic and the binary view of elite nationalisms. This tendency has curtailed the early South Asian diaspora from producing specific cultural spaces and even prevented women from achieving complete citizenship in such diasporic cultural spaces. This anti colonial mentality, supported by the Bollywood, carried ahead various patriarchal and traditional gender myths and their collective histories signifying not any shared South Asia histories but some shared South Asianness based upon the orientalist and anti - colonial formulation of nationalism. These tendencies include the hovering presence of a physical nation-state and the over prominence allotted for family and so far Bollywood has effectively utilised these ideals while representing female characters on screen.

One of the notable characteristics of Bollywood gender representation is the tendency to picturise her as an 'ideal women'. ShomaChaterji in *Subject: Cinema, Object: Woman – A Study of the Portrayal of Women in Indian Cinema* (1998) identifies four traits that is a compulsory requirement for a traditional Indian cinematic woman. First, she must be chaste and secondly, she is serving a larger purpose through her sufferings and hardships. Thirdly, her sons must fight for her honour and if there are no sons, at least surrogate sons must fight for her. Finally, a fight for justice indirectly points toward the protection of her chastity and honour. Even the culturally multi faceted Indian society has got binary differentiation while dealing with mythological character classification. On one hand it hails the honour and chastity of Sita Devi, the wife of Lord Ram, and on the other, it reveres and celebrates the power and fury of Goddess Kali. Both these women portray extremities culminating in a

confusing dichotomy with the end result being either women should be tamed like Sita Devi or feared like Kali.

In the process of constructing an identity using films, Stuart Hall (1991) posits that various identities are the outcome of various representations and that they can be understood better in two different methods namely a ‘true self inherent’ that is innate in all the individuals sharing the same ethnicity and cultural identity is more about ‘becoming’ rather than ‘are’. Appadurai (1990) supports the second quality to be evident in the transnational cultural space but Bollywood movies’ South Asian Female identity revolves around the first one, that is, insisting, upon the ‘ideal woman self’. Bollywood’s idea woman adorns a saree, forehead marked with a red dot (bindi) signifying subjugation by husband and hair tied back symbolising sexual constraintness. This ‘repressed sexuality’ image, upon which Indian cinema does its magic and any violation of her honour directly implicates the violation of the male protagonist, husband/father. “Indian woman has understood and internalised patriarchy so well that she never complains— is further merged with the ‘women in the house’ of post-enlightenment bourgeois society” (Bhaumik 55).

The suppressed NRI female figure reflects the real life suppressions a woman undergoes in a diasporic community and only through a comparison will reveal the filmic representational disparity. Women, considered as sub-altern, has given no voice in Bollywood movies and the raised voices of a woman has come from outside only. May be the voice given to a Bollywood female character will ruin the patriarchal frame work. The actual NRI woman carves her own identity out of the niche, utilising her private spaces and thereby she defines an essential South Asian identity. Those women who move to the West in search of education or livelihood, and that too without a male companion, often exhibit qualities of transgressiveness and are usually hailing from a modern, unorthodox familial set-up. Bollywood has this tendency to portray marriage as a reason for the women to migrate where

as the modern South Asian Woman often finds marriage as disempowering their mobility. The notion of crossing countries or continents following a husband in order to lead a family life is not often acceptable for many modern women but Bollywood movies promote such migrations. “Brides ‘imported’ from India are brought abroad in hope that they can serve as vessels for the transportation of Indian values” (Sathian 28). Thus “Popular Indian Cinema has consistently used the resultant ‘ideal Indian woman’—productive, uncomplaining, kind, pragmatic, equally at home with Indian tradition and colonial (and post colonial) modernity—as the ultimate backup, representative of a cultural state of equilibrium that at times could serve as a signifier for either family, society, or the nation” (Bhaumik 55).

The year 2012 saw the return of a legend in the Indian cinema, Sridevi, after a long span of fourteen years. Much acclaim should go for this movie director, Gauri Shinde, for creating a space for a female actress who is arguably past her prime. In a nut shell, *English Vinglish* deals with serious issues related to the migratory experience especially the South Asian Diaspora. *English Vinglish* is actually a feel good movie about Sashi Godbole (enacted by Sridevi) a super-sensitive wife, mother and a daughter-in-law, a perfect homemaker and a small time entrepreneur. Her only handicap and complex is her inability to talk in English. Being an average, upper-middle class mother of two, Sashi lacks confidence due to her lack of English knowledge and her husband and teenage daughter ridicules her for the same reason. A real twist happens in her life when she got forced to travel to New York all alone in order to help her sister in making her niece get married to a white man. This journey and life in America for five weeks turns her life upside down. An embarrassing situation in a coffee house in New York forces her to steal a few hours every day to attend a spoken English class course. There she meets a motley group of people from all over to world and that broadens her conception about life and world. There one French chef, Laurent, falls in love with her and being an Indian wife and mother, she runs away from him back to her family. It was in

this class that she shared her food and got the much deserved appreciation. The climax of the movie happens after the marriage and in clear fluid language, Sashi delivers a beautiful toast to the married couple. Spellbound by her transformation and ashamed of their actions, her husband and daughter reconciles with her and the movie ends with her travelling back to India with her family. A realistic, yet make-believe, movie, *English Vinglish* represents an average stereotypical Indian homemaker who journeys abroad in order to achieve self-respect and liberation. Gauri Shinde herself has asserted the fact that this movie is really dear to her since it deals with her own mother's inability to acquire education and her reminiscence of the days when she used to mock her mother and ridicule her for her this particular shortcoming.

The first impression of debutant Gauri Shinde's *English Vinglish* must be that of a sweet, sensitive and superlative movie that makes you smile, cry and laugh but a second watch makes one notice the biases that privilege English speakers over everybody else and what these biases say about the imprinted under-interrogated prejudices we harbour in our minds. Yet another re-reading makes one notice the gendered picturization of the female lead, Sashi. The movie begins with a faceless woman, an Indian woman doing her daily homely chores. That woman is anonymous and faceless and she generalises almost all the middle class women who goes through this process of waking up and taking care of the family before everyone wakes up. The patriarchal society's unwritten code of law implies the woman of the house to get up early before anybody else and take care of the necessary things for the men as well as others. While the technical details of the movie had been shown, it is worth noticing the mixing up of English and Hindi words simultaneously. In the peripheral level, even the title suggests that the movie implies the superiority the English language plays in our lives. But it indirectly points towards the adherence to one's own tradition and roots by following one's own mother tongue. The faceless woman making a coffee for herself and seeing her

mother-in-law in need, abandons her drink as the table and going ahead in helping the mother. This simple act hints an Indian woman's priority for family before hers own. Even a finer scene which shows her choosing the regional language newspaper over English one, attributes a woman strict adherence to her ethnicity.

Being not English educated, Sashi has to face ridicule and insulting remarks from her daughter Sapna and husband, Satish. They don't find time to appreciate the delicious food that she cooks for them. Instead they find fault with her not knowing English and for her mistaken pronunciations. Sashi cooks really well and her sweet-meats, especially her laddoos, are very famous locally. During the day time, with the help an errand boy, she delivers snacks as per orders and she cherished and looks forward to the undue appreciation and love that she gets from these customers. There are so many scenes in this movie where the central woman character is facing harsh treatment from her daughter and husband. She mispronounces jazz as 'jhaaz' and both father and daughter erupts in laughter mocking her inability to pronounce correctly. At one point, her husband even asks her to stop her sweet meat business saying whatever she makes, only he should enjoy it and not others. This itself shows how gendered the society is and how it reflects in the movies. To this, Sashi replies that it is the only thing that makes her happy and it is from her happy customers that she is getting the love and respect and not from the family. He represents a typical Indian husband whose idea of a wife and empowerment never going together. It is quite disturbing to watch her daughter shouting at her and comparing her mother to her father after the PTA meeting at school where Sashi talks to her class teacher in a friendly, Hindi way. Sapna accuses Sashi for talking in Hindi and turning cheap. At that time, it is her mother in law who comforts her saying that all teenage children at one point or another finds their parents cheap and shameless. But Sashi corrects the remark saying not the parents but only the mother. She tries to express her pain and anger with her husband who instead of consoling her, makes fun of her in a callous way.

A real twist in Sashi's life happens when she has to travel to America alone to assist her sister to make necessary arrangements for her niece's wedding to Kevin, an American boy. She got the shock of her life when she was asked to travel alone, before her family could join her for the marriage. She hesitates and there also she was reminded of her duty towards her sister. She gets ready to travel alone to New York and at the airport, when her husband tries to hug her saying a farewell, being a typical traditional Indian wife, she coils away ashamed. Eastern culture and tradition still can't get hold of to open expressions of love and the society expects a woman not to exhibit such physical emotions and feelings openly. Everything is so suppressed and repressed that anybody who gets out of it is presented as a vamp or amoral by the society. Sashi was so full of self-doubt and insecurity that she forgets whatever they taught her to be did at the emigration counter. Even inside the aircraft too, she is seen calling her husband asking whether the children slept or not. All these point towards a woman, who represents an ideal Indian woman, who will remain Indian at heart no matter what, and her preference for family before anything else.

The second half of the movie deals with Sashi in America, roaming and having a fabulous time with her sister and sister's daughter Meera. Even while roaming the streets of Manhattan, Sashi is seen wearing a saree, a typical, traditional Indian attire and her hair pulled back and plaited. According to ShomaChatterji, an essentialist interpretation of South Asian femininity dreams of an ideal woman attired in a sari, forehead marked with a red bindi and her hair pull back in a plait all pointing towards her beauty but constrained sexually. Sashi can be seen doing exactly the same while exploring the glitz and glamour of the West. She is seen portrayed as a woman who adheres to her tradition and values.

The dinner table conversation is quite a pondering one. Sashi is with her only sister and her two nieces. Even the would be groom is also present for the dinner but as the conversation flows ahead in English, she feels uncomfortable and left out. One aspect that

needs consideration is even with her only sister, a married woman like Sashi misses her family back in India. Indian marriages are meant to be like that. An ideal woman should leave behind her parents and family after marriage and her husband and his family should be her criterion and concern hence after. She got reminded of her children and under the pretext of tiredness, she returns to her room and calls her husband back in India. She asks him about children and his mother and begs him to reach home early for the children. But being a representative of the patriarchal society, he snaps her saying some excuse and disconnects the call in between. He was not ready to share his wife's' anxieties in an alien society without any support. A life changing experience happens in her life in a coffee shop while roaming the city all alone. She could not understand what the woman behind the counter is asking her and gets confused and creates a scene due to her anxiety and terror. That awful experience made her take the decision to master the language, English. Along with this traumatic experience in the cafe, she has been suffering silently back at home too because of her inability to talk fluently in English. One stranger pities her for her trauma at the cafe and it is the same person whom she meets later at the spoken English class. Without a male companion, a woman is never safe is the message that is been exhibited through this scene.

Sashi enrolls for the class secretly using her own money that she has saved by selling the sweet meats. Without telling her sister or nieces, every day she started attending the class in New York. The journey to and fro using the tube taught her major lessons in life. Her journey towards a certain kind of empowerment and liberation begins there. Saree clad and hair plaited, Sashi becomes the darling of the class very soon. The class consisting of people from various ethnicities, broadens her outlook about the world and its culture. She cooks for them and wins their appreciation and respect. There she meets Laurent, the French chef, and instantly bonds with him. It is while talking to him that she remarks that when a man cooks, its art and whereas when a woman does it, it is duty of hers. This hints how prejudiced and

outdated the Indian society is. While her daughter calls her from India and shouts at her for misplacing her things, she starts a tirade with Laurent in Hindi. It implies how an Indian should feel at heart and how much the mother tongue Hindi, makes one comfortable and expressive. Mother tongue, indirectly, symbolises nation, family, roots, tradition and so on. It shows 'Indianness' as it is. But Sashi Godbole, as the surname indicates, belongs to the Maharashtrian community and they use Marathi as their primary language.

Another incident that highlights the chastity of Indian women is when Laurent openly and romantically praises Sashi for her beauty and quality and one fellow student, Rama Murthy from Madras, warns him to be careful while dealing with Indian women and not to compare them as a western woman. Indian women symbolise purity and chastity and should not be treated like western women. According to Indian concept, women are 'Sati-Savitri-Sita', all suffering and pure. But the paradox is that the furious and the terrible Kali and Durga too exists in the same society and who is worshipped and revered by all. Sashi belongs to the first category who is not supposed to entertain the open praises and admiration showered upon her by men other than her husband. She even confesses to Laurent about her folly in the train that it has been long time somebody congratulated her for what she is and she could not take it in the first place. It shows how depraved she was feeling in her own family with her husband's and daughter's jibes.

Laurent, who desperately falls for Sashi tries to kiss her on the roof top building, she gets stuck a moment before she realises the reality of being a wife and a mother. For a fraction of a second, she forgets her virtue and runs away from him, badly shaken and embarrassed. Reaching home, she was welcomed by her husband and children and it is only in the following scene her 'mangalsutra'—sacred thread joining to her husband—shown specially. Till then, hidden behind her dress, this sign of being possessed and owned by a man, jumps out of her attire and the spectator's glance will go automatically towards it. In the

Indian custom, mangalsutra being worn by married women, signifies being handed over by one man, the father to another, husband. It is a symbolic representation of being owned and subjugated by a husband. Male dominance and authority comes with a piece of sacred gold worn around a woman's neck. Tradition does not allow a woman to let go of ones mangalsutra till the husband's death and many Bollywood movies have used this imagery on and off to insist upon the control under which a married woman should go ahead with her life.

The family union dispossesses the husband seeing his wife's independency and freedom. Secretly attending the class and forgetting her family for a few hours creates utter chaos and she decides to let go of her dream of getting the course completion certificate. In an intimate moment with her niece Radha, she accuses herself for being selfish and living for herself. She decides to keep family before her education/liberation. Here, sacrifice idealises an Indian woman from others with her capacity to live for others forsaking her wishes and dreams. Her husband's sarcastic remark of his wife being born to make laddoos pains her but she lets go of everything silently. The shock of a lifetime is given to her husband when she presents a toast in front of all the guests after the marriage ceremony. Radha has invited the entire class for the function and Sashi emotionally extols the virtues and qualities a family must have. Here one should not notice, the number of times she uses the word 'family'. According to Indian concept, family matters the most unlike the western way and indirectly it addresses one's own nation. The toast was actually an open proclamation about the integrity and support that a woman expects from her family and the love and nourishment she needs from her husband. The husband in Satish wakes up and a tearful daughter makes the movie a happy ending one. Sashi receives the completion certificate from David Sir and the movie ends with the entire family travelling back to India. Sashi, in spite of the liberation, self-respect, empowerment that she achieved from America, could not let go of her roots and

returns back to where she belongs, India and her family. Even in the return journey, she idealises as a perfect wife by asking for Hindi newspaper and leaves a forever mark in the audience minds. Sashi asking Radha meaning of the word ‘judgemental’ raises questions in the minds of the audience too. Her family was so much judgemental about her that made her docile and self-doubtful. It made her realise her own identity and self-worth and returns home a confident woman.

Superficially, *English Vinglish* is about a woman who acquired respect and adulation from herself as well as from her family through the procurement of English language. However, the enactment of liberalisation by a woman raises certain deep rooted questions in one’s mind. Linguistic hierarchy and the position of women in acquiring knowledge still haunt the south Asian society on and off. Even though running a small scale business by herself, Sashi has never heard the word ‘entrepreneur’ and mastering the language gives her wings to soar high in the sky. This points towards the the hegemony of the language still prevalent even in the post colonial India and even though a woman possess much potentiality to develop and bloom, the traditional and conservative society wouldn’t help much in the transformation. Sashi remains a loyal wife and mother with her plaited hair, mangalsutra and saree while asking for a Hindi newspaper in English while travelling back symbolises the return to where she should remain. In short, *English Vinglish* is a typical Bollywood escapist movie with a lightly enjoyable triviality consisting of exuberant musical hiatuses, an extremely chaste dealing of conjugal and extra marital experiences and an audience loving wrap-up that permits the central character to be all that she wanted to be or rather can be while keeping the limits and respecting the family values and beliefs. When Radha asks Sashi about having feelings for Laurent, she replies that all she needs is respect and dignity.

CULTURAL HYBRIDITY AND PURITY

Hybridity, being a widely used and much disputed term in post-colonial theory, refers to the production of new transcultural forms within the colonially occupied zones. At a very basic level, hybridity means the mixing up of eastern and western cultures. In colonial and post-colonial literature, hybridity consists of those who are from Asia or Africa having found a balance between eastern and western cultural attributes. Essentially used in horticulture, hybridity refers to the cross-breeding of two entirely different species by cross-pollination or grafting, resulting in the creation of a third or 'hybrid' species. It was Homi Bhabha who used this term initially in his "seminal essay Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority Under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817" (1985) in which he describes hybridity as a subversive tool used by the colonised people against various types of colonial oppression. According to Bhabha, there exists a strong interdependence in between the colonised relations which develops into the mutual construction of their subjectivities. For him, every cultural productions and transactions happen in a space which he calls the 'third space of enunciation' which is highly opposing and uncertain and cultural identity always emerges from this ambivalent space and this, he points out, is the reason to uphold the notion of hierarchical 'purity' of cultures unarguable. The acceptance of this contradictory third space helps us to consider this ambivalence of cultural identity an untenable and to overcome, the cultural exoticism. It is this 'in-between' space that determines the meaning of culture and in post-colonial, discourse hybridity simply refers a cross-cultural exchange.

According to Bhabha, hybridity is inherent in culture and appropriates it as a in-between third space that synthesises the cultural differences within the post-colonial situation. The so called ambivalent space, which is created by the opposition of the self and the other/between the coloniser and the colonised, led to an enunciation. The foundation for the colonial condition is based upon the fixed identity of the colonised and the coloniser and the end result in the cultural difference it creates. Edward Said, in his seminal work *Orientalism*,

argues that a better and reliable understanding of the western identity and culture could only be achieved by a thorough understanding of the dependency and predication that the West has against the colonised 'Orient' and more than a physical territorializing of the land, colonialism can be taken as a mutual anti-essentialist exchange of both physical and temporal mediums. Cultural theorist, Ashis Nandy in his work *The Savage Freud: And Other Essays on Possible and Retrievable Selves*, further legitimises this theory by stating that the relationship between the self and the other should not be understood in opposition but rather as 'intimate enemies'. For Bhabha, the cultural difference, self and other, is important in the construction of a colonial subject but at the same time he insists upon the assertion of culture as authoritative and knowledgeable. This is how Bhabha appropriates colonial identities as "neither the one.... nor the other.... but something else besides" ("Locations" 28). It is this ambivalent space that synthesises the cultural differences resulting in the fixed colonial identities of self and other to become overturned and disputed within the process of hybridity. For him, hybridity simply refers to the productivity of the colonial power, its changing forces and fixities and the challenging of the process of domination through denial. He further stresses his point by stating that colonial hybridity is not simply the difference of cultures but simply the difference of cultures that can no longer be discerned or assessed as objects of moral or epistemological inspection. The inherent paradox present in this hybridity concept is that while Bhabha insists upon the dependence of hybridity on two stable and pure cultural localities, he also admonishes the material concept of a 'pure' culture. The meaning and symbols of culture has no inherent fixedness or integration and even though hybridity is based upon pure cultural ingredients, the notion of a 'pure' culture is been implicitly rejected by him. He identifies hybridity within a space that acknowledges and entertains colonial situation of identity and cultural difference. And this particular space is not an immobile

construction but an 'in-between' passage that encourages the difference with a pre-conceived or imagined hierarchy.

