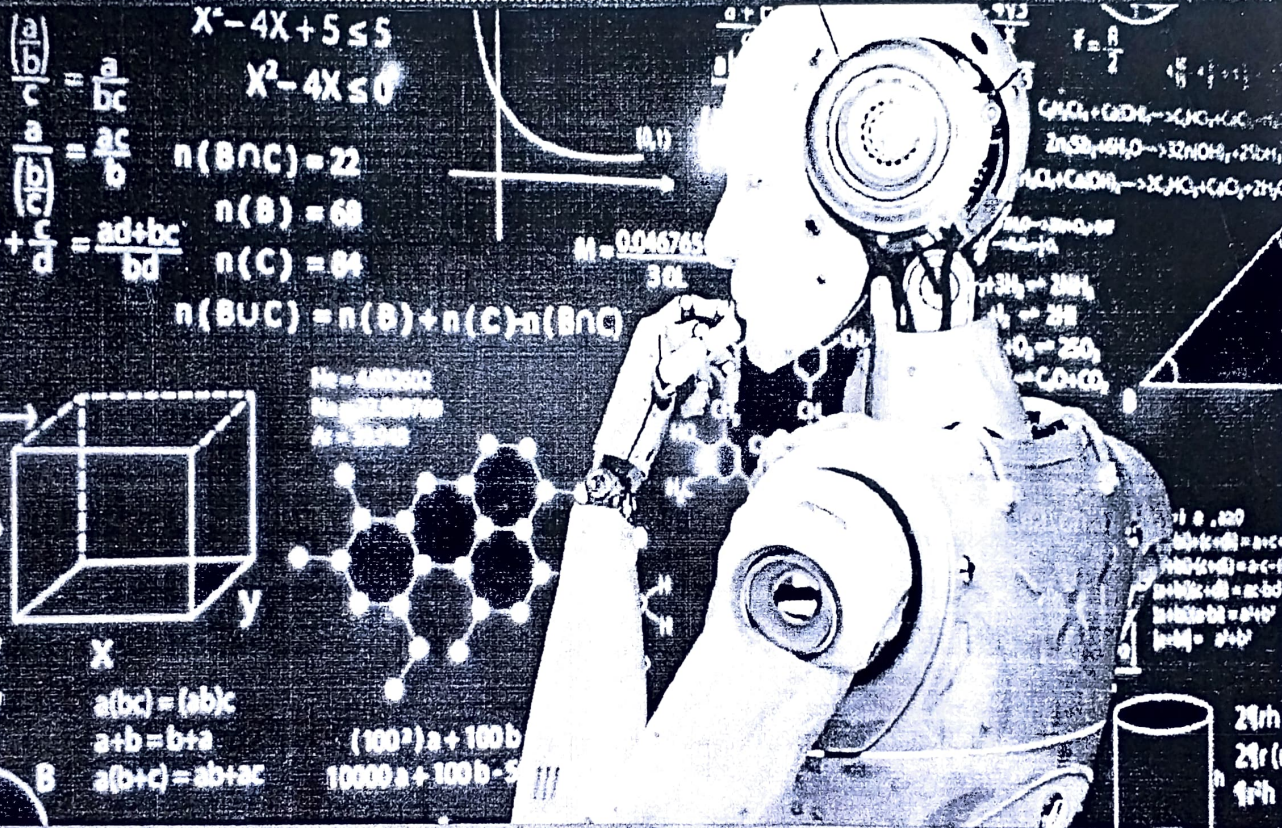


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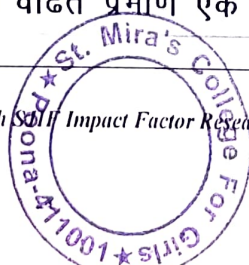
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# GROWTH OF INDIAN CINEMA: SOCIOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTS

Dr. Vaishali Diwakar

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## Abstract

Indian cinema right from its inception had become a part of Swadeshi movement. The paper traces the growth of Indian cinema throughout different decades and highlights the main landmarks. It also assumes that no cinema is made in vacuum but rather every film is in the socio-political, economic structures of any society. Therefore, it becomes necessary to look at the sociological constructs such as caste, class, gender, religion in Hindi cinema.

## Keywords:

Hindi cinema, Bollywood, Globalization, Hindutva, Dominant ideology