According to Pieterse Nederveen in "Hybridity, So What?" (2001), hybridity is to culture what deconstruction is to discourse, that is, transcending binary categories. Hybridity, and especially racial hybridity, is something that is predominant in the colonial experience and even beyond. One of the common beliefs about 'hybridization' is the amalgamation of different races leading to the downfall of various "pure" species. One of the popular notion of the colonialist ideas about hybridity dealt with the mixing up of races in a very much negative manner and so far it is best explained through the acceptance of its transgressive potential. This ability to go beyond the boundaries and create something unique is no longer considered as a failure but as a part of the creation of cultures. Bhabha upholds the interdependence and interrelations between the coloniser and the colonised and the social divisions forced upon the colonised by the coloniser regarding the superior and inferior human races or cultures leads to the production of an imaginary in the colonised which clashes with their aboriginal traits. This amalgamation leads to the creation of a hybrid culture that questions/overturns the beliefs and practices of the coloniser. These hybrid weaves of culture happens in a "liminal space"—the "Third Space of Enunciation" which results in the deconstruction of the coloniser's basic claims of an inherent and acquired purity of culture. One of the major critiques against Bhabha's notion of hybridity is that it can make sense on the "assumptions of purity". In "Globalisation as Hybridisation" (1994), Nederveen differentiates two types of hybridity that exists: One is the "new hybridity" that can be observed and the other variety is the "old or existing hybridity" which is a discourse that helps in creating a hybrid consciousness. Both these varieties connect with each other in the experience of the 'hybridity' processes. This two-fold process, according to Bhabha, joins together as a counter-discourse against the dominance of the hegemonic structures and institutions of

colonialism. It opposes mainly the essentialist national narratives of culture and belonging and these by producing counter narratives with a “negotiation” of space where homogenisation of the society and culture happens. This negotiation is a never ending process towards the authorisation of the cultural hybridities that evolve during the instance of historical transformation. This third place, where hybridity comes into formation, is a place of constant movement, of ‘fluidity’ which questions traditional fixedness of national narratives.

In diaspora, hybridity acts as a useful tool in describing cultural mix-up while the diasporised meets the host during the process of migration. According to Nikos Papastergiadis in *Dialogues in the Diaspora* (1998), modern societies deal with a more complex form of assimilation and integration of the migrants into the host society in which those who got prominence in the politico-cultural scenario of the adopted society has started demanding for a better representation of the process of cultural interaction and to showcase the negative outcome of the neglecting of the newly deriving forms of cultural identity. Hybridity has played a prominent role in the evolution of this new modelling and there by having a potent position in deciding the migrant identity and difference. Whether traditional form with nostalgia or the hybrid new world acting as a resistance, James Clifford in “Diasporas” (1991) has set up the parameters as opposition with tradition/hybridity while describing hybridity as a theoretical apparatus. Hybridity has been considered as both a disruptive and creative force with a vast array of ideas. Bhabha advocates that it is hybridity that brings newness into the world through the process of transvaluing and translating the cultural differences. As far as diaspora is concerned, Iain Chambers in *Mediterranean Crossings: The Politics of an Uninterrupted Modernity* (2008) considers hybridity as the process of cultural mixing where the diasporic migrants adopt the convenient and favourable host culture and network resulting in the production of a new hybrid culture or hybrid identities.

Post-colonial theory utilised the term ‘hybridity’ to explicate cultural fusion and considered it as a central dimension of the literary and cultural productions of Latin America, Asia, Africa and the diasporas in the West. According to Paul Gilroy in his book *The Black Atlantic* (1993) dealing with the flow of people, ideas and culture to the West which began with the slave trade, encompasses the significance of these movements in the cultural renewal in Europe, Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and America. He opposes the claim of the various nationalisms and essentialism of having immovable identity and ethnicity based upon the binary division such as black and white. For him, cultural purity, along with coupling of identity and rejection of difference, is unacceptable and advocates a broader alternative for the understanding of the cultural assimilation using the imagery of the ship.

As a moving object, the ship symbolises the trajectory between point of departure and destination, a liminal in-between that captures the spirit of the ‘Black Atlantic’. As a carrier of people, a ship also represents the idea that entire life worlds can be in motion, such as is the case for the myriad experience of forced, semi-forced and voluntary migrations that are a hall mark of the modern, hybrid world. (Kraidy 58)

As far as the national culture is concerned, hybridity interrogates the essentialist claim of nationality having a unique and distinct culture and the geographical boundaries embodying inherent knowledge about the people residing inside it. Current nationalist claims of entitling the nation, and the power of the indigenous to superiority over culture, all points towards the question of the dividing line between the indigenous and the non-indigenous. “... theories of hybridity, in classifying the shifting and indefinite culture, can serve as a tool that complicate the nationalist exclusionary practice of determining who does and does not have claim to a nation” (Yazdihya 35). According to Yazdihya, the ingredients that provide culture its meaning is not fixed and very much variable and it outrightly questions the claim of culture having an inherent meaning. James Clifford, in his work *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-*

Century Ethnography, Literature and Art (1988), makes use of anthropology, travel writing etc. to understand the exact attitude of the West towards other cultures and societies, and its shifting relationships with others. He is of the opinion that West portrays the 'Other' as a mythical entity, through their narratives, and the question of representation and determining another group's identity by them, must be criticised thoroughly. He further adds that diaspora has a long history of dispersal, memories about the homeland, alienation in the adopted society, nostalgia for a return to the homeland, and the continuous communication with the homeland defining the collective identity of the migrants. The various dubious meanings related to this displacement leads to the doubt about the kind of identity one migrant should hold on to as to whether he returns to his homeland that which he has never known or has left long ago. Another dilemma is the truth that lies in the representation of culture as something historically kept in a museum or listed under the anthropological account. Further, national culture along with the diasporic narratives and symbols indicates that culture itself is in a travelling mode, accumulating curios from different locations and it is not so important to check the exclusion and inclusion criterion.

One of the significant attributes of hybridity is its capacity to muddle up the explanations of culture which is being used by the nations to define themselves. Loyalty towards a culture forms the basis for a collective identity which in turn paves the way for nationalism and the fixed cultural and historical narratives that defines nationalism is mainly consisted of the diasporic roots that has entered at various points in the course of time. The best example is the thorough analysis of the nation's folk songs, myths, stories etc. that establishes its myriadness and variety. According to Edward Said, culture is much dependent upon the Other in defining itself. In his seminal work *Orientalism*, Said opines that West has used the Other/East in the process of defining themselves, its culture and its meaning. He discusses about the process of defining a nation and the artificial role of its boundaries. He

proposes a way to reject the binary division between Us and Them and the various ways in which a nation configures its own national identities along with the identity of the Other which reveals the hybrid roots present in the so called national culture. This realisation will lead us to a better understanding of the immigrant Other and reject the overzealous nationalist claims.

Hybridity, being celebrated as a post-colonial or postmodern condition, threatens the norms of birth place and nationalism/allegiance to the homeland in a tremendous manner. Cultural theorists like Paul Gilroy in his interview titled “Black Cultural Politics” advocates the advantages of having a hybrid identity in the diaspora with its strict kinship norms and feeling of a belonging with one another in the diasporic community. This indirectly deconstructs the connection between location and identity and that of culture and race. These advantages in sharing a common memory and acting as an anchorage for many:

New cultural hybridity becomes the panacea for uncertain times, and in conditions of diasporic hybridization, without the certainty of the nation-state or class-identity for comfort, we may usefully and chaotically affairs” promiscuity at every turn. In this conception, hybridity is a contender for a ‘new model’ of social possibility that will assert ‘uncertainty’ as its political guide. (Kalra 88)

The concept of borrowing something from other culture, leads to the weakening of a supposedly ‘pure culture’, has been the myth till the postmodern times. This myth of purity has been the major weapon used by essentialist nationalisms in order to detract the migrant, diasporic and hybrid. An ordinance against purity and acknowledgment of hybridity has been advocated by many theorists in the cultural politics and this led to the undermining of the insistence upon a pure culture. Every culture is the amalgamation of various cultural borrowings that has happened in the course of the journey. The dilemma is unto what degree does this insistence upon hybridity, depend upon the assertion of an imminent ‘pure’ that

happens before the mix-up, has grappled almost all the cultural theorists who advocated the prevalence of hybridity in every culture. All the cultures believe in the existence of a non-hybrid culture before the formation of ‘hybrid identities’ and what caught their interest is the technique in which the notions of purity getting interconnected to the biological harbingers of hybridity. Paul Gilroy says: “who the fuck wants purity? The ideal of hybridity of intermixture, presupposes two anterior purities..... I think there isn’t any purity; there isn’t any anterior purity..... that’s why I try not to use the word hybrid..... cultural production is not like mixing cocktails.” (“Black Cultural Politics” 54)

It was Robert Young in his much acclaimed work *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (1995) that discussed and analysed the permanence of the term ‘hybridity’ in the racialized discourse of the nineteenth century evolutionary parameters. In both botany, as well as in zoology, hybrid productions are treated with less alarm and the relevance of horticulture and agriculture hybrids in the treatment of cultural hybrids needs dubious pondering. Cultural theorists like Paul Gilroy in *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Colour Line* (2000) and Stuart Hall in “Culture, Community, Nation” (1993) has made brilliant deviations from the biological examples while dealing with the notions of purity and hybridity. Gilroy is of the opinion that without the proper base of purity, there happens this difficulty in describing and theorising concepts like intermixture, fusion and syncretism. There should exist a non-mixed position to which a return is possible, some time. Gilroy further adds that the process of mixture, whether it is fatal or redeeming, must be ready to let of the apparition, that cultural and ethnic purity has ever existed.

The ‘global culture’ denies the ideas about cultural homogeneity and western cultural dominance through the tool of hybridity. The notion that all cultures are hybrid is on a rise and nearly agreeable in the intellectual as well as in the public discourses. But at the same time, insisting hybridity as a social-cultural condition and disconnecting it from its political

and economic contexts is equally unethical and problematic. “Rather, our approach to hybridity should be framed by the type of hybridity put forward, the motivation for advancing it, its rhetorical topoi, and its material effects. It is therefore indicative, ... that the affirmation of hybridity as a pervasive condition at the national level is a spring board to utilise hybridity in the global realm” (Kraidy 75). While analysing the notion of hybridity associated with the diaspora, Bhaktin’s differentiation between organic and intentional hybridities is of relevance since it permits us to theorise the concurrent co-existence of cultural modification and the resistance to transformation in immigration societies as well as immigrant cultures confronting the established cultures that they settle in. The main propounder of hybridity, Homi K. Bhabha, acclaims hybridity as subverting hegemonic interpretations through a “doubling up of the sign”, a “splitting” which is “less than one and double” (Bhabha, “Locations of Culture”, 119). What he highlights through this is that the same custom or thing when transferred or moved into a different context, will attain the ability to possess a rather new, transgressive interpretations while at the same time, reflecting the old ones. For Bhabha, the post-colonial migrants have got an active role in this process of ‘interruptive enunciation’ that supersedes the possibility of ‘pure’ nationalist narratives. Moreover, such hybrid aesthetic outputs can overcome religious sensibilities within the diaspora too.

The Bombay/Indian film industry otherwise called as Bollywood is the most commercially successful form of cinema with are interesting enough contradictions being dealt in most of the movies. Even though it purposefully incorporates certain American norms in some of the movies, the real revenue and success comes from the celebration of Indian culture being portrayed and enjoyed among the networks of South Asian diasporic communities. By supporting the nationalist and the cultural traditions, Bollywood challenges the monolithic pattern dictated by the Hollywood film industry, Hollywood and the western culture. The paradox visible in the Bollywood is its replication of patterns of cultural

domination by producing and popularising movies in the Hindi medium for a whole wide audience spectrum consisting of a high level linguistic diversity. The role of hybridity in determining Bollywood's widespread and enduring popularity with an audience base consisting of different cultures and accommodating the reality of the exposure to these diverse culture, needs a thorough examination. Bollywood, encompassing the whole India along with its diasporic settlements all around the globe, has seen enough success in order to challenge the Western domination of international film and culture. Its audacity to cater to people belonging to almost all the culture specifications, proves that hegemony can operate at more than one level. Considering this particular industry as a monolithic entertainment institution with a pure indigenous culture that celebrates the resistance against hegemonic oppression is quite difficult to conceive. The question whether this film Industry, using hybridity as a tool, is successful or not in helping the people of south Asian origin in coping up with the traditional hybrid dichotomy in their real lives is worth examining.

The liberalisation policy implanted by the Indian national Government under the instruction of Rajiv Gandhi and Narasimha Rao opened wide the door for the world to invest and accept economic ties with India. During that time itself saw the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) gaining momentum in the political arena in the sub-continent. The ideals promulgated by this particular political ideology consisted of regaining and reviving the lost tradition and culture of India with their adherence to "Hindutva". A thorough analysis of the movies that came out of the Bollywood industry since the 1990's portrays the celebration and commemoration of the so called. 'authentic' Indian cultural traditions and rituals and encashing it. Keeping the diasporic community in mind, they started catering to their interests too. Beginning with *Purab Aur Paschim* in the 1970s dealing with East /West dichotomy, Bollywood travelled a huge distance to the 1990's in their dealing of the hybridisation issue. Not only the diasporic people but people at home too began attaining pleasure in the

enactment of the cultural purity and uniqueness on screen. This led to the creation of the movies dealing with 'feudal family romances' and 'loving patriarchy'. One such notable movie that came out in 1997 named *Pardes*, directed by Subash Ghai, dealt with the same old East/West dichotomy but on a different and much appealing manner. One can call it old wine in a new bottle but the way in which this movie deals with the notions connected to cultural hybridity and purity grasped the interest of the audience both in India as well as abroad. Critics are of the opinion that 'Pardes' meaning "Foreign Land" harkens back to the 70s era portrayal of the diaspora in certain ways but its central conflict being the East/West dichotomy and it has been dealt through the notion of purity which is connected to that of a woman's purity and this indirectly points towards the purity of the nation and its preservation. India boasts of a rich and varied culture that dates back to thousands of years and encasing this culture by upholding its purity and sanctity has been a technique used by Bollywood directors since the medium of cinema got popularised in the sub-continent. Pre-Independence India too saw such movies but the rather uncompromising censor board put up by the British imperial government did not allow such movies to see light but after Independence, there happened nationalist movies celebrating the essentialism and purity of India as a unique country with an exotic culture. Changing political scenarios has its own effect upon the Bollywood film industry too. The 'need of the time' themes got its space in few of the Bollywood commercial movies even though the parallel cinema dealt with many of the 'taboo' matters explicitly.

Globalisation, being a post-national phenomenon, created a new kind of nationalism in India with its hybridity. One example is the almost absence of the rural in Bollywood movies and the presence of urban and modern, where the profit rests. It is actually a progress from poverty to riches and a major shift in the Indian national imaginary from poverty to consumerism. According to Leela Fernandes, the 'global' is the product of nationalist

narratives that is very much preoccupied with the cultural hybridities and purities. With hybridity comes the issue of impurity and the remapping of the national boundaries using gender politics. Gender politics naturally centres on the sexuality of women and its preservation, which indirectly links to the preservation of the nation's purity. Fernandes has tried to conceptualise the common trend in India where the purity of the nation signifies a Hindu woman's chastity, through the values attributed to Sita, the chaste and loyal wife of Lord Rama. Just like the purity and chastity implied in the name 'Sita', Bollywood movies portray heroines in such a way that reflects family values and a stark contrast to western materialism and decadence. The movie *Pardes* with leading actors just like *DDLJ*, Shah Rukh Khan and Amrish Puri, has got a female protagonist exemplifying Indian feminine values and even has a name 'Ganga' which signifies the holy Indian river which is synonymous with purity and chastity. Filled with innocence and rural upbringing, Ganga gets engaged to a NRI boy whose father, even though settled in the USA, wanted his son to get married to a girl who epitomises Indianness. The film allegorises the failure of a NRI father in his attempt to reconnect with his homeland, India, through his daughter-in-law. In case of hybridity, *Pardes* outrightly rejects the hybrid Indian identity unlike *DDLJ*. The movie deals with the non-urbanised traditional innocent heroine struggling to fit herself in the concretised jungle of LA and symbolising the 'authentic' India through her. Even though containing herself in the western culture proves to be a failure, the initial glitz and gloss attracts her towards the highly urbanised and Americanised culture but a potential threat to the disruption of Indian values and purity happens with her visit to the sin city, Las Vegas. The visual feast of night clubs, discotheques, casinos and amusement parks entertain and attracts any spectator towards an Americanised dream but a fear of losing the traditional values forms the movie's backdrop. Even though she gets attracted towards her would-be fiancé and his westernised manner, her rejection to indulge in a pre-marital sex is perceived as a symbol of

purity and incorruptibility. Since modernity is not the rebuttal of tradition, the high end consumerist Indian society's desire to watch and indulge in traditional valued movies itself is a paradox. One of the notable reasons can be considered as the ascendancy of the Bharathiya Janata Party (BJP) with its powerful Hindutva ideology has paralleled the liberalisation policy implemented in India. Their vote bank consisted of an urban Hindu middle class and a rich NRI community abroad who wishes to revive and reconnect with their glorious home land through the recovery of the Hindu past. The 1990s melodrama mainly picturing families upholding traditional values, can be considered as a response to this wave and individual desires got more prominence than social ones due to the modern commodity culture.

Bollywood cinema, during the 1990's has treated globalization and the apparent hybridity as a threat to marginal, local and diasporic cultures. The year 1991 saw the implementation of the liberalization policy that enabled the Indian economy to emerge as a competitive force in the global arena in many areas including the film industry. Vocalising hybridity associated with the vampish nature of the western culture, became the theme in many a number of Bollywood movies with *Pardes* becoming a blockbuster in the year 1997. The star cast with Shah Rukh Khan and Amrish Puri, who created a history with their combination role in *DDLJ*, did wonders in this movie too and at the box office also. This movie was the first step of success for the debutant actress, Mahima Chaudhary. The peripheral interpretation of the movie deals with the East/West dichotomy but a deeper analysis reveals certain undercurrent that exemplifies the Indian concept of 'Purity' and the exclusion of hybridity. Indian outlook has an affinity towards the concept 'pure' and directly or indirectly purity is a norm attached to women since time immemorial. Whether the historical figures Sita, or Ahalya, purity and chastity made them go through enough suffering and hardships in order to remain chaste and pure, and the violation of their purity leading to further troubles. *Pardes* movie too deals with issues associated with the purity of a woman

and its signification towards the purity of the nation. Nationalist narratives uses gender politics while insisting upon the legitimacy and stability of the nation and thereby associating the worthiness of a woman being decided by how much purity that she can hold and instigate.

Pardes movie released at a time when India celebrated its fifty years of Independence and as the name suggests, patriotic outpouring accompanies this particular cinema. East meeting West has been the hot topic of Hindi filmmakers for a long time with the stereotypical representation of the attractive yet menacing West where South Asians lose their Indianness and falling into the debauched trap of the glamour and glitz of western culture. This love/hate relationship in between these two cultures underwent a drastic change after the 1990s with globalization hitting hard the Indian economy and an active participation of the NRI community in almost all the socio-cultural aspects of the sub-continent. This active involvement occurred in the Bollywood film industry too with the so called NRI's underwriting certain film productions financially and few movies were made with the NRI in mind as well as the evolving urban middle-class in India. *Pardes* in a movie that revolves around the central character Ganga, raised by a conservative Indian family, who happens to visit America and the cultural turmoil connected to it. Being her father's friend, the wealthy NRI Kishorilal decides to make her get married to his son, Rajiv who is a tomboy and who has never been to India and doesn't know the value of Indian culture. In order to prep him for this faith leap, Kishorilal's adopted son, Arjun administers things to Ganga about America and American way of life. A bond develops in between Ganga and Arjun and the movie is all about whether America/Western culture can contain Indian purity and sanctity or not. Majority of the scenes in this movie presents a stark contrast in between the wayward and morally drained America with that of the culturally rich and pure Indian ethnicity. One may call this movie a female centred one with Mahima Chaudhary representing the morally and ethically rich India through her dialogues, attitude and even attire. In a deeper level, *Pardes* is

the best example for essentialist nationalist narrative that makes use of the concept of ‘purity’ and by making use of gender politics, it connects purity with that of the inherent purity residing in women with that of the national purity.

As the title suggests, being in ‘exile, and the traumas connected to it plays the real theme of *Pardes* movie. Celebrating the unique and authentic cultural traits of the sub-continent, *Pardes* begins with an exalting speech that Kishorilal delivers in front of a group of Westerners. He is heard extolling about the abundance that his land possesses in rendering unconditional love which his fellow westerners can never understand because of their give and take attitude. These dialogues of him are worth enough to invoke proud sentiments among the diasporic communities as well as at home too. Kishorilal represents that section of the first generation South Asian who nurtures and cherishes an imminent return to his homeland. The thoughts and sights of his birth place evokes pleasure and pride in him which his friends appreciate and he is someone who has retained his ‘Indianness’ even though been residing in the West for more than three decades. This promulgates the common belief that no matter where you are, a South Asian in exile, will remain a South Asian irrespective of time or space. *Pardes* appeals mainly to the first generation South Asian individuals who strongly adhere to the ethics and moralities of their homeland and cherished the idea of retaining those qualities for the coming generations too. May be that will be the reason why Kishorilal decided upon making Ganga who is his childhood friend Suraj’s (Alok Nath) daughter to be his future daughter-in-law. He wanted her to be the crucible through which the values and tradition to be imported to the US for his coming generations to inherit and follow.

Yet another notable feature of the movie is the recurrence of the ‘rural’ imagery in the first half. Rural imagery predominated the Hindi film industry with its farmers and agriculture during the Nehruvian era which promulgated the idea that the soul of the sub-continent lies in its farmlands and among farmers. Soon it lost its charm as a result of the

changes that happened in the political ideology that overtook the sub-continent and fresher ideas and images began to get momentum on screen. The first half of the movie is all about a typical joint family with a loving patriarchy in the midst of a rural village surrounded with farms and greenery. The concept of a joint family is definitely something that most of the Bollywood movies make use of in order to utilise the nostalgic sentiments of the diaspora. When analysed, most of the Bollywood movies dealing with diaspora subjects, tend to portray the nuclear families of the diaspora in stark contrast with that of the huge joint families back in their homeland that possess love and cooperation which binds them together. This particular movie can boast of having one of the most popular and hit songs of the 1990s which openly proclaims the qualities and attributes that the sub-continent possesses. This song, (I Love my India) is written and shot in such a way that pride and honour gets invigorated in the minds of the South Asians abroad.

The decision taken by Kishorilal in choosing Ganga as the bride for his son stems from the diasporic tendency to find partners from their homelands with the motive of continuing the ethnicity and morality through the women. They do this on the pretext of inculcating the values and traditions of the 'desh' and thereby act as the anchorage for their partly westernised offspring. The threat of a 'hybridised' version of their offspring hovers over their minds forever and Kishorilal decides to transport the 'desi Ganga' to 'vilayat' with the same intention. Even though the family has got mixed feelings and opinions about she going abroad, the loving patriarch, Suraj, convinces everybody about the better life opportunities that awaits her. But the question whether it is possible to transport the sacred and pure Ganga comes into the minds of the audience. The dialogue about Ganga being the only hope left in Kishorilal in bringing and preserving the pure South Asianness in his household, indirectly posits the dilemma and anxiety that the first generation diasporic

citizens suffer from concerning the lifestyle and attitude of their Western born and brought up children.

In order to explicate the East/West contradiction, the director of this movie, Ghai, has made use of two heroes. Kishorilal has a son, Rajeev (Apurva Agnihotri) and a foster son, Arjun (Shah Rukh Khan). In order to prep up and make ready the bride, Kishorilal appoints his foster son, Arjun, and he is somebody who epitomises everything that which is Indian and compatible, whereas his real son, Rajeev, is a thorough western bred and wayward. Unlike *DDLJ*, *Pardes* didn't incorporate 'best of both' worlds hero and Arjun belongs to that category who is proud and resentful about the homeland and its attributes. There are many anecdotes in *Pardes* which proves this real 'desi' mindset like travelling by Air-India, considering a snake as god and so on. Ganga exemplifies the exotic and religious aspect of the Indian sub-continent with her staunch belief in the morals while at the same time educated in English but at the same time, she was careful enough not to get trapped inside the luring webs of modernity and westernisation.

As per Indian tradition, no girl is allowed to meet in private with a boy before marriage and even though if it is somebody as close as her fiancé, the chaperoning of the family is necessary. *Pardes* portrays the meeting of Ganga with Rajeev in the presence of elders only and this signifies the lack of personal space that women at home goes through. The elders didn't permit Kishorilal to take Ganga to Los Angeles without an engagement ceremony since in India, a woman is supposed to visit the groom's place only after marriage. Yet another incident is the conducting of the 'kabaddi' match for Ganga's hand which indirectly points towards the objectification of woman who's fate and future being decided through a mere game. But, here the director indirectly, compares this match to that of Lord Sri Ram's bravery in lifting up the sacred bow and breaking it in order to win Devi Sita's hand in marriage. Bollywood women were either Sita or the western vamp and those who are

chaste and pure are always compared to Sita. Goddess Sita is famous for her chastity and purity and here the name 'Ganga' directly or indirectly signifies the sacred River Ganga which is synonymous for purity and chastity and a proud property of the sub-continent alone.

The second part of the movie is an exemplification of the disparity in between the eastern and western cultures. It illustrates the morally rich, Ganga, facing culture shock after reaching Los Angeles. Kishorilal's household consists of 'hybridised' South Asians who despise and ridicules her for strict adherence to 'Indianness'. The widowed sister of Kishorilal acts as the only relief for Ganga who comforts her about adjusting with the hybrids and the Western society is actually a test for her to prove her purity and integrity. The shock of her life comes from the knowledge of the fairness her own fiancé imbibes and each and every scene in between Rajeev and Ganga is an outpouring of the co ready between East/West culture and ways of life. The character of Ganga is always seen attired in traditional costumes and her dialogues and songs all internalise her longing and love for her homeland. Whereas Ganga represents South Asianness, Rajeev is a representative of the second or third generation diasporic individuals who are clueless and confused about their identity and evolvement.

Pardes is an open proclamation and celebration about the purity and chastity of South Asian women. There happens an incident in between a party where a white man acts strange with Ganga and misbehaves with her. Instead of Rajeev, it was Arjun who rose up to the situation. Indian women's chastity and purity is something that has to be kept intact and it is the responsibility of a husband or son to fight for its preservation if need arises. This is the similar reason why she flees away from a Las Vegas hotel room when a drunken Rajeev tried to encroach upon her. Being an Indian woman, she is not supposed to indulge in premarital sex and Ganga outrightly rejects her fiancé and runs back home. When she objects to have a physical copulation, a drunken and angry Rajeev abuses her, her family, her country as a

whole. When he calls her homeland 'a cow dung pit' she loses her nerve and freaks away from the engagement and flees home. The movie ends with the much essential fight in between Arjun and Rajeev where Kishorilal comes to know about his son's true colours which makes him allow Arjun to win Ganga's hand as a prize.

Pardes is a movie which is a celebration of Indianness and maintaining and following an Indian way of life no matter where one goes or whatever he does. It clearly portrays the first generation NRI's as staunch champions of traditional ethnicity where as the later generations being perplexed and hybridised. Hybridity is something that has to be kept at bay as far as these filmmakers are concerned whereas in actuality, the conglomeration of both East and West has happened among the diasporic communities which has resulted in the creation of a particular type of hybrid personalities in the communities. Even though the younger generations do watch Bollywood movies and enjoy it immensely, these movies do not play an active role in the process of their identity formation. Many of the second and third generation South Asian citizens in the West have accommodated and adjusted themselves to the western way of life. It is through these Bollywood movies that they actually acquire a taste about their homeland and its culture even though it is culture imaginary. Encashing upon the nostalgia that the first generation nurtures and retains, the Bollywood film industry has been successful in crafting a unique kind of movies that has satiated as well as entertained the South Asian Diasporas around the globe.

CHAPTER – 3

IMAGINING THE HOMELAND

The concept of diaspora provides a critique of the discourses of fixed origins, incorporating both the 'homing desire' as well as 'a desire for a homeland'. Both, being quite not the same thing, advocates a differentiation since not all diasporas dream of a 'return'. The concept of home which acts as a subtext of diaspora, facilitates an analysis of the precarious relationship that the 'indigene' sustains with the 'nativist' discourses. According to Avtar Brah, the concept of home includes those who are considered to be the indigenous to a territory and the manner in which they are discursively constituted and is distinctly irregular and context specific ("Cartographies of Diaspora" 187). The process of colonization resulted in the attachment of a derogatory undertone to the term 'native' and a multitude of cultural, political and structural processes, resulting in the conversion of the native people into the 'native' which indirectly became a code for subordination.

Even though the British diasporic communities in the colonies consisted of different class, gender and ethnic subjects, they assumed a position of superiority with respect to the Native. Soon, the 'Native' became the 'Other', excluding from anything and everything connected with 'Britishness' and Brah raises the question about the positionality of the nativist discourse in the present-day Britain. She points out that even though no obvious elicitation of the term 'native' is happening in the current British society, it still forms the basis for many a racialist assumptions of Britishness, "According to racialized imagination, the former colonial Natives and their descendent settled in Britain are not British precisely because they are not seen as being native to Britain: they can be 'in' Britain but not 'of' Britain" ("Cartographies of Diaspora"187). The interpretation of native in nativist discourses

considers the ‘colonial Native’ as inferior and the ‘metropolitan Native’ in Britain as a superior construct.

The discourses of nationalism invokes not only the indigenous status but also the Native Australians and Native Americans too mobilizing the concept of the native positionality which implies the fights ensued against centuries old exploitation, marginality and displacement. A subaltern position is allotted to them and their claims contribute largely to the construction of a hegemonic dominance. Even though this subaltern position doesn’t guarantee any claims of essentialist belonging, what remains at risk is the method in which the indigene subject position is manufactured, constituted and deployed with all the contradictions. The answer to all these problematics depend upon, at least partially, the way in which the question of ‘origins’ is treated, whether in a natural and essential way or as historically produced displacements.

Brah further asks the question, “Where is home?” (“Cartographies of Diaspora”188) and explains that the concept of home can be elucidated in two ways. Firstly, ‘home’ is a phantasmal place of desire in the diasporic imagination with a no ‘return’ even though it is possible to visit the geographical territory that is considered as a place of origin. Secondly, home also signifies the lived experience of a vicinity. The aural, visual and olfactory experiences of a subject is moderated by the historically particular day-to-day of the social associations.

In other words, the varying experience of the pains and pleasures, the terrors and contentments, or the highs and humdrum of every day lived culture that marks, how, for example, a cold winter night might be differently experienced sitting by a crackling fireside in a mansion as compared with standing huddled around a makeshift fire on the streets of the nineteenth-century England. (“Cartographies of Diaspora”189)

This picture of a winter night with subjects around the fire may be either white English men or women in a mansion, or the descendants of African and Asian slaves and Irish and Jewish immigrants huddled together in the streets.

There arise the question of the basis of differentiation upon which the people on the street are divided amongst themselves based on empathy and hostility and between those living on the street and in the mansions. The kind of subjectiveness and subject situations produced in this manner points towards the twentieth century imaging of 'Englishness' and the removal of the multi-culturisms of the nineteenth century. "The question of home, therefore is intrinsically linked with the way in which inclusion and exclusion operate and are subjectively experienced under given circumstances. It is centrally about our political and personal struggles over the social regulation of 'belonging'" (Brah, "Cartographies of Diaspora" 189). In short, Brah summarizes her argument using Paul Gilroy's description of diasporic imaginary home, in his *The Black Atlantic*, as simultaneously about 'roots and routes'. "The concept of diaspora places the discourse of 'home' and 'dispersion' in creative tension, inscribing a homing desire while simultaneously critiquing discourses of fixed origins" ("Cartographies of Diaspora" 189).

The notions of home and belonging in a diasporic condition is equally concerned about the questions of when, how and in what form they are addressed which determines the history of a specific diasporic community. Certain diasporas like the South Asian communities in Trinidad does not incise a homing desire and a return to the place of their 'origin', but rather a cultural recognition with the Asian sub-continent that contributes to the major element in the identity determination process. Diasporas doesn't imply unpretentious interim travels or a parable for independent single exile but they transpire out of relocations of collectivities consisting of individuals or households. "Diasporas are places of long term, if not permanent, community formations, even if some households or members move on

elsewhere. The word diaspora often invokes the imagery of traumas of separation and dislocation, and this is certainly a very important aspect of the migratory experience” (“Cartographies of Diaspora”190). But they also provide the platform for new developments and potentiality for hope and, according to Brah, they are the frequently competed cultural and political territories where independent as well as combined memories diverse, resuscitate and reorganise.

A location becomes home based on the issues of ‘feeling at home’ and raising a claim upon a place as one’s own. It is easier to feel at home at a place but the confrontation of social prohibitions may obstruct someone to openly announce a place as home. In order to authenticate the difference, Brah compares the definition of home by two people in the same circumstances. A Black woman of Jamaican parentage may feel Britain as her home but defines her identity as one that of a Jamaican/Caribbean since ‘Britishness’ excludes Black people as the ‘Other’. Alternately, another woman with the same background, facing exclusion from the ‘Britishness’ may insist upon her Black British identity as a tool. Although both belong to the mixed British diasporic cultures, they exhibit different political positions on the questions of home and, even though they hold different subject positions, they may exemplify both these positions and the situations in which they decide their choices as equally important. The first generation’s experience and attachment to the place of origin is entirely different from that of the latter generations.

... the relationship of the first generation to the place of migration is different from that of subsequent generations, mediated as it is by memories of what was recently left behind, and by the experiences of description and displacement as one tries to reorient, to form new social networks, and learns to negotiate new economic, political and cultural realities. (“Cartographies of Diaspora” 190)

Gender relations too play a prominent role in the shaping up of the experience of men and women in each generation of diaspora. The combination of these social relations is not the application of the patriarchal values adopted from the land of origin over that has been adopted from the host country, but rather a mixing up of both the elements for a transformation while expressing and through distinct institutions, policies and methods of Indication. “The concept of diaspora signals these processes of multi-locationality across geographical cultural and psychic boundaries” (“Cartographies of Diaspora” 191). But one should keep in mind the fact that the multi-locationality of the concept of ‘home’ in the imaginary of the diaspora makes them feel not anchored in the place of settlement but rather results in a unique identity formation that confronts the notion of an uninterrupted, persistent, unvarying, similar and steady identity.

Diasporic studies have delved deep into the essence of the diasporic communities and have produced perceptions and awareness about the migrant experiences. The concept of home in diasporic communities has its roots embedded in the question of identity and belonging. Whether out of choice or requisite, moving out of the homeland has made the migrants to cling on to their roots by maintaining traces of their homeland while at the same time respecting the host society’s culture, feelings and responsibilities. Along with the collective sentimental attachment to the land of origin shared among the diasporic communities, some of them fantasize an earnest desire to return to their homeland. More or less, a diasporic subject is in a perpetual dilemma and torn between two different homes, unpredictability impends and the subject seems to go through multiple yet agitated consciousness, resulting in a feeling of loss and ambivalence. Homeland is the conception from which diaspora procures its pertinence and hence it is absolutely necessary to define and acquaint oneself with the notion of a home. In the frame of reference of diaspora, home refers to a location to which a fraternity or ethnic crowd belongs to and detains a long history and a

profound cultural attachment with. Homeland is something that which provides someone with a national identity because diasporic identity is a notion that emanates with the nostalgic emotion for a home. According to James Clifford, diasporic feature consists of "... a strong attachment to and desire for literal return to a well-preserved homeland..." ("Diasporas" 305).

A diasporic individual is concerned with the question of singularity or plurality of homes. Thus, the notion of home and belonging becomes composite and baroque, demanding a solution to the convoluted precision. Wendy Walters has endeavoured to define this complex issue in the introduction to her work titled *At Home in Diaspora*, "The notion of diaspora can represent multiple, pluri-local, constructed location of home, thus avoiding ideas of fixity, boundedness and nostalgic exclusivity traditionally implied by the word home" (Walters xvi). Tijander Dahlstrom is of the opinion that the 'homeland' is a perception rather than a physical region, realm of myths, observation, memories and dreams which will never adhere to the assumptions of a geographical 'homeland'. The sentimental nostalgic longing for the land of origin is a dominant feature of diasporic works. Residents of diaspora have a tendency to look back at their homelands and feel a sense of loss of the past and they always try to reclaim this loss through reminiscence and remembrance. Salman Rushdie reverberates this longing in "Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991" (1991). In this essay, Rushdie expresses the view that a writer like him who desires but unable to claim his sense of belonging to his country, is poignant to produce fictions like *The Midnight's Children* in an effort to demonstrate some sort of an association or a belonging, and to divulge the desire to retrieve his homeland. The diaspora urges the immigrants to estrange themselves from their roots and force them to live between two worlds: the fictional and the actual, the extinct and the contemporary and the virtual and the material.

Rushdie enforces the fact that the nostalgic closeness that one have with his homeland is not 'imaginary', adhering to the notion, that it remains recommencing itself routinely by rekindling the physical as well as emotional attachments with the native land. He describes this longing to reclaim one's own home land, can be resuscitated through plain, straightforward occurrences like that of his experiencing the excitement when he finds out his father's name still printed in a telephone directory.

I felt as if I were being claimed, or informed that the facts of my faraway life were illusions, and that this continuity was the reality... it is probably not too romantic to say that when my novel *Midnight's Children* was born; when I realized how much I wanted to restore the past of myself, not in the faded greys of old family-album snapshots, but whole, in cinemascope and glorious Technocolour. ("Imaginary Homelands" 9)

Stuart Hall has done an effective description of the notion of diaspora home or as he prefers to call it, the 'New world'. According to him, "... this New world is constituted for us a place, a narrative of displacement, that it gives rise so profoundly to a certain imaginary plenitude, recreating the endless desire to return to 'lost origins', to be one again with the mother, to go back to the beginning" ("Cultural Identity" 235). Hall advocates a plurality of home rather than a singularity and illustrates the example of the Caribbean diasporic identity and his theory reaches out to not one but a multitude of homelands. These multiple homelands facilitate the diasporic subjects to have and oscillate between multiple identities. This state of fluidity and mobility that helps the creation of a particular idea of home which is actively involved in all the 'presences' but relevant only in the matters of present 'presence'. This opinion of Hall is supported by R. Radhakrishnan, regarding the plurality of homes, by illustrating his own example as a person who posses both the American and the Indian identity. He stresses in his essay, titled "Ethnicity in an Age of Diaspora" (2003) that "...

ethnicity is always in a state of flux; far from being static, unchanging and immutable...” (Radhakrishnan 119). He also opines that the credibility of identity as being a diasporic subject is incomplete and should be considered as a setting, from which it heads off to a fixed mediation of identity. The native homeland consolidates itself with the host homeland and it is through the discretion of identity that the notion of home develops. Thus, identity can be envisioned from a particular global diasporic encounter that depends upon the framework “to rethink the rubrics of nation and nationalism, while refiguring the relations of citizens and nation states” (Brazier 3).

The relationship between diasporas and native place of origin is distinguished by uncertainty and psychological uneasiness, since the diasporic subject is lacerated between two different homes. Added to this, “... scattering leads to a splitting in the sense of home. A fundamental ambivalence is embedded in the term diaspora: a dual ontology in which the diasporic subject is seen to look in two directions towards a historical cultural identity on one hand, and the society of relocation on the other” (Ashcroft 425). Home and abroad are integrated in diaspora in such a way that home can be over seen and vice versa since they are not inevitably secured geographical limits. The steady anxiety begins when confronted with the questions of ‘where you are from’ and ‘where you are now’ and this result in the creation of a unique diasporic space by the subjects. The best specimen is the China town in London where Chinese people recreating a home space and sense of belonging at where they are—a home away from home. The feeling of loss of home commences in a search for a locale where the diasporic self could belong, a safe socio-political, cultural and intellectual expanse that the individual can call a home. The various and composite experiences of the diasporic subject endure both inclusion and exclusion.

The notion of home therefore is much more complex than approaches to diaspora based on the power of nostalgia would want us believe. It is intrinsically linked with

the way in which process of inclusion or exclusion operates and is subjectively experienced under given circumstances. It relates to the complex political and personal struggles over the social regulation of 'belonging'. (Tsagarousianou 52)

Diasporic experience is a long-lasting rush between ethnicity, economics, ideology and politics creating a contrastive order. Arjun Appadurai (1990) considers diaspora as a fixed movement of people or ideas through five aspects. These five aspects detail how they ultimately attach to the concept of home. The association between diaspora and home is still substantial as they are impacted through ideological, ethnical, economical, mediational and technological dissemination. The interconnection between diaspora and home is unswerving as all these aspects surround the human element which is crucial to the concept of home. The notion of Ethnoscape consists of the motion of people exceeding the ordinary cultural borders. This replacement of the diasporic subject from their homelands, maintain the idea of home from the native that is lost, but keeps on negotiating with the concept of home that is subsisting in the homeland of their immediate host. The basis for such motion is the inter linkage between politics, capital and technology which produces a demand for labour. This demand for labour promoted the idea of home and this flow of capital and labour enables the subjects to move across borders easily. The connection between media and diaspora is not continuous since it reproduces the concept of home and it necessitates the understandings of culture, homeland and identity that ultimately form fake and made-up experience through the deceit of media. Homeland ideologies, when get in touch with the ideologies of the host, will get moulded accordingly influencing the formulation of home.

For a native, home denotes security and community and for Spivak (1988), it is a place where 'we cannot want'. Moreover, the vital inclination of nativism is complex, signifying locality and a politically liable state where a deranged and contextual idea of community attains predominance. It is a place of relationships, security and a collection of

memories that supposes identity and nativity by constructing a longing when disseminated. As far as the historical function of a home is concerned, a home bestows to the creation of communal myths and distinctive memories. Diasporic subjects do tend to romanticise their homeland and are supposed to regenerate and attach their homeland with that of the host land. The history, achievements and physicality create deep engagements upon the collective memory of the migrants and the flexibility of their identities is reassessed through deterritorialisation and contextualisation that are steadily overhauled through complexity. This makes the concept of home hazy and putrid and thereby questioning the laxity of origins, under- scoring the homing desire rather than the longing for a homeland which is not one and the same. Hence, “homeland had become a homing desire and soon home itself become trans-muted into an essentially placeless, though admittedly lyrical space” (Cohen 3). According to Robin Cohen, home as “place of origin, or the place of settlement, or a local, national or transnational place, or an imagined virtual community as a matrix or known experiences and intimate relations...” (3) challenges the subjectivity nature of the idea of home. The absolute nature of belonging exposes the laxity on the inner caucus with ethnic communities or the cultural interplays between communities. So, homeland as structured by globalised discourses explain the weakening between a homeland and the diasporic subjects as it turns out to be an enormously diverse, multicultural and a hybrid world. While applying the romantic concept on the homeland , there is the necessity for a nationalist rhetoric that fastens the diasporic subjects to the land and culture or the nativeness of the diasporic individuals to the ever changing global spaces in the modern world.

The yearning to return to homeland can never be considered as the universal archetypal diasporic experience. According to Clifford, the Jewish diaspora is not developed in a real homeland but as a home expanded through “cultural forms, kinship relations, business circuits, and travel trajectories as well as through loyalty to the religious centres of

the diaspora” (“Further Inflections” 305). Besides, Jewish diaspora is not distinguished by a longing for a homeland but a regaining of the idea of home, from that which is lost. Explicating diaspora through an inescapable bond to homeland, omits certain weaknesses like the essentialist recognition of an ideal homeland—host land classification that further neglects to distinguish the escalating and flexible nature of diasporas and the floating transnational centres in which they transpire and receive quintessence. These nostalgic homeland affixes, sometimes, and will move beyond the due importance, to the repetitive stereotypical significance of the ideal kind of clarity and the return to the homeland or some sort of connection to the homeland is more indefinite, since the home space restores beyond recognition. Trapped within modernisation, diasporas are impacted by the globalization in which the home coming is acutely encroached upon and ends up in a round - about route and no returning to the homeland. Diasporic experiences consist of transnational spaces of experiences and they mix up the outlines of the homeland and host land. The adherence to a homeland is based upon certain ambivalent experiences and such “ambivalence in processes of diasporic identification is often due to the contrasting exigencies of a usually ‘mono-phobic’ official discourse and politics on the one hand, and a diasporic vernacular or plebeian culture often more polyphonic and complex—on the other” (Tsagarousianou 58).

The uncritical attitude on the association between homeland and diaspora also points towards the essentialization of the deduction and illustration of the native socio cultural elements. Accordingly, the dynamics of diasporas and the various innovative probabilities from local and transnational surroundings, undergo damage and disconnection. It is equally important, within the diasporic prospective, to compose and understand identities to attain ethnic identity. Cohen (1997), in his endeavour to represent this agreement between the homeland and ethnic identity, advocates a dedication and participation in politics in-order to convey the plurality of the components that would actually donate to the cultures which

conceives the consistency through action. The differentiation between ethnic and diasporic identity is not dispersed because of a collective and familiar beginning but the tendency to use themselves lively and steadily with the creation of transnational imagination and correlations consisting of the “‘threshold’ from ethnic to diasporic identification” (Tsagarousianou 59). It is not only identifying the parleying of ethnic and diasporic recognition but also in making sure the difficulty of the processes of consultation that exceeds the controls of ethnicity.

The estrangement of a community in diaspora—its separation from the ‘natural’ setting of the homeland—often leads to a particularly intense search for and negotiation of identity: gone are many traditional anchor points of culture; conventional hierarchies of authority can fragment. In short, the condition of diaspora is one in which the multiplicity of identity and community is a key dynamic.

(Mandaville 172)

The resurgence of diasporic cultural politics provide new possibilities for novel locations of hope and the diasporic subjects do not have to depend upon the nostalgic endeavour to shapen up their identity but rather to formulate their self identity and a notion of home, using a progressively forward looking attitude.

According to Vijay Mishra in his *The Diasporic Imaginary and the Indian Diaspora* (2005), diasporas have a radical as well as a rightist vein in them. Both these ‘dashes’ concentrates upon the notion of “one’s ‘homeland’ as genuine spaces from which a particular kind of reclamation is plausible. Homeland is the ‘desh’ (in Hindi) against which all the other lands are foreign or videsh” (Mishra, “The Disaporic Imaginary and the Indian” 2).

According to him, homeland prevails as an absence that needs an excess which is meant by the aspect of diaspora and this is the reason away Srilankan Tamilian’s and Sikh’s clangour for a homeland in the European and American heartlands. Sometimes there happens the mix

up of these two versions, namely the physical and mental, to be disintegrated into and an ahistorical past, repudiating into antiquity. He asserts that the analysis of homeland must be along with yet another facet of diaspora which claims that diasporas do not return to their homelands. He gives the example of the lesser number of South African Indians having returned and in spite of the Fijian institutionalised racism, Fijian Indians hardly return to India in search of their roots.

According to Hamid Naficy in *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (2001), the accented films demonstrate the dialectics of displacement and emplacement through particular space time arrangements. Place refers to those locations which people attach distinctive meaning and value and whether it's a country or house or a corner in a house, the significance applies not only to its physical presence but also ones association to it and one's social relation within it. Only while facing the menace of a displacement, do we understand the real significance and merit of that particular entity called place. Hence, displacement forms the opposite of emplacement and similarly the concept of home is secured to horizon and homeland to exile. Furthermore, since place has got a historical significance too, displacement and emplacement attains a temporal aspect also by connecting it with either to the dates of a grand home-coming or homelessness. The impression left with the beginning or ending of the exilic trauma along with such mundane land marks, control and influence the psychology and identity of similar people. Most of the exilic people never go to a place of exile right after leaving the place of origin behind. "Many, particularly refugees and asylees, are forced to stay in intermediary places during their circuitous home-seeking journeys. These transnational places are also a part of the idea of place that forms their identities and their chronotopical figuration in accented films" (Naficy 152).

Chronotope, literally signifying time-space, was first proposed by Mikhail Bakhtin as a 'unit of analysis' for analysing literary works in their presentation of structural and temporal arrangements as well as an 'optic' for examining the power that constructs such arrangements. According to Naficy, cinematic chronotope includes some specific/ particular temporal and special situation in which the stories uncover. "Accented film encode, embody, and imagine the home, exile, and transnational sites in certain privileged chronotopes that link the inherited space-time of the homeland to the constructed space-time of the exile and diaspora" (152). Naficy further classifies three different kinds of chronotopes that is prevalent in the accented cinema. The initial shock of displacement led the media to produce an utopian, before the fall of the man kind of chronotope, which has the potential to stay unspoilt by the current facts. He calls this homeland's 'open chronotope' in which nature, monuments, landmarks, and certain celebrated portrayal of house and home got included. The interpretation of the life in exile, too, at first shows characters in shock due to the displacement but it is demonstrated in a dystopian and depressed conceptualisation of the immediate times. This type of chronotope is mainly expressed in closed areas like imprisonment and panic and hence he calls it 'closed chronotope'. Ultimately, he explains the third type of chronotope which he calls border chronotope which deals with the varied exilic journeys, changes and fluctuations. Naficy asserts that all these chronotopes are not only just visual but also "synaesthetic" which includes the complete human sensorium and memory.

THE CULTURAL IMAGINARY

The term 'culture' signifies the wide extent of experiences, ways of thinking and feeling and about the values, traditions and customs of the group that one thinks he belongs to. In Avtar Brah's opinion, no single definition can define the term 'culture'. With having around more than a hundred definitions for a single term, culture can be explained simply as the symbolic

creation of the extensive arrangement of a particular social group's life experience. It records a group's history and embodies the essence of it. Just like different groups, their histories too differ and likewise their cultures. The material factors influence the production of a particular culture and being in a state of constant evolution, cultures can never be static. Even though culture adopts various cultural traditions and institutions in the process of transformation, various repetitions and cancellations, its day-to-day actions and traditions will shape and alter these institutions. Brah also identifies certain common features that various group cultures share among themselves which is the result of certain economic and socio-political factors. Class, caste and gender too play a prominent role in the cultural production. With religion as a base, history interconnects various groups of the society into one, forming similar cultural patterns common for all. Just like the British community consisting of distinct national cultures like English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh, South Asian diasporic communities too integrate and assimilate various traits in the formation of its culture.

Cultural difference is the outcome of various social processes which can never be considered as unproblematic. This differentiation is the result of a variety of factors working in the crevices of economic and socio-political relations. One can notice the emergence of the highly valued culture from that group that has a better access to power, wealth and privilege. The word 'cultured' naturally comes from the heights of the society and they will be the dominant group. But that doesn't mean that the culture belonging to the subordinate groups are subjugated or they are not part of the cultural transactions. But rather, subordinate groups find ways through which they can express and communicate their feelings. The upper hand will always go for the dominant culture and will try to explain and includes all the other cultures and thereby acting as the universal culture which is unchallenged. John Clarke and his co-workers points out that in such a situation, all the other subordinate cultures will try to question, change, argue or even to over throw its hegemonic status. "The dominant culture of

a complex society is never a homogenous structure. It is layered, reflecting different interests within the dominant class (e.g., an aristocratic versus a bourgeois outlook), containing different traces from the past (e.g., religious ideas within a largely secular culture) as well as emergent elements in the present” (Clarke, J. 12). Subordinate cultures don’t openly challenge it forever but they do exist peacefully for long periods and work out the missing links and spaces and adjusts with it. So, cultural discourse should be understood in relation with the power politics among various groups and Brah insists that British, South Asian diasporas and their cultural transactions must be dealt in accordance with the colonial history as well as the power hierarchies that distinguish the British Social formation contemporarily.

The concept of identity just like cultures, is equally a slippery one with a constant transformation happening to its dimension day by day. The notion of identity differentiates ‘us from them’ and it is not the same in every situation. All of us are changing day by day and this unstable apparition is exactly what we see as real and fixed about others as well as ourselves. This acceptance of the plurality of identity is both a social as well as a psychological process and can be taken as a mystery which disregards an absolute definition. Over the past decade and a half, few scholars have attempted to interpret and define the term ‘identity’. According to Brah (1996), so far only E. H. Erickson (1968) and P. L. Berger and T. Luckman (1971) has come out with some success. Erickson puts together few phrases in order to explain the term. He calls it a procedure ‘located’ in the vital region of the individual and a feeling that initiates similarity and progression. He further adds up that identity formation as a process is unconscious most of the times in which both the inner and outer factors combine together to create an aching or exhilarated ‘identity consciousness’. He opined that identity can never be considered as an achievement nor as a fixed or unwavering one. Keeping in mind these findings, Berger and Luckman (1971) stated that actuality is a social construction and even though an individual faces multiple realities every day, one

single factor is always taken as the reality acceptable. This accepted reality consisting of a group of meanings, is shared among others. Not everybody experience the world the same way and situation changes the day to day perception of each individual. But certain links attach these multi- realities together and helps the individual with a continuous sense of self. So, being subjective and social, identity shares deep rooted links in and through culture.

Stuart Hall in his article “Cultural Identity and Diaspora” defines identity as something which is not translucent or uncomplicated. Apart from considering identity as an already attained entity, Hall insists on considering identity as a creation which is never absolute, always in action and always composed within and not outside representation. This opinion complicates the mastery and originality of the cultural identity that it lays claim upon. To make the notion clearer, he proposes two methods to analyse and understand the concept of cultural identity. The first method is to consider cultural identity as part of a shared culture which individuals with a shared history and ancestry have in common. Such cultural identities mirror our common experiences and shared cultural signifiers that unify those who share the same and thereby providing them with fixed, unchanging and free flowing codes of meaning. This oneness must be the thing that diaspora should unearth, locate and highlight through cinematic representation. This particular representation should concentrate not upon the rediscovery but the creation of identity that which has its roots deeply embedded in the re-telling of the past.

The second view of cultural identity according to Hall is the differences that comprise ‘what we really are’, or in a better aspect what we have become. “Cultural identity, in this second sense, is a matter of becoming’ as well as of ‘being’. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture” (“Cultural Identity and Diaspora” 225). Rather than stuck in the essentialized interpretation, cultural identities are subjected to the nuances of history, power and culture.

Hall insists that these identities are not concerned only about the unearthing of the past that which is anxious to be revealed so that it can bind all of us into eternity but rather, cultural identities are the attributes we provide to the variety of methods in which we are placed within the narratives of the past. This realization will help to analyse and assimilate the real traumatic and painful colonial experience while representing it cinematically. It is through an unscrupulous exertion of cultural power and standardization that the colonized subjects got positioned and treated as subjects in the dominant representation. This regime of power in connection with the 'West' in South Asian Diasporic discourse belongs to the Foucauldian concept of power/knowledge couplet and this particular kind of knowledge is internal and not external. "It is one thing to position a subject or set of peoples as the 'Other' of a dominant discourse. It is quite another thing to subject them to that 'knowledge' not only as a matter of imposed will and domination by the power of inner compulsion and subjective con-formation to the norm" ("Cultural Identity and Diaspora" 226).

Displacement marks diaspora into a specific category with its members linked to a mobile culture or a culture that has journeyed to somewhere new and developing an identity that is an amalgamation of the past and the present. To be precise, diaspora includes the fusion of migrancy and pursued cultural bonding, that specify certain racial, national and ethnic groups that are disbanded all over the world due to the after effects of modern imperialism. One of the prominent features of the diasporic experience is the premonition of being trapped between two worlds. As Salman Rushdie says in "Imaginary Homelands": "[S]ometimes we feel that we fall between two stools" (431). Contrarily, diasporic subjects have only an 'imaginary homeland' that subsists in narratives and repressed snippets of memory and the other emigrants, will always be considered, concomitantly, as 'insiders and outsiders' in their recently discovered and settled homes. The feeling of being neither here nor there leads to a sense of alienation in the diasporic subject and results in a strong bonding

between the members of the community. The sense of shared history is often prevalent among them and also an imaginary link to a fantasised homeland which, according to Vijay Mishra in “The Diasporic Imaginary: Theorising the Indian Diaspora”, is usually described in terms of ethnic homogeneity (448). According to him, “Diasporas very often construct racist fictions of purity as a kind of ... pleasure around which anti-miscegenation narratives of homelands are constructed against the reality of the homelands themselves” (449).

Displacement often ends up in pain and hardships which the scholars has used effectively while theorizing the term. These narratives help the diasporic subjects to surpass the painful despair of estrangement and intense nationalism helps them to ward off the damages done by exile by allocating to them an ideological elixir for their almost lost heritage but sometimes it may lead to the allocation of falsehood and lowliness applied upon them by the others. According to Mishra, these fantasy homelands compensates for the loss happened due to the traumatic displacement. Combining all these, one may consider diaspora as the product that is constructed through the banishment declaration and idealisation of the ties that exist between those who share a common ancestry. One thing that needs to keep in mind is the fact that the disseminated people have a heterogeneous origin. For instance, the South Asian diaspora shares same traits on some level which is the South Asian -ness, but where the problem lies in this is that the south Asian diasporic community is a heterogenous lot with various racial, ethnic, linguistic and religious difference that serves to differentiate the people. Also, the individual travels of the subjects and the circumstances in which they resettle too, affects drastically. It is the notions of national and cultural identity that serves to bind together the diasporic communities according to Avtar Brah, “...all diasporas are differentiated, heterogeneous, contested spaces, even as they are implicated in the construction of a common we” (“Thinking Through” 444).

Brah insists upon the prevalence of the connections between numerous diasporic communities and she points out a 'common we' which has to be taken into consideration. If these communities contain forces that work endlessly in the creation of a monolithic homeland, what is the significance of a diaspora? For that, Brah proposes the existence of shared cultural practices, shared narratives and shared power selections. She points out the cultural, political and economic explicitness that connects various communities with a particular diaspora. She points out that no matter where, the minority diasporic settlers always face nearly identical issues anywhere in the world and it is this shared experience that binds them together. But the shortcoming of this argument is that certain communities develop bonds with other communities based on the socio-economic similarities rather than the common origin background. This is how cultural hybridization happens in a region where inter cultural contact happens uninterruptedly.

Brah proposes further a convergence of narratives that provide for the creation of an 'imagined community' out of a particular diaspora. She points out certain narratives that are distinctive to a specific Diaspora which are endlessly "... lived and relived, produced, reproduced and transformed through individual as well as collective memory" ("Thinking Through" 444). This helps us to define diasporic imagination as an assemblage of narratives, practices and beliefs shared by diasporic individuals in connection to both their homelands and each other. It is this imagination which produces the feeling of cultural and social inter-relatedness between subjects who may be having only the shared experience of migration. Brah insists upon the supremacy of the collective processes. The diasporic narratives and the communities it signifies are accidental, flexible and reliant on social practices that are ceaselessly amended and in motion. There is always room/space for improvement for these diasporic communities. Even though these communities makes use of these improvisational methods to get along and adjust with the host society, there are many works confirming and

authenticating the fact that diasporic narratives are improvised narratives. Here, it is worth quoting the exact words of Brah that "... the identity of a diasporic imagined community is far from fixed or pre-given" and that the identity is always "constituted within the crucible of the materiality of everyday life (and) in the everyday stories that we tell each other individually and collectively" ("Thinking Through" 444). She opines that the diasporic stories are always works-in-progress. But Bill Ashcroft and his co-authors argue that the term diaspora can be defined in a better way as a "traveling culture means a culture that changes, develops and transforms itself according to the various influences it encounters in different places" (Ashcroft 427).

There is always a delicate tension present between spontaneity and predetermined procedures while considering the term diaspora. According to Edward Said (2006) and Vijay Mishra (2006), diasporas are frequently positioned on the idea that dispersed cultures are prone to conceptualize 'imaginary homelands' into narratives that are disputably excluded and periodically racist. Similarly, Brah (2006) and Ashcroft et. al. (1995) poses a different opinion in which they view diasporas as basically unpredicted assemblages that are constantly producing and remodelling identity in relation to the changes happening around them. Thus, a diaspora is something of an extemporization itself, constructed from narratives and movements that share segments of lack of prediction and a powerful adaptive element. These are the two high spots and the two different and intermittent aspects of the signification of diaspora.

Bollywood cinema, with its history, has played a prominent role in the creation of the national identity as well as a collective cultural imaginary among the diasporic subjects. According to Appadurai, "... film is perhaps the simple strongest agency for the creation of a national mythology of heroism, consumerism, leisure, and sociality..." ("Public Modernity" 8). The mid 1990s saw the implementation of the liberalisation policy in the Indian economy,

the advent of the Hindu nationalism and the rise of the multiplex-cultured urban middle class, cinema began playing a major role in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the nation where the meanings got worked out, traditions made and remade and identities got accepted or declined. As Ashis Nandy points out, "... the popular film is low-brow, modernizing India in all its complexity, sophistry, naiveté and vulgarity. Studying popular film is studying Indian modernity at its rawest, its crudities laid bare by the fate of traditions in contemporary life and arts. Above all, it is studying caricatures of ourselves" ("The Secret" 7). The diasporic subject too has evolved gradually on the screen in the past twenty years or so. Beginning as a counter-model, the NRI (Non Resident Indian) became the symbol of the Indian achiever asserting his ethnic identity in the global arena and who is a successful, male, wealthy, family-based, techno-savvy and above all a Hindu, all at once.

Bollywood movies began providing the diasporic subjects their long awaited prominence and position in the Indian society through new practices or by rejuvenating the old ones. The prominent producer-director Yash Chopra one exclaimed that it is our moral responsibility to portray India at its best and that we are the historians of India and the Indian diaspora must manage its identity, its roots. The movies that came after 1991 dealt with themes dealing with the diaspora and their nationalist, ethnic and cultural discourses and they glorified the NRI as the emergent middle class with the best intentions of his homeland in mind. Those movies dealt with the Indian culture as family oriented, Hindu, women symbolising the family and yet transportable and thus likely transnational. In one way or the other, cinema acts a medium for the endorsement, instruction and dispersal of the nationalist discourse that proclaims the righteousness of consumerism and constancy of cosmopolitanism. There validations and qualifications are transmitted to the diasporic communities through cinema and using these movies as a base, the South Asian diasporic communities create a cultural imaginary that helps them to reconnect with their homeland

and in bringing a sense of ‘self ‘ in the host society. As far as Bollywood is concerned, these culturally transmitted ideals and ethics play a decisive factor in the character determination and identity formation of the second and third generation diasporic subjects all over the globe. The ‘ideal’ South Asian identity got crystallized in the Bollywood movies and it projected and transmitted the same into the living rooms of the NRI’s in a tremendous way that led to the production of an imaginary homeland concept in their minds.

Bollywood has gradually and successfully carved a niche for itself in the South Asian diasporic communities by leaving a mark in all aspects of daily life and culture through their movies. It has become an integral part of the diasporic communities’ culture and imagination as Dwyer and Patel point out; “part of its habit and speech, dress and manners, back ground and foreground” (“Cinema India” 8). One such notable imaginary element that has its impact widely seen is in the affair of ‘weddings’ as seen in Bollywood movies. The year 1994 saw the release of *Hum Apke Hain Koun* which was a grand celebration of the ‘great Indian wedding’ accompanied by all the possible glitter and grandeur one could imagine.

Representing the whole India as a homogeneous entity, such movies promoted North Indian weddings as the only true Indian wedding. Being a diverse country with myriad traditions and rituals associated with localities and ethnicities, this representation led to the stereotypical representation of the South Asian as one and this had its own effects upon the diasporic imaginary too. The movie sequences got enormous popularity among the South Asian diaspora and thereby affirming the idea that this specific style represents the entire spectrum of South Asian marriages.

The prominent theme dealt by the Bollywood cinema has been the diasporic imaginary and the hopeless struggles faced by the frustrated first generation South Asians in their attempt to retain the South Asian moral principles within societies which include second generation diasporic subjects, who have little or no affinity and attachment with the sub-

continent and its ideologies. Repeatedly these movies pictured the transnational South Asian as “more traditional and culturally authentic than their counterparts in India” (Ganti, “Bollywood” 43). This led to the production of a particular type of cultural imaginary in both the diasporic communities as well as those in the sub-continent. Bollywood movies, dealing with diasporic themes and subjects, created a unique kind of imaginary culture amongst the diasporic subjects about the concept of homeland and its qualities. Along with this, these movies prompted those who are living in the sub-continent also to perceive the NRI’s in a peculiar way and imagine their ethics and values through the films. Both the diaspora as well as the domestic audience got an idea of the homeland through Bollywood. The stereotypical portrayal of the South Asian diaspora, as someone who is clutching on to the sub continent traditions, Bollywood has tried to establish the diasporic South Asian identity as something that glorifies the homeland, making sure that the so-called “South Asian” values of coquettishness, patriarchal dominance and obedience, arranged marriages and familial worthiness gets transmitted into the audience imagination, both in the diasporic location as well as at home.

Bollywood movies have played a key role in the formation of a particular kind of South Asian diasporic consciousness. Diasporic consciousness is a composite mixture of myriad forces like ethnic, cultural, national entities and some of the psychological issues that came into existence because of the displacement. What these movies have done so far is gaining an entry into a phantasmal world through which the diasporic subjects could relive and reverberate their desires and fantasies connecting them to their homeland. According to Appadurai’s ‘theory of rupture’, media and migration acts as two poles of influence on how modern subjectivities are imagined. He argues that the electronic media such as the cinema, provides new material “for self- imagining as an everyday social project” and thus producing “communities of sentiment” (“Modernity at Large” 8), specifically the groups of people that

share the same imaginings and feelings. This is somewhat identical to Benedict Anderson's notion of 'imagined communities' which claim that it is possible to distinguish "by the style in which they are imagined" ("Imagined Communities" 6) and more than anything it is concerned about the roots of these imaginings. Like Appadurai, Anderson's work also accentuates the historical part played by the media in validating communities to come up to the fact that they are related to themselves as well as to others "in profoundly new ways" ("Imagined Communities" 37). Both these scholars thus give prominence to the symbiotic relationship between the nationhood, media and geographic dissemination. Steven Vertovec elaborated these views by describing the 'diasporic consciousness' as a feeling of relationship across disseminated domains that provide members of a particular diasporic community with numerous allusion points through which they recognize both a homeland and their country of settlement (Vertovec, "Three Meanings of Diaspora" 147). This is distinguished by identity deliberations across a variety of domains that effect in a combination or hybridization of cultures. In short, Bollywood movie consumption "facilitates and mobilizes the transnational imagination and helps to create new ways for consumers to think of themselves as Asian" (Cayla 216).

Bollywood has emerged as a pivotal factor in the process of familiarising and rekindling the pride in the South Asian heritage and reaffirming its importance and need to transfer it across generations. Apart from acting as a medium for entertainment, these movies have taken up the role of an educational tool too in bringing about a sense of 'South Asian-ness'. An imaginary cultural ethnicity and identity too is imbibed in the community minds and affects the diaspora in very individual and local ways, depending upon their individual explicative frame works. So these movies help the subjects in identifying their homelands as well as their land of settlement or what Clifford in his work *Diasporas* describes as 'discrepant cosmopolitanism', in which subjects encounter existential presence and

involvement in South Asia as well as in the host societies. So, Bollywood helps them in understanding the homeland and incorporate it into their identity projects and also to ensure that the traditional value of the sub-continent is always present in the process of self monitorization. An obligation to adhere to the homeland's values is portrayed in the Bollywood movies by representing the sub-continent as 'the exotic Other' which is in opposition to the values of the western society. It helps the diasporic subjects to keep in touch with their culture and imbibe the adequate behaviour and role enactments that their South Asian culture demands them. All these point towards what Vertovec describes as "diaspora as a mode of cultural production" ("Three Meanings"153) through which a type of diasporic consciousness transpires in the oncoming generation members of the diasporic communities. The world envisaged by the Bollywood as a social and cultural entity helps its audience to connect with the subcontinent of their collective imagination and acts as a link that replaces the actuality living in the continent. Furthermore Bollywood acts as a socialisation mechanism and enforcement too, for the diasporic subjectivities. The portrayal of familial values and kinship are imbibed in their minds through these Bollywood movies and it reinforces their South Asianess by incorporating the 'imaginary' element. Thus, Bollywood communicates to an imagined community that is restricted and sovereign at the same time.

The apt portrayal of the aforementioned characteristics can be seen in the Bollywood movie *Namaste London* (2007) directed by Vipul Amruthlal Shah. As the name suggests, the first part of the title 'Namaste' suggests a South Asian welcoming part with 'London' suggesting a diasporic interference. The first impression of this movie will be the portrayal of the East/West dichotomy but a deeper probe leads to the artistic and splendid representation of the cultural imaginary that Bollywood constructs in the national as well as in the diasporic scapes. Most of the Bollywood movies dealing with diasporic themes portray the West as a location where the female heroine has to move permanently or temporarily in search of

livelihood or love. What makes *Namaste London* unique is the change in the role-play; it is the male character who is moving from the Indian sub-continent to the United Kingdom, London. Usually, gender migration happens as a result of marriage, and women, in particular, are forced to leave behind their homeland and accompany their consecutive spouses to the various parts of the world. The director of this movie, Shah, took the gargantuan risk of a male lead leaving the homeland accompanying his wife, anticipating a beautiful and bountiful life in London. In a nutshell, *Namaste London* is about a girl who was brought up in London and who has almost severed her Indian roots and her father taking her to the homeland and making her marry a person out of her choice. East colliding with the West is the peripheral understanding of this movie but a further reading showcases the imaginary cultural traits embedded in its narrative, that helps the diasporic as well as the audience at home, spun out the dream like tales from which one derives pleasure and satisfaction.

Namaste London is a movie about Jazz aka Jasmeet who changed her name into the western way and who loves everything Western including her British boyfriend. But on a family trip to the sub-continent, her father turns her perfect western life upside down by making her get married to his friend's son Arjun, who represents the culture, tradition and purity of the sub-continent. Just like the other Bollywood movies such as *Purab Aur Paschim* (1970), which deals with the glorification and hailing of the sanctity of the homeland, the entire movie is about the task of bringing back the woman back into her ethnicity and understanding and appreciating her roots. As the nationalist narrative's adherence to the male protagonist taking all hardships in inculcating the purity and morality of the subcontinent in the way-ward female protagonist, *Namaste London* too revolves around Arjun's (Akshay Kumar) pain and hardship in bringing back Jazz (Katrina Kaif) back to her core kinship and national identity. As the title suggests this movie deals with the diasporic subjects and the culture clash and ego challenges that the first and second generation diasporic subjects face

all over the world. The whole movie is shot in London, portraying the glaring contrasts it exhibits with the sub-continent. It is a celebration of the ultimate: the 'man' or the 'mard' (in Hindi) who inculcates all the essential essences of his nation and his strict adherence to its values and spreading it where ever he migrates to. Getting fed up with his daughter's night life and parties and alcoholism, Manjeet, Jazz's father decides to take his wife and daughter to India in the pretence of showing his homeland for his daughter who has never been there. His actual reason was groom hunting and to stop her from getting married to some random white guy. He actually tricked her and took her to India but things change once visiting his ancestral house in his homeland. He forces his daughter to get married to his childhood friend and relative's son, Arjun, who was badly smitten with her beauty and charm.

Jazz represents the western society with all its parties, night outs, dance clubs, alcohol, boyfriends, living together relationships and so on. Through this character, what the director of this movie has done is the fabrication of an illusory culture of the West which appeals and rises up to the imaginary standards of the audience back in the sub-continent. On the other hand, Arjun is the ideal hero, who represents the homeland to its fullest with his aura and heroism. The daughter, in order to escape from the marriage and legalities related to it, suggests Arjun that, she always wanted to have her 'first night' after marriage in London and asks him time to understand things about him so that later it will be easy for her to return native and begin a peaceful co-existence with him. What she had in mind was to somehow escape from the homeland and run back to her boyfriend charming, Charlie Brown. Twice divorced, Charlie is a representative of the western ways of living but Jazz is ready to take chances with her life. When her parents warns her about his past marital relationships, she confronts them saying if this too fails she won't accuse them and instead she is even ready to take the whole blame upon herself.

Arjun gets the shock of his life when he listens to Jazz telling everybody about the drama of marriage which she took part just to fool her father and get away from the native place. Jazz is the representative of the second or third generation diasporic subjects who are in a dilemma about what to choose and what to follow. Sometimes they are ashamed of their cultural belonging and in order to gain the inclusion into the western society, they change their identity and attitude. Being the real son of the land, Arjun decides to stay behind in London till he makes Jazz walk down the aisle as her 'best man'. Along with Jazz and Arjun, one another parallel story was being shown that dealt with the anxieties of a Pakistani father and son. There the son had fallen in love with a white girl and wanted to move off with her into a living relationship. Both these fathers, being friends, they share and unburden their anxieties and fears with each other about their limitations and shortcomings about their decision of coming and settling in a foreign land. There is a slight accusatory note in Arjun's tone when he tells Jazz's dad that the majority of her diasporic parents wanted a better life and opportunities by living in the exile land but when it comes to matters concerning their children and their future, they always insist upon their determination in selecting the respective partners from their homeland only.

The second half of the movie is about Arjun wooing Jazz and making use of every opportunity to win her favour and love. When the Brown family hosts a party in honour of Jazz and Charlie's engagement, a stranger, who had his ancestors working for the British East India company, tries to ridicule the sub-continent and calls it 'land of snake charmers' and 'rope swingers.' Embarrassed, Jazz's rescue and help comes in the form of Arjun, who through an exhilarating and splendid speech spreads out the greatness and superiority of the culture and tradition of the subcontinent. Talking in Hindi and acting as an illiterate in English, Arjun, with the help of Jazz as his interpreter, makes both the diasporic as well as the local audience proud and excited about their homeland. A friendly rugby match ensues in

between the British and the South Asians in which, with the help of Arjun, South Asians win the match. All these soften up the heroine's heart and through each and every scene, Arjun was teaching her the ethics and moralities of her ancestral land. When Imran (Pakistani father's son) decides to convert into his girlfriend's religion and change his name and identity, Arjun intervenes and points out to him his heritage and his parent's dilemma. Realising his mistake, he decides a break up which prompts the girl to accompany him and accept him for what he is.

The movie ends with a totally confused Jazz walking down the aisle with Arjun as her best man. The final dialogue of Arjun to Charlie in English proves his mettle and when asked, he replies he do not need the white man's language to prove his authenticity and intentions. The final scene is that of her riding pillion with him, wearing traditional attire and somewhere in the rural village of the sub-continent. Arjun, played by Akshay Kumar, in this movie is the heterosexual male and Jazz as the extreme feminine which strikes a crackling contrast. It is a shot out of the fact that 'East or West, homeland is the best'. The clichéd patriotism evoking scenes makes the movie a blockbuster among the diasporic communities. *Namaste London* is one of the finest examples for standardising the role played by Bollywood in the maintenance of an imagined identity and culture in the diasporic communities. Bollywood provides an ample space for these communities in negotiating and reconciling various issues faced by the diasporic subjects both collectively as well as individually. It offers the diasporic subjects a particular imaginary reality that helps them to reconcile with their Eastern and Western relationship ideals and oppositional cultural discourses. Through reaffirming the pride in their homeland's heritage, evoking longing and romance and reinforcing family values and a sense of kinship, Bollywood feeds the creative and imaginative escapist mentality of the audience at home and those settled abroad. It clearly acts as a reference point for young third generation diasporic individuals while seeking an understanding and assimilation of their

roots and South Asianess even though they maintain an aloofness about the part played by these movies in their identity construction. Bollywood has become an internationally recognised obsession for the South Asian Diasporic people since they attain both pleasure and instruction/ideology while watching movies belong to this category.

CULTURAL COSMOPOLITANISM

The nebulous core/basis of cosmopolitanism is the opinion that all human beings, without any concern for their political affiliations, can or are or should be citizens of a single world.

Various versions of cosmopolitanism foresee a community in multiple ways, some envisioning on political institutions, some on moral relationships or configurations of shared markets or cultural expressions. Majority types of cosmopolitanisms assert the universal community of world citizens, acting as a positive force, that needs to be pursued and based on the idea of citizenship, it can be used literally or metaphorically, resulting in the existence of various versions of cosmopolitanisms exist. This term has recently acted in filling the interstices between the postcolonial paradigm and present day political and cultural citizenship. Breckenridge et al brings home the idea that “cosmopolitanism, in its wide and wavering nets, catches something of our need to ground our sense of mutuality in conditions of mutability, and to learn to live tenaciously in terrains of historical and cultural transition.” (Breckenridge4). According to Vertovec and Cohen (“Conceiving Cosmopolitanism” 78), there exists six different ways in which one can analyse cosmopolitanism. They are as a socio-cultural condition, as a philosophy or worldview, as an outlook which promotes transnational institutions, as an approach that give for the political subjects multiple construction, as a mind set up accepting and open to otherness and as an ability to be tolerant, retrospective and to move between cultures without staying within any of them.

Accepting the epistemological function of cosmopolitanism may help one to avoid understanding the world in terms of binaries like the powerful Self and the subjugated Other and thereby providing a deviation that helps one to accept pluralism and difference. Rejecting the basic dichotomic foundation of globalization may enhance one's view about the world as a more comprehensive one with multiple belongings and ever expanding affinities. This way, we may be able to overcome the "tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization" (Appadurai, "Modernity at Large" 32). Cosmopolitanism promotes an open mentality towards the world through which societies metamorphose themselves. Due to globalization, boundaries of the world are becoming more and more porous resulting in the existence of homogeneous communities, surviving in numerous cultural diversities. More than considering as a concept related to globalization, cosmopolitanism reveals new horizons, by signifying the possibility to factually investigate border crossings and other transnational occurrences. Cosmopolitan modernity plays a significant role in social sciences and humanities while analyzing the globalized subject and in the process of globalization, the meeting points of travel, labour, technology and the issues concerning the citizens.

Gita Rajan and Shailaja Sharma is of the opinion that 'new cosmopolitanism' is very much different from the traditional, distinct, fixed and secured diasporic groups and they locate new cosmopolitanisms as a contemporary formation, that is the outcome of various globalization coalescences such as culture, media, trade, migration etc. Cosmopolitanism is equally an ambivalent occurrence, both in its imperial embodiment as well as in its ethical extent. Sometimes the adherence to national boundaries may restrict an individual from attaining the perspective of a world citizenship, and in contrast to this, new cosmopolitanism insists upon the refusal of the groundedness in either a nation-state or a particular class like that of an intellectual or working. More or less, a new cosmopolitan subject immerses himself in a range of fluid positions that can be trans-national or trans-class or trans-local.

Traditional diasporic theorists like Robin Cohen (1997), Safran (1991), Tölölyan (1996) and others posit diaspora as a fixed, stable entity with people consisting of different migration experiences like trade, choice, violence and so on and who are unified both in space and through their bipolar connections to the homeland. According to Rajan and Sharma,

... new cosmopolitans as people who blur the edges of home and abroad by continuously moving physically, culturally, and socially, and by selectively using globalized forms of travel, communication, languages, and technology to position themselves in motion between at least two names, sometimes even through dual forms of citizenship, but always in multiple locations (through travel, or through cultural, social, or linguistic modalities). (2)

These changing preferences and complex relationships make the new cosmopolitanism as 'diasporas in motion', in which the movement can be cultural or physical or ideological and the movement of people or capital or media forms. It generates and explains itself by inhabiting the in-between spaces of identity, communication and culture, refusing the allocations made by both ethnic nationalism and the all absorbing notion of the host cultures. The term, popularised by Manuel Castells, as 'network' in order to describe the latest form of globalization, is applicable to new cosmopolitanism too.

These networks are highly fluctuating and are connected to that aspect of globalization which is situated in between the earlier manifestations of diaspora and traditional cosmopolitanism. Later cultural critics like Appadurai (1996), Rouse (1991), Bauman (2000) and so on define this new concept of new cosmopolitanism as a series of practices connected to migration and globalization but different from earlier conceptions of diaspora and its subsequent cultural formations and affinities. It includes both the highly educated, elitist, techno-savvy and politically conservative section of the society who wishes

to leave a mark in the homeland as well as in the host country and those with little education, liberal political views and an increased interest in the cultural forms like Bollywood. This group of south Asian consists of those who forms the formidable labour force with no political access to citizenship but inhabits the hybridised, multicultural and multiracial spaces of urban diasporas worldwide.

As far as the South Asian diaspora is concerned, they can be located somewhere in between the traditional diasporic and a cosmopolitan class of people who is good at auctioning their skills to the highest bidder in the global market arena. The term South Asian is a highly problematic term while using, since it consists of six countries—India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka and all of them does not consider belonging to the same block since they are divided amongst themselves with political rivalries and politico-religious tensions. But a deeper analysis reveals a shared history, culture and language that binds them together in the diasporas worldwide and certain specific traits common to them differentiates them from other Asiatic origin diasporic communities. Even though imprecise, these shared and similar cultural traits make these diasporic communities identify themselves as ‘South Asian’. And generally all over the world, this term is often used in place of Indian/Pakistani or to denote the people of the Indian sub-continent.

Another admonition in examining the new cosmopolitanism has to do with the class and how this class is dealt in regard to the South Asians worldwide. Post World War II, the South Asian migration to the West has been described as a highly educated “middle class’ people and this erases both the difficulty and heterogeneity across the class arena that differentiates the South Asian migration as unique and leaves aside their irregular position and blending into the host societies. And this shadows their similarity to other third world elites, who enter similar host countries. Based on class, the new cosmopolitanism can be described as a network of relations between abroad and home, diaspora and native and it

permits various classes to participate in the society at different levels. “In other words, the term cosmopolitanism doesn’t privilege one class over the other, even though the word ‘Cosmopolitanism’ has traditionally evoked an elite transnational connotation” (Rajan 5). Timothy Brennan analyses not only the contemporary and historical cosmopolitanism but also its interrelatedness to post colonial and imperial cultural production. He criticises cosmopolitanism as a double-sided terminology that provides a world citizenship view as well as a classification that circumvents ‘class historical engagement’ by concomitantly accepting a language of authenticity and hybridity. This aptly applies to the South Asians world-wide and especially in the United States, since they have been increasingly analysed as diasporic, and certain times as migrant/exilic, considered as post colonial, sometimes as cosmopolitan and urban and now-a-days as a cluster inhabiting the problematic spaces created due to globalization.

The late 1990s saw the dominance of the South Asians in almost all walks of life like technology, finance, cinema and popular music and the noticeable presence of the South Asians significantly influenced major economies and cultural industries. The elite, educated, worldly and mobile population of the diaspora made most of the metropolises of the world their home and even in the academic and literary areas too, South Asians left their mark gloriously. Till late South Asia occupied only the exotic position in the margins of the world and well-learned doctors and engineers were invisible till late. Media always portrayed the failed socialist and poverty ridden South Asia, that was overtly exoticised and benign but all these changed in the last decade and the south Asians got included into the order of the West. The sudden change in the global economies, the future of technology and the occurrence of the shifting of cultural hegemony all contributed to the presence of South Asia and its diaspora to be felt and heard.

Traditional diasporic theorists such as Robin Cohen, Safran and Tölölyan placed the prominence uniformly upon the devastating history of dissemination as in the traditional diasporas of Jews, Armenians and Africans, on the consequences of homeland on the diaspora and how the homeland draws its power upon the diasporas like that of Armenia, Ireland and Israel. In all these scenarios, the homelands and diasporas are unique with clarity, completeness and absoluteness and with the emotional strings attached that never weakens over the generations. In all of these, the diasporic population is physically removed from their homelands and this dispersion whether through violence or choice, determines the nature of the diasporas. Robin Cohen further elucidated an alternative kind of diaspora, which he models upon the sojourner one and it deals with the annual migration of Chinese traders to and from South East Asia during the last two centuries. In this model, the members of a community or family will take turns while going abroad in search of livelihood. When one member returns from exile, another member will take his place in order to keep the trade running. This kind of migration is entirely different from the traditional diasporas since the emigration is not permanent and it is both circular and temporary. The connection of this particular migration to the traditional diaspora is that of the structure of the constant movement in between the homeland and abroad as well as the economic nature of such movements. Like this, the South Asians too are aware of their role as south Asians abroad and what differentiates a new cosmopolitan from other is the fact that he/she creates a distinct ethnic, linguistic, and cultural identity based on their ultimate return to the homeland that has no significance to the geographical return to the mother land, in order to create and preserve a unique South Asian identity.

Manuel Castell's seminal work, *The Rise of the Network Society* (1996), has effectively described the latest phase of modernity and globalization. He is of the opinion that post 1970s saw the assemblage of time, distance and space in a totally novel way by the

global capital. According to him, the modern world which is technology driven, has affected the establishment of state, society, culture and identity in an overwhelming way and considers all these as in a state of constant motion and not as disjunct blocks. In such a network controlled world, identity plays the supreme role in defining self as well as community and since identity is dependent upon various factors like financial, social, cultural, technological etc, it is always susceptible to change. This opinion further made Castells to reject the traditional Marxist theory of economic determinism and in this regard, new cosmopolitanism allows the replacement of the diaspora/nativist model with a much more mobile and flowing set of identities. In *Liquid Modernity*, Bauman (2006) reflects a similar understanding of the actuality, using the lexicon of modernity and he insists that the usage of visual metaphors will help one to explain the different methods through which people move around the world and occupy nation-states, even though not eternally in the gesture of creating and assimilating services and goods, leading to the susceptibility of people to 'flow', 'spill', 'drip' and ooze'. These particular words signify the mobile and active nature of the new cosmopolitan subject who is in stark contrast to the traditional and stable cosmopolitan modernity. Bauman connects these features to the employment of power, "Power can move with the speed of an electronic signal – and so the time required for the movement of its essential ingredients has been reduced to instantaneity... power has become extraterritorial, no longer bound, not even slowed down, by the resistance of space" (11).

Scholars like Arjun Appadurai (1996) have attempted to define the concept of movable modernity. He has used the term 'optics of globalization' in explaining those who belong to the nation with the citizenship and those groups who get the prominence through older models of regionality in the global studies. Even though migration is a phenomenon that has a history of more than a hundred years, the question one raises is the difference in the arrival, settlement and assimilation of the migratory schedule of the past decade with that of

the older ones. One explanation is the fact that, South Asian population is a standardising one because it is assembled together in the social hierarchy and evolution, which is definable under traditional classification of diaspora, nationhood and identity. But it is abnormal too because vital internal segregations that debate such division provokes the older categories of definitions.

It is Appadurai who points out the requirement for a replica that removes diaspora and absorbent hybridity, to one that incorporates “floating populations, transnational politics within national borders, and mobile configurations of technology and expertise” (“Modernity at Large” 5). This assertion diverts the evident binaries of home/here and abroad/ there to bring the prominence on the mobility and incomplete presence of subjects like that of a point-to-point movement. This cyclic employment prompts one to use various investigative tools in the production and dispersal of the “knowledges of globalization” (“Modernity at Large” 4) and simultaneously raise the question about the identity of those who inhabit such new cosmopolitan spaces. As far as globalization is concerned, being a complex term that has altered during the past few years, John Tomlinson in *Globalisation and Culture* (1999) rightly opines that it is really crucial to perceive the “complex connectivity... globalization refer to [in] the rapidly developing and ever thickening of network of interconnections and inter dependencies” which he calls as distinguishing contemporary social life linkages (Tomlinson 2). Globalization facilitated closeness possible for South Asians by migration, education, travel and employment and it refers to an ever widening technology and technological transfer in which, world markets and labour movements are uncomplicated since globalization facilitates, locates, relocates and redefines people, resulting in the new cosmopolitanism of modern times. In the milieu of global capital flow, technology and cultural exchanges, connectivity symbolizes confronting the distance distinctively and the main difference between this new type of cosmopolitanism and the older type of

globalization is that the slower we're the types and extent of communication movements. So, the differentiation between home/ abroad, us/them, here/ there etc. were easily recognizable and in the older times where the connectivity referred to the physical distance safety and guarantee, the new cosmopolitan is somebody who move along unidentifiable with masses of the host country.

Lisa Lowe in her work titled, *Heterogeneity, Hybridity, Multiplicity: Marking Asian American Differences* (1991), points out the situatedness of Asian Americans in the United States, with the concise term 'Asia' that recognizes various cultures, nations and histories within it. She quotes:

Asian American discussions contain a wide spectrum of articulations that include, at one end, the desire for an identity represented by a fixed profile of ethnic traits, and at another, challenges to the very notions of identity and singularity which celebrate ethnicity as a fluctuating composition of differences, intersections, and incommensurabilities. The latter efforts attempt to define ethnicity in a manner that accounts not only for cultural inheritance, but for active cultural construction, as well.

(27)

Through this, Lowe refers to the American Chinese, Vietnamese and Japanese descent community who can never be included in the South Asian category because of their histories of war and labour. According to Prashad, those who occupy the top level of the South Asian diasporic communities coming from and into the middle to upper class do not fit into the new cosmopolitanism label. The reason lies in the fact that those theorists do not mention the tensions within the South Asian like that of the issues related to religion and nationality as that of in India and Pakistan or like the language and ethnic clashes in Sri Lanka and India or between Bangladesh and Pakistan or even foreground the issues that are dominant in a single South Asian community that determines the settlement and assimilation of the community

into the nation-state. In matters of citizenship, Aihwa Ong's explanation of cultural citizenship and flexible citizenship helps us in analysing the class/ mobility spectrum that defines new cosmopolitanism. Ong uses the Foucauldian concept of 'governmentality' while discussing the notion of cultural citizenship and elucidates that as far as United States is concerned, class is re-termed as race that results in to the whitening or blackening of the immigrants and thereby classifying them accordingly into local, comprehensible categories. This leads to the allocation of citizenship to certain pre-acknowledged groups and denial to certain others.

The importance of Bollywood cinema, in the background of the enormous South Asian diaspora, is acknowledged as an important cultural subject for diaspora scholars, as movies has played an influential part in the development of a South Asian diasporic culture. Movies, therefore, is one of the most popular and prominent cultural form and commodity in the transnational south Asian culture and political economy. As Jigna Desai explains:

South Asian diasporic identities are centrally configured and contested through cinema, its production and consumption. [...] while South Asian media are consumed by many parts of the South Asian Diaspora, the production of South Asian diasporic media is centred in the West, specifically in the United States, Canada and Britain [...]. South Asian diasporic cinema is a developing cinema that negotiate the dominant discourses, politics and economies of multiple locations. ("South Asian Diaspora" 373)

While analysing cosmopolitanism, emphasis should be given for the production, consumption and impression of the authoritative cultural medium of film. Cinema, especially Bollywood and diasporic films, is key to thinking through pleasure and power and how they influence upon the cosmopolitan production and structuring of South Asian diasporic subjectivity has caught the attention of the contemporary theorists and scholars. Not only at home but also all

ever the world, Bollywood cinema has carved a niche for itself and has become a major challenge for the Hollywood hegemonization of the global cinema. Having an enormous spectatorship from the Middle East to Russia and some parts of Africa, the phenomena of globalization, leading to transnational migration of the South Asians to various parts of the world, Bollywood too has undergone a reterritorialization with an expanding presence of Bollywood in Europe and North America. From the showcasing of certain Bollywood movies at Cannes, Oscar and Golden Globe award ceremonies, hopes have been pinned upon the Bollywood as a global cinema for the diasporic, transnational and cosmopolitan viewers.

Majority of the Bollywood movies are accepted by the Eurocentric western viewers disdainfully because of its content and aesthetic forms that are strictly based upon a multitude of Indian sources like the Parsi theatre and the Indian Hindu mythologies and performances. Filled with elements of comedy, melodrama, romance, action and song and dance, these Bollywood movies present a three hour multi-genre enactment with six to eight dance sequences that falls out of the film's diegesis, and this, the western viewers often finds it impossible to attain pleasure and enjoyment since it doesn't fit their aesthetic expectations. Even though movies of Satyajit Ray have often caught the western attention under the label of art cinema, commercial Bollywood movies were considered as unsophisticated and kitschy by the West. The contempt for sub-titled movies also obstructed the crossover success and popularity of these Bollywood movies and this is the main reason why the hybrid and diaspora films by cosmopolitanic, diasporic filmmakers like Mira Nair, Deepa Mehta and Gurinder Chadha appeal more for the western spectators.

The prominence of the Bollywood cinema in the dominant western culture occurred as a result of the unveiling that took place as a result of the prevalence and popularity of Indian movies among the South Asian diasporic communities. The past one or two decades have been successful in bringing not only the first and second generation South Asians into

the theatres but also the non-South Asians too. Historical records prove the fact that pre-independence Indian cinema has found success in countries like East Africa, China and Russia and has helped in fostering the economic, social and cultural ties between the sub-continent and its diasporas. Narrating a diverse cosmopolitanism on screen, Bollywood movies turned the multiple diasporic generations to its vast cinema halls. The South Asian diasporic communities established in Canada, Australia, Middle East, United States of America and the United Kingdom have popularised even certain televised serials and soap operas produced in the subcontinent. Through formal and informal network, they popularized various regional music and songs that made its entry into various western clubs and music stations. Bollywood, as well as diasporic movies, satellite television, DVD's and live performances has largely influenced the creation and assimilation of transnational ties as well as gender ethnic and class identities.

According to Jigna Desai in *Beyond Bollywood: The Cultural Politics of South Asian Diasporic Film* (2004), the centrality of Bollywood to the South Asian diasporic communities affects the South Asian diasporic film making too. One notable feature of this fact is the direct or indirect reference to the Bollywood film industry thematically in the diasporic films. The Bollywood elements of narrative, theme, plot and aesthetics influence the diasporic films and many diasporic cosmopolitan texts refer to the Bollywood cinema while discussing the cultural influences of the Indian film industry. One of the finest examples is Nagesh Kukunoor's *Bollywood Calling* (2001) which can be considered as a dark comedy about the Indian film industry and due to the lack of a proper western cosmopolitanism, this movie failed to impress the audience. Andrew Lloyd Webber's musical, *Bombay Dreams* (2006), on the other hand, dealt with the variety of fantasies that it created in the audience mind, and it centred upon the Bollywood film industry which became a huge success in London West End also. The movie *American Desi* (2001) by Piyush Dinkar Pandya, even though doesn't deal

with the Bollywood film industry, asserts the fact that an acquaintance and admiration for the sub-continent's film industry is necessary to create an unassimilated South Asian ethnic identity. The movie deals with the male protagonist saving his relationship with his girl friend after he starts appreciating and enjoying Bollywood kind of romance and dance. According to Jigna Desai,

... Bollywood plays a feature role in not only constructing South Asian and diasporic identities, but also significantly participates in structuring the pleasures and desires of these subjects as well. Additionally, the impact of Bollywood extends beyond the content of films, appearing often in the filmic conventions that are reflected in the aesthetic forms and narrative structures in a variety of films. ("Beyond Bollywood"118)

The recent times saw the cross over popularity and diasporic appeal to Bollywood films in Britain and North America. The minority presence of the British Asians popularized the Bollywood movies into their diasporic cultures as well as into the multiplexes so that not only the second and third generation diasporic subjects but also white British audiences too started watching the movies from the sub-continent. Movies like *KuchKuchHota Hai*, *DDLJ*, *Taal*, *Pardes*, *Devdas* etc. appeared constantly in the top movies list in the Britain and the year 2002 saw the British Film Institute starting a special program on South Asian and diasporic films namely "Imagine Asia". It boosted the visibility of non-Hollywood movies in the UK and also as a token of appreciation for the South Asian cinema. This was followed by Gurinder Chadha's blockbuster *Bend it like Beckham* (2002) which broke all the records at the box office and becoming one of the top-grossing British films of the year 2002. Compared to Britain, the clarity of the South Asians and the reputation of the Bollywood movies in the United States are more or less muted, but present, because of the irregularity and not so similar migratory patterns of the South Asians to the United States. In the United

States of America, Other Asian films of Hong Kong and Taiwanese origin have a long history of revitalizing Hollywood like that of Ang Lee's hybrid *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000) and these movies increased the western interest in certain popular Asian aesthetics and contents. The release of *Chicago* (2002) and *Moulin Rouge* (2001) established the fact that Americans enjoy musicals too and it directly affected the success and popularity of Mira Nair's *Monsoon Wedding* (2001) and Chadha's movies which paved the way for the South Asian presence felt in the popular imaginary. A number of movies and certain music videos too started referring to Bollywood directly or indirectly and led to the popularisation of the South Asian exotica in the West.

A realistic disjuncture between the Orientalistic conception of the West and the actuality of the South Asian existence happened after 9/11 attacks in which a differentiation by the American Society got applied upon the South Asian, Muslim Americans and Arab subjects based on the 'good' and 'bad' south Asians. This occurrence is in reality a demonstration of the compound racial emergence, cultural and state citizenship and class location of south Asian Americans who form a necessary part of the American transnational economy but at the same time they are always considered as dangerous or diasporic within dominant national culture. This bipolar existence brings forth the anxiety that undertones South Asian cosmopolitanism, which makes use of this binary division as a moderation technique and utilising various differences such as class race, religion, generation and nationality to differentiate between obedient and demonic citizen subjects. Recent Bollywood as well as diasporic film relies upon the obedient and benign subject who follows globalism and multiculturalism and who is a good South Asian Hindu immigrant with all the qualities of both West and the sub-continent. Such movies put forward a pretended version of the lives of these strange immigrants who do not crumble and wither away and in possession of all the

good qualities of a South Asian who has no association with Muslim or others associated to terror.

The year 2006 saw the release of a not so typical Karan Johar Bollywood movie *Kabhi Alvida Na Kehna* with an enormous star cast including Shah Rukh Khan, PreityZinta, Rani Mukerji, Amitabh Bachchan, Abhishek Bachchan, KirronKher and so on. Set and mostly taking place in New York City, this movie explores the unexplored, unspoken terrain of adultery and extra marital relationship. Promoted with a tag-line “A love... that broke all relationships’, this movie was a success internationally, especially in the United States. *Kabhi Alvida Na Kehna*, lovingly called as *KANK*, is all about family, love and the traumas one goes through while leading a love less relationship. *KANK* is the story of Dev and Maya who are married, but not to each other. A chance encounter brings both of them together leading to a strange attraction towards each other, developing into a close friendship and love which ends in an affair. This particular commercial Bollywood film has showed the brilliance of treading upon the not so much used path of adultery, divorce, breakage of families, extra-marital relationship and so on. Being a glossy and escapist expert industry, Bollywood always glorified and accentuated age-old themes like family, tradition, rituals, patriarchy, arranged come love marriages and loving happy endings. *KANK* may be the initial commercial Bollywood movie that dared to broach up the taboo and not so comfortable themes and issues to the forefront. Karan Johar, who has given super duper hits in the past, has taken the risk of dealing with the contemporary cosmopolitan diaporic issues through his movie, *KANK*. Set in the beautiful locations of New York, *Kabhi Alvida Na Kehna* has done justice in appearing and pleasuring the new cosmopolitan South Asian diasporic subjects with breath taking locations and awe inspiring actors and actresses. More or less, *KANK* can be considered as addressing the anxieties of ‘new’ South Asian modernity. It can be considered as a ‘global cinema’ in which the geographical confines of national cinema have been

streamlined. A sense of global cosmopolitanism is presented through this movie with its almost successful wealthy Indians who are comfortable in their new surroundings. The undercurrent of this movie is the fact that the concept of home (South Asia) is an idealized paradise and the new cosmopolitanism adopted by the south Asian emigrants in this film highlights the ease and comfort with which these diasporic subjects has found success and popularity in global environments.

Set entirely in New York, *KANK* narrativises the consequences of adultery, divorce and remarriage through a relationship moulded in between Dev (Shah Rukh Khan) and Maya (Rani Mukherjee). Maya is married to her childhood friend, Rishi (Abhishek Bachchan) out of love and due to the obligation to Rishi's father, Sam (Amitabh Bachchan), who adopted her as an orphaned child. On the other hand, Dev is married to Rhea (Preeti Zinta) who has a successful career in a fashion magazine. The movie begins with Dev as a successful and talented soccer player but fate having other plans, he got hit by a car and it ruins his career as a player. This becomes his main resentment towards his wife since she is the breadwinner of the family. During a chance encounter, Dev and Maya meets each other and a friendship leads to an affair which they keep aside, partly due to the guilt and partly for the family. The movie ends with Dev and Maya both getting legal separation from their respective partners and Rhea and Rishi marrying each other. Exonerated from their guilt and a relief from their obligations, compels both Dev and Maya to reunite and reignite their love and bond as Maya accepts Dev's proposal in the final scene of the movie.

Adultery is not something alien to the Bollywood film industry but what *KANK* has done in the depiction of it on screen is the liberating of that which is considered and framed as repressed. Till then typical Bollywood commercial movies have dealt such taboo matters outside the camera's preview but very much inside the filmic plot. *KANK* is about the couples 'transgression' as it advocates the acceptance of 'modern' desires. Since ages Hindi cinema

has dealt with the mismatched couple theme, but what makes this movie different, is the usage of this trope inside the institution called marriage, in order to indicate and drive the fact that just because both Maya and Dev happened to end up with the wrong partners, there is nothing wrong in finding happiness and pleasure out of the family. This movie tries to rectify this mismatch of desire outside the institution of marriage and it becomes a trial in relocating it firmly back within the confines of family and marriage which has been established and approved by the patriarch, Sam, Rishi's father. But being a loving patriarch, he proposes and gives his permission for Maya to leave his loveless relationship with his son, Rishi, and go ahead and pursue her life and happiness. In Bollywood cinema, it is a common feature of the heteropatriarchy's permission of love and marriage, measuring the social economy of gender and sexuality and Madhava Prasad's 'feudal family romance' (1998) and Patricia Uberoi's 'arranged love marriage' (1998) all exemplifies Bollywood's inclination towards the sanctioning of love and marriage by the loving patriarchal head. In this aspect, *KANK* goes another step ahead by permitting 'divorce and remarriage' for Maya who has married Rishi out of love and it is this same heteropatriarchal figure, Sam, who absolves and permits Maya to pursue her love and life with Dev. So, *KANK* makes it possible for adultery, divorce and remarriage permissible in the diaspora.

Yet another peculiarity of this movie is that, throughout the movie Maya and Dev are meeting up each other in public places, beginning with her meeting in a park. This somehow leads one to consider the fact that an adulterous relationship and flaunting it can only happen in a diasporic public space, New York, and *KANK* has successfully deconstructed the illusion that adultery doesn't happen in the sub-continent. Further, this movie persists upon the fact that, in a diasporic location like New York helps adultery to get liberated and seeped into the community's middle class spaces, within the film and that too according to the individual's

autonomy, solitude, choice and supremacy and it is the diaspora that permits this particular space to be imagined in and out of the nation.

KANK is definitely one such movie in which the South Asian émigrés' building up a mark of their own in the western metropolises, with successful careers and comfortably new surroundings in which they adapting easily. This movie heralds a different genre of Bollywood cinema in which the geographical confines of the national cinema is stretched. This movie portrays the intensified consumption patterns, the visual geographies and more over, the sense of global cosmopolitanism achieved and followed by the characters throughout the movie. Deviating from the usual thematic representation of the sub-continent as an idealized paradise, *KANK* has dealt with the new cosmopolitanism adopted by the South Asian settlers and the ease and comfort in which these settlers have found success in global environments. The after effects of globalization and the prevalence of the powerful Indian diaspora promoted many Bollywood directors to shift the movie to international settings which helped the protagonists to adopt cosmopolitan life styles. *KANK* deals with this cosmopolitan, urban society life leading to its own issues and anxieties and traumas which indirectly upholds the subcontinent's morality, ethics and spirituality as superior to that of the West. The global South Asian identity, in reality is the filmic over representation of the modern sub-continent as an independent, global citizen with a nostalgic gazing back to an idealized, utopian dream of an imagined homeland found in all its individuals.

KANK has New York as its location in order to encapsulate the global ascends of the South Asian diaspora and the diasporic locations are always deliberately chosen to illustrate mobility and transience. Revolving around two couples, this movie has tried to show case one the excess freedom and liberation the protagonists enjoy in a metropolis like New York on one hand but at the same time dealing with their inner demons that are strictly based upon the socio-cultural and ethnic traits that they have inherited from the sub-continent. According to

Kao and Rozario, Bollywood filmic locations are a kind of ‘phoney spaces’, spaces that subsist ‘outside the parameter of realism’. In most of the films made in Bollywood, location plays a decisive role in determining the tone and spectatorship of the movie. Yet another factor related to the concept of location associated to such films is the element of a tourist destination. The usage of such international locales elevates the locality and there by proves the mettle of the South Asian capital in interacting with the completely modernized parts of the world. After 2000’s, successful film makers from the sub-continent have encouraged and promoted film festivals in USA and UK with an agenda to flock the diasporic audience as the locations to attract diasporic audience as well as certain western individuals too to the movie houses. Moreover, familiar diasporic audiences facilitates for the conversion of US Dollars or Pound Sterlings into a massive revenue and a better star ratings at the box-office.

Vijay Mishra is of the opinion that these diasporic locations, that are successfully used in the Bollywood movies do not merely indicate a better income but the characters are depicted as real citizens belonging to their decided destination and in every possible way equal to the ‘local’ citizens and with “no hint of cultural otherness” (“Spectres of Sentimentality” 440). Yet another feature of this movie is the diasporic individuals leading a wealthy life style like that of the lords who is getting the attention and appreciation from the western national authorities. In this movie, Sam, played by Amitabh Bachchan, lives like a lord in his huge, palatial manor, flaunting his wealth on wine and women. He represents the changes that have occurred in the sub-continent in the 1990’s where a perceptible consumption style based upon the extremely materialistic and unsettled urban middle class, frequently powered by the ascending capitalist aspiration and also the new provocations of the global economic patterns. But the latter half of the movie shows the redemption of this character who returns back to his moral grounds and the traditional South Asian values. In short, he can be termed as the deceived NRI who got corrupted by his new surroundings.

Generally, in most of the Bollywood movies produced after 2000's, and specifically in *KANK*, cosmopolitanism is located in the symbols of wealth rather than the explicitness of New York's history as a western metropolis. The palatial houses, the designer western outfit and the prominence of the protagonists among western individuals all proves the idealised portrayal of the urban middle classes and the modernized patterns of the commodity culture.

Leela Fernandes has opined about this commodity culture as the “production of a national cultural standard associated with the urban middle and upper classes” towards an increased glaring exposure of one's wealth in accordance with the development of the “new symbols of national progress in India” (Fernandes 614). The portrayal of the global and the local, as per Fernandes, does not in any way camouflage the transnational organization of production but creates a ‘fetishization of hybridity’ – the power of the multinational capital to merge the local and the global within a linear narrative of commodity fetishism. In *KANK*, this fetishism happens through the characters of Sam and Rishi and their flamboyant apparels and latest designer eye wears.

More or less, the acknowledgement and assumption of cosmopolitan lifestyles by the filmic characters in *KANK* serves to accentuate the sub-continent's aura as an exquisitely independent, powerful and efficient nation-state and their discarding of the local-themes into something that culminates the global achievements of the South Asian people who are exploiting the nationalistic emotions and feelings entertained by the home-bound as well as the diabolic South Asians. Using foreign locations and protagonists dwelling in exile, Bollywood movies has fulfilled the wish of any nation-state, that is, the capability to place one's nation alongside the global nation states in a better or equal way and thereby overcome the post-colonial complex. Through the authoritative representation of the globally-savvy NRI's, these movies prolong nationalistic fervour in the South Asian (mainly Hindi) culture by occupying the moral high grounds. Creating a mark in the national as well as in the global

economy, Bollywood movies depict the ascension of South Asia in the global market and thereby challenging the western hegemonic cultural industry.

Yet another peculiar feature of this movie is the transformation of Bombay cinematic techniques into that of the narrative construction identical to that of the Hollywood. The opening sequences of the movie *KANK* clearly portray the main protagonists, Dev and Maya, unhappy in their marital relationships. Dev, who married his childhood friend Rhea, is unhappy because of his physical inability to support the family financially and not finding happiness in the upward climb of his wife. Maya on the other hand, married Rishi, out of care and obligation and is unable to love him. So, both Maya and Dev gets into an extra marital relationship without any sort of social or circumstantial constraints and the notion of adultery in this movie is not the outcome of the mistreatment or the return of a past lover. Before getting married to Rishi, Maya opens up about her doubts and insecurities to a stranger and that too, a man, on the belief that sometimes it is easier to talk to strangers. she asks him what if she gets married based on friendship and later on finding love, he consoles her saying she will find love only if she searches for it. In this scene, the body language, the facial expressions, the flirtatious word play etc point towards an idea that love derails almost all the ethics of love and self-control or self-essence can easily be over powered using love.

CONCLUSION

This study examines the representation of South Asian diaspora in select post nineties Bollywood cinema. The analysis of Bollywood movies such as *Dilwale Dulhaniya Le Jayenge*, *Aa Ab LautChalen*, *Pardes*, *EnglishVinglish*, *NamasteLondon* and *Kabhi Alvida Na Kehna* attempts to problematise the germinal role of cinema in the production and circulation of a cultural imaginary and identity among the South Asian diasporic communities. Within the frameworks of feminist and psychoanalytic approaches to cinema, a descriptive, analytical and comparative study has been conducted using select Bollywood films in the post globalised era. The impact of transnationalism on South Asian diaspora and the Bollywood film industry has also been considered in detail as part of the inquiry. The films produced in the diasporic contexts from Bollywood imagine, appropriate and manage South Asian cultural practices as a homogeneous and coherent cultural spectrum and as an extension of the imagined homeland of the first generation diaspora. The complex multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and religious socio-cultural nuances of the South Asian diaspora represented by the people from various parts of South Asia is undermined to produce an exoticised, orientalistically flavoured cultural imaginary. The conflict between the real and the reel in films on life and cultures of South Asian diaspora is a muted location of cultural discourse where the multiple voices are unheard and the subjectivities are represented and made invisible.

The ethno cultural explanations of the dominant culture and its circulation through the movies produced by the Bombay film industry has been challenged on the grounds of empirical and epistemological faultiness. In order to analyse the role that media plays in the process of identity formation, a deeper probe has been conducted about the popular assumptions which are prevalent about the consumption of mass media especially cinema.

Arjun Appadurai, while dealing with the cultural manifestations of globalisation, has put forward that, the 1990's media consumption by the migrants regarding their ethnic specificities resulted in the imagining of 'diasporic public spheres' and these social bodies are imagined as movable, post-national communities connected through the electronic media (*Modernity at Large* 22). The portability of human beings, capital and ideas resulted in the creation of a paradigm, which he calls, 'diasporic audience' that got designated specifically for the global representation of ethnically-specific media. Having the largest expatriate community and claiming a major revenue source, the Bollywood film industry serves as an appropriate terrain to analyse the interconnectedness between media and migration.

According to Stuart Cunningham, diasporic audience inhabit narrowcast media environments, which he calls, 'public sphericules' which are "ethno-specific global mediated communities" that "display in microcosm elements we would expect to find in the public sphere" ("Popular Media" 134). Further, Cunningham posited that the diasporic audience is globally connected in such a way that it resulted in a situation where, "sophisticated cosmopolitanism and successful international business dealing sit alongside long-distance nationalism" ("Theorising the Diasporic" 273). The cultural acclimatisation of the diasporic communities share a close connection with those of their similar kind residing in other diasporic locations and those who reside in their homeland even though they are always challenged in acquiring a place and position for themselves in the host society.

In case of the host society, there is always a tendency on their part to consider the diasporic cultural practices as a type of cultural assimilation within the national public arena and the national media has often failed to acknowledge those practices. Hence, any national media has either harnessed the potentiality of a culturally diverse society or restrained the dilution of the national culture. Stuart Hall (2003) points out the in born hybridity,

reinvention and allotment qualities that any imagined community possess which is the result of the dislocate cultural practices.

Hall further opines that in such instances, their connections with the home land culture will lose its stability due to the intervention and influence of various social elements and supporting Hall, Rajinder Dudrah opines that the diasporic conditions “can be considered as taking up the interplay of migrant people, their successive settled generations, and their ideas in terms of a triadic relationship. This relationship can be thought of as working between the place of origin, place of settlement, and a diasporic consciousness that shifts between the two” (“Vilayati Bollywood” 20). Therefore, the diasporic media audience is either primarily employed with the maintenance of a global culture or perplexed with the amalgamation of different cultural flows and the subsequent challenges posited by it. Like Cunningham has opined, the cultural practices of the diasporic communities can be considered as “a struggle for survival, identity and assertion” (“Popular Media” 136).

Various discourses on the South Asian diaspora somehow try to establish the fact that the consumption of Bollywood cinema can be taken as an indication of an offshore convergence of ethnicity and cultural performance. This cultural affiliation in turn acts as an advantage for those who purposefully utilises the status Non-Resident as an affluent individual investing fund in the homeland seeking cultural validation. Indirectly, the NRI has been positioned as a supporter of the professional deviation from a materialistic civic nationalism to a much advanced cultural nationalism, which is explicitly holding a sway over the sub-continent for the part one or two decades. Along with providing the necessary economic base for the Bombay based film industry all over the world with the help of the diasporic spectators, Bollywood has appeased the diasporic thirst by providing some level of visibility for the diasporic subjects. This resulted in structuring of an eager Non-Resident South Asian who is the direct outcome of the implementation of the liberalisation policy in

the sub-continent. In the words of Adrian Athique “...the non-resident hero legitimates a pick-and-choose re-ordering of tradition/ modernity for the new zeitgeist” (“Diasporic Audiences” 10).

As far as the cultural identity of the diasporic spectator is concerned, the mainstream western multicultural theorisations play a major role. What makes these multicultural theories unique is their capacity to object the notion of a culturally homogeneous audience and at the same time pretending to acknowledge a particular kind of audience who are consistent with certain communities and “demographic populations” (Desai, *Beyond Bollywood* 66). Hence, the culture endorsed in the contemporary diasporic discourses are fashioned with reference to the patterns of a parent discourse, which is a particular form of cultural nationalism that tries to adjust on the basis of social legitimacy and ethnicity. The fault line in associating culture with ethnicity is that a biased and racialised overlay which will set upon our understanding of the media spectators thereby establishing culture as subordinate to ethnicity, resulting in a “quasi-biological model of cultural transmission” (Athique, “Diasporic Audiences” 10). In this regard, the opinion of Appadurai “...that we regard as cultural only those differences that either express, or set the ground work for, the mobilisation of group identities” and “... we restrict the term culture as a marked term to the subset of these differences that has been mobilized to articulate the boundary of difference” is worth mentioning (“Modernity at Large” 13).

Taking the case of Bollywood cinema, which are not particularly conclusive as transmitters of an South Asianness, as displayed in the form of an ageless ethnic text. Bollywood is reorganising the patterns of popular Hindi cinema with indigenous elements at various levels on the one hand while the other side enacts an apparent westernised type of cultural consumption as a result of the prevalence of a variety of Euro-American influences that are dominant in the Bombay film industry. “Contemporary ‘Bollywood’ provide

audiences in India with a diet of free romance and consumer affluence, which continue to be associated substantially in India with western culture” (Athique, “Diasporic Audiences” 11). Likewise, these movies provide a steady flow of cultural consumption that imbibes the notions of ‘Eastern’ and ‘Asian’ cultures for those who have settled in the west. Therefore, the twin role of Bollywood’s NRI movies is so full of strong discrepancies based on the Orientalist binary assumptions and the actuality of how much the NRI audience is willing to accept and assimilate the filmic narratives depicting the home land as the ‘real’ also varies considerably. As Raminder Kaur has observed; “It is too glib and cursory to say that Bollywood enables a religion - like nostalgia for people of the Indian diaspora; or that it serves some kind of identity in the midst of a west-induced anomie” (“Cruising” 313).

Another contradiction in considering the role of Bollywood in the construction of diasporic identity is that there are many who do not watch the movies from the sub-continent. According to Ramaswami Harindranath,

... the popularity of mainstream Indian (Hindi) films among different groups of south Asians in Europe, North America and Australia is indicated by the regular screening of such films in city cinemas. But how far does that interest, leave alone the more intricate and complicated issues of different audience responses to them, characterise south Asian ethnicity? Does my lack of interest in popular Hindi cinema make me an exceptional South Asian as well as a snob? What does it signify in terms of my ‘ethnic’ identity? It seems to me that promoting my responses to mainstream Hindi films as somehow contributing to my ‘Indianness’ is clearly wrong. (11)

On the global front, there is an obsession with the diasporic spectator as the target and the glamorous component of the Bollywood fraternity that which is formulated around a fabricated extension of the cultural nationalist model which results in the authentication of a belief that almost all South Asians are obsessed with the movies from the sub-continent

especially Bollywood. This phenomenal factor serves as the kernel of identity construction of the South Asian diasporic subject. While doing so, those who do not watch Bollywood movies or watch some other genre of movies become marginalised as those whose character is against the much imagined one as per the theoretical paradigm.

When literary studies portray the narrative protagonist and the reader as a speculative subjective entity, media studies has followed this inclination towards the synthesis of the representation of the diasporic protagonist and the diasporic audience in the subjective position, where there is no foundation for comparing a character based on a predetermined set of socially constructed spectatorship. While attempting to highlight the diasporic spectator as the global South Asian, these filmic discourses backgrounds the specific cultural environments inhabited by these exilic settlers in various states and in numerous social conditions. All these results in the establishment of the global South Asian, representing the non-resident, who is enjoying the occidental pleasures and simultaneously fulfilling the demands of the diasporic audience about their representation onscreen. This indirectly point towards the rise of the South Asian upper middle class whose dreams about the international standard of life has been partially fulfilled by the liberalisation and globalization which hit the sub-continent during the latter part of the twentieth century. Therefore, the star personalities inhabiting the film realm satisfies the desire of cosmopolitan individuals and thereby making the urban South Asia a lucrative market for Bollywood's non-resident filmic imagination.

Appealing to non-South Asians, Bollywood cinema cannot be considered as a specifically diasporic oriented one since the other audiences too, acknowledge and accept these movies, not to affirm their cultural identity in any possible way, but equally to engage in a particular kind of cultural transmission. Being the two large overseas market for the Bollywood movies, UK and Middle East has exposed the huge portion of the Bollywood

audience as explicitly South Asian, even though their roots emanate from some other parts of the continent, exceeding the political boundaries of the sub continent. So, this vast NRI market can't be considered as belonging entirely to the Indian sub-continent even though the label is highly advantageous for the popularity and success of the movies.

One of the significant after effects of globalization in the global front is the result of the diasporic media exchanges which ended up in the accentuation of the migrant-homeland crisis and also in the strengthening up of the cultural connections within and between numerous South Asian communities worldwide. The best illustration of this is the remixing of various popular Bollywood songs in the UK and being played in a vast number of night clubs and discotheques in Toronto to Johannesburg. In short, Bollywood cinema is one of the pivotal ingredients in the production of a 'sub-culture' which intersects with other media flows in the migrant communities resulting in hybridised cultural commodities that characterises the main stream urban cosmopolitan culture. And this hybridity does not tarnish the 'ideal image' of the diasporic subjects that are created by the sub-continent. But in order to understand the role played by Bollywood in moulding up the identity of the diasporic subjects, one must go beyond the confines of the so called "ideal-type" and "...gets to the contradictory nature of diasporas, since the very hybridity and border- spanning subjectivities which have caused them to be posited as the exemplars of globalization also clearly undermine attempts to examine them effectively under any single classification" (Athique, "Diasporic Audiences" 14).

A pluralised media environment has encapsulated not only the migrant communities but also the majority populations and various narrow cast outlets which appeared globally and pave the way for the programming of different kinds of media outputs and its myriad patterns of consumption. Among them, film remains primarily a source of entertainment and source of gratification for many and along with cultural solidarity and political affinity,

Bollywood movies transmit pleasure for its audience. South Asians and non south-Asians consider the consumption of these movies as much as more than a communal loyalty or a personal statement of identity. So, the element of pleasure that the migrant communities derive from the media is not something that which is used as an ingredient in their cultural and social identification process.

A detailed study of the reception of Bollywood films in the sub-continent as well as among the diasporic communities during the years 2000 to 2003, Shakuntala Banaji, in her work entitled *Reading Bollywood: The Young Audience and Hindi Films* (2006), posits that the persistent ideological over tones of many of the Bollywood movies has revealed a contradictory response not only among the different categories of South Asian audiences but among individual citizens too depending upon the different kinds of contexts and situations. Even though these audiences revealed of having an affinity to assimilate the Asian or 'Sub-continent' cultural traditions, they question many of Bollywood's elemental values while at the same time enjoying them by being aloof about their subjective positioning. This, Banaji points out, is a major flaw among the critics to consider the viewing pleasure and critical analysis together, forming a spectator, since these two cannot go hand in hand.

Highlighting the extra-territorial cultural exchanges initiated around the Bollywood movies and its heterogeneity, the concept of effective usage of the ethnically specific media in case of an examination of a homogeneous diasporic population has been undermined by many of the scholars. On the basis of the ethnic background of certain communities residing in the various parts of the world, their social identities can be directly linked to their personal choices and practices of media consumption. This, directly or indirectly, affects the diasporic audience who are modelled upon those particular minority communities who project their cultural intake as a tool for the attainment of political and social coherence. Theoretically, the dissemination of the movies from the sub-continent is more or less influenced by the patterns

of migration during the past century but it does not correlate directly with the movements of the people nor their current settlements. Further, there are millions of non-South Asians who enjoy Bollywood movies all over the world and it is a rarity to find a diasporic individual who watches South Asian media content exclusively. So, the highlighting of the idea that the consumption of Bollywood movies articulate a loyalty to the sub- continent or to a particular kind of South Asianness gravitate to obscure the multicultural and transnational aspects of the migrant communities and the multifacetedness of the global media out-flows.

Being a major ingredient in the popularity and success of Bollywood films, the non-resident audiences occupy a much contested cultural, geographical and social space where the notion of a symbolic and spatial belonging unified them as a coherent whole. According to Adrian Athique, a 'resident' media audience consists of those viewers who apprehend on-screen happenings as somewhat in tune with the society in which they inhabit and associating with the realist and the fantastic narratives. This viewership structure was positioned by the national media in the process of production of an ideal national culture. Those who come outside this viewership criterion are called the non-resident audience. "Non-resident audiences inhabit social conditions where the engagement of viewers with a media artefact operates in an environment where the diegetic world cannot reasonably, be claimed to present a social imagination 'about here and about us'" ("Diasporic Audiences" 17).

In the twenty first century, the movie industry setting the impetus from imports and the television configuration deciding the transnational territories, the media experience and intake helps the non residents to differentiate the diaspora of ethnic populations from the global dissemination of media products. In this context Arjun Appadurai in *Modernity at Large* opines that culture should be utilised in mapping out the boundaries of human geography in a post national world and is applicable only to the consumers of media of the past fifty years. The outcome of his finding was that after the wave of globalization, culture

has enacted a re-territorialising upon of the ideal national culture and there by converting it into a biological terrain. Thus, the role of media in demarcating the boundaries of ethnic differences and culture in the geographical and bureaucratic borders of a nation state stands disputable. The practice of Bollywood movies adopting and assimilating various proximate and exotic elements from other parts of the continent establishes the fact that through exchange, assimilation and mediation, the cultural barriers get obscured. Even though these Hindi movies leave behind a mark in the audiences' mind and are symbolically connected to the society where it is produced, the level of ethno-cultural awareness that one needs to enjoy these movies are relatively low and the global presence of Bollywood and its attempt in representing the multi-ethnic and cultural diversity of the Indian sub- continent never goes together.

The notion of media reception and discussions pertaining to it has been influenced largely by Benedict Anderson's concept of the 'imagined community'. According to Anderson, media affects the imagination, converting it into a transformative force in the process of socialisation of a modern community and the emergence of the print media ushered the individuals to get involved in the new mass media transactions and there by imagine themselves as part of an extended and abstracted social formation. As far as the audience research is concerned, these participations are connected with a particular social group whose collective subjectivity can be considered as a specimen of the consumption of the media artefacts. The popular notion that the social is brought into existence through performance in which, the socially encoded messages communicated through media contexts, are consumed by the individuals, is in sync with the globalization theories put forward by Appadurai and Cunningham, where they highlighted the role of media in preserving and maintaining the ethnic societies and polities at a global level.

The current model of diasporic spectatorship is imagined as their cultural orientation is based on their role as transmitters of political and social subjectivities. They constitute the ideal portal through which the analysis and understanding of the ethnic and diasporic populations can be made specific. In order to understand the significance of the diasporic audience, Benedict Anderson has put forward two important terms, namely 'bound' and 'unbound' in his less well known work *Nationalism, Identity and the Logic of Seriality*, which he republished in the volume entitled *The Spectre of Comparisons* (1998). He posits a differentiation between two different types of 'serialisation' the purpose of this is "to reframe the problem of the formation of collective subjectivities in the modern world by consideration of the material, institutional, and discursive bases that necessarily generate two profoundly contrasting type of seriality ("The Spectre" 29). Through this, he is proposing two kinds of imaginative relations.

The 'unbound' series is based upon the representative contrast facilitated by the mediated types of popular characterisation. For Anderson, these imaginings are boundless in their membership, signifying the chances of an interminable and extensive social imagination which is based upon universal figurative comparisons. This is the reason why a Bollywood antagonistic character is understood by any viewer easily and equivalent to an unbound series of cinematic villains. The second term 'bound', for Anderson, signifies the numerical and quantitative analysis done by the authorities, such as statistical data analysis. In this, he defines a different kind of imagination which is based upon the whimsical infliction of a limited world, that which is asserted upon the antagonistic differences between categories. Applying this to the epistemology of audience research, both these serialisations has its foundation upon logics that are relatively incomparable to each other and they are likely to co-exist in almost all the social contexts of reception.

The theory of “seriality” which supports the interconnectedness of everything as per waves of seriality, paves a better foundation for our understanding of the globalised media audience and its collective imagination. Considering the audience as belonging to the unbound series helps one in formulating an idea of a group that are participating in a shared social practice which does not need a closed categorical positioning and explanation. This refutes the theory of a bound spectatorship that is categorically based. However, the ‘unbound’ allows the audience to be part of more than one group of audience and thereby exist in various social frames and not to be anxious about the instability of their identity. This approach really helps in understanding pluralistic and overlapping groups of global audience.

On the other hand, the bound series help in understanding the media audience as a site of accumulative, and not collective, behaviours. The numerical data allows to imagine the audience in quantities through various statistical data like box-office, export/ import exchanges, industry output and so on. Both these signify the significance of social interactions that bring media to the audiences and what needs to keep in mind is the fact that if one tries to bring both these series while understanding the audiences in a casual way, “...we will not be drawn into imposing unrealistic homogeneity upon audiences struggling to attribute a singular subjective causation to cultural products” (Athique, “Diasporic Audiences” 19).

As Appadurai has pointed out, the popular Bollywood movies can be taken as a major appropriate artefact for divulging the operation of culture across a disparate global terrain and the current interest in these movies reveal a popular notion that movie industries and audiences control a domain that which is highly multi-polar and spread out and the cultural and commercial transactions are equally uneven. Delineating from the popular notion that the American film industry as a gargantuan force in the process of global homogenisation, Michael Curtin in his work “Media Capital: Towards the Study of Spatial Flows” (2003) has

pointed out “...the increasing volume and velocity of multi –directional media flows that emanate from particular cities, such as Bombay, Cairo and Hong Kong” (22) made one to consider the global media not as an imperial western force dominating the entire world but as a multi-complex matrix connecting the media capitals. This highly developing and multiplying number of hegemonic centres of media production has facilitated towards transnational modes of media analysis which in turn helps in analysing the imaginative social relations that are prevalent among many different non-resident contexts.

The discourse on Bollywood’s relationship with its non-resident spectators portray a complex network of ‘soft power’ effects that moves in tune with the marketing strategies of the movie producer and stars, the political hidden agendas of the liberal and conservatives belonging to the sub-continent as well as in the West and it even caters to the demands of the diplomats, academics and film distributors. Together, these demands, even though serving different agendas, enact a tendency to represent a harmonious mobility of the media and the cultural integrity of the sub-continent. They go hand in hand with the nationalist demands for an appropriate culture and thereby including all those unbound imaginative encounters within the margins of the authorities and excluding the realities of social life of the Bollywood cinema. This, in no way, undermine the importance of Bollywood in the reinterpretation of global audience research and more than once these movies has proved its mettle to transcend the state authority, critical analysis and cultural barriers. Whether *DDLJ* or *Namaste London*, they have established the fact that the so called ‘masala’ commercial ‘masala’ movie’s cultural performance is both powerful and advanced than the mere ethonationalist politics of the nation-state.

Based on the strong link between Bollywood films and the diasporic communities, it is safe to contend that Bollywood contributes much to the process of cultural transmission worldwide. While it is acknowledged that Bollywood cinema has been used as an impetus in

promoting nationhood before 1990s, it has also been concretised that post 1990 Bollywood cinema has popularised and publicised westernisation, modernisation, urbanisation and novel ways of life and living, especially keeping in mind the interests and desires of the diasporic population. The cultural transactions that has been happening through the Hindi movies is so monumental that the term 'Bollywood' became synonymous with the South Asian identity and representation. In the light of the representation of diaspora in the selected movies, the relevant and continuous dialogue surrounding the portrayal of the Indian/Western dichotomy has also changed drastically due to the effect of transnationalism. The so called branding of the Hindi film industry as 'Bollywood' has taken an altogether different turn with the allocation of visibility to the overseas South Asian and the acknowledgment of their representation and spectatorship as the major element in the success and popularity of Bollywood all over the world.

Compared to other cinemas, Bollywood is a powerful polemic with its stern rootedness in the Indian culture that provides an 'exotic' flavour for its movies which satiates the Western as well as the South Asian diaspora and its desire for the homeland. Due to the process of transnationalism, there occurred major shifts in the cultural politics which affected directly the exoticisation of the Hindi movies for the revenue aspect as well as for the accolades. The Orientalistic practice of 'exoticisation' has been adjoined to many of the Bollywood movies which resulted in the transformation of Hindi movies into a make-believe phantasmagoric journey. The popularity of many of the Bollywood movie songs created a concept of 'song-and-dance' denigration being attached to the film industry as such. Catering to the more sophisticated diasporic audiences, the film makers began attributing more attention to the emerging middle-class in the sub-continent too with more structured and artistically crafted narratives. As narratives evolved pertaining to the tastes and desires of the

elite as well as the upper middle class bourgeois, the song and dance sequences began to get exoticised with foreign locales and breathtakingly beautiful women.

The 'gaze' in relation to the reception of majority of the Bollywood movies is an important factor and has to be considered as one of the main ingredients behind the creation of such movies. Being a patriarchal society, the 'male gaze' determines and decides the structuring and production of movies in such a way that the representation of gender facilitated a detailed and critical analysis. Upholding the superiority of the Indian culture, tradition and values, most of the Bollywood movies portrayed their women as the crucibles through which the morality and ethics of the sub-continent being transmitted generation after generation. While modern age diasporic woman has travelled much further ahead with her life and achievements, Bollywood still carries along the notion of the chaste woman championing morality and chastity. The modern diasporic woman has accentuated her mobility and empowerment through education and better career prospects, Bollywood women are still trapped in the paradigm of marriage and family life as basis for their migration and mobility. They are still subaltern whose voices are muted, represented yet made invisible and still bound in the shackles of tradition and morality.

Even though created and structured mainly for the diasporic spectatorship, these Bollywood movies have been celebrating the superiority and the uniqueness of the Indian ethnicity and morality. Beginning with the portrayal of East /West dichotomy, post 1990s Hindi movies sophisticated their approach by delineating from the unethical, morally degradable Western culture into a beautiful amalgamation of that which is best of both. Most of the characters, even though attained social and cultural recognition in the host society, have took the pain of retaining their true identity, that is of a South Asian, upholding the precious ethnicity of his/her homeland. While the first generation South Asians related to the Bollywood movies to such an extent where their identity formation and cultural orientation

was determined by these movies. On the other hand, the younger diasporic generation watches and enjoys Hindi films but at the same time detached themselves from getting sucked up in the whirlpool of cinemas. Post globalised South Asian diaspora has already been successful in carving out a position for themselves out of the niche and has been socially, culturally, politically and economically assimilated into the host society, while the movies dealing with diaspora admonishes cultural intermingling and the resultant hybridity, second and third generation South Asians distance themselves from these movies while structuring their identity even though the song and dance sequences of Bollywood plays a major role in their social orientation process.

Nationalism has always been one of the major topics that Bollywood dealt with. Beginning with the effective utilisation of the medium of cinema for the propagation of nationalist ideas domestically, post globalised India recognised the necessity to exploit the medium of cinema to disseminate the dominant nationalist ideologies worldwide. Transnationalism effectuated in the creation and circulation of an 'imagined' homeland concept that catered to the nationalist propaganda as well as the nostalgia for the homeland as felt by the South Asian diasporic communities. The concept of 'homeland' has been that of a glorified one that demanded celebration and commemoration. The constant reminder about the South Asian diasporic roots being located elsewhere culminated in the accentuation of the 'exilic' emotion among the diaspora. The concept of an eventual return too got dignified through many of the Bollywood movies. Even though there happened widespread popularity and demand for such movies, unlike the first generation, the second and third generation South Asian diasporic individuals have found a place and part for themselves in the adopted society. Post liberalisation India made it possible for them to get actively involved in the developmental patterns of their country through investments. Yet the majority of them accept the reality of the porous nature of the geographical boundaries that allows them to assimilate

and amalgamate themselves in the host society by keeping an identity that which is unique and truly South Asian. The concept of a 'return', as felt by the first generation, is something of a deficit in the later generations.

One of the prominent culmination effects of Bollywood movies is the production of an 'imaginary culture' that accommodated both the desires and fantasies of those at home as well as abroad. The make-believe culture, that these movies created, has helped in the unification process and in the arousal of 'oneness' among the diasporic communities. While those at home found pride and honour for being and belonging to an imaginary culture that which is both morally superior and unique, the South Asians abroad found satisfaction and enjoyment in being a part of such a culture, even though they are in exile and disseminated. These movies help them to reconnect with their homeland and thereby attain a sense of 'self' in the host society. But what about those who do not watch these Bollywood movies? Can one label them as not a South Asian in the true self? These issues need further clarification. Even though these feelings of detachment and displacement are momentary, Bollywood movies do play an active part in providing a few hours of South Asianness.

Post 9/11 attacks saw the convergence of the concept of cosmopolitanism with that of modernity into the major Bollywood movies. The notion of a 'global citizen' began to fill up the narratives as well as the screen and the 'yet to be told' taboo tales began gaining attention in the filmy world of Bollywood. The blurring and deterritorialisation of the geographical borders facilitated for the movement and transportation of culture, ideas and human beings worldwide. The trend became that of a world citizen, enjoying the pleasures provided by the West but at the same time rooted firmly in some of the traditionalistic elements that differentiates him/her from the rest of the Westernised world. Even in the treatment of diasporic women too, changes began to be brought onscreen drastically with the open discussions about extra marital affair, divorce etc. the concept of a 'liberated widow/er' who

is finding happiness and content outside the family, received acceptance nonchalantly at home as well as abroad.

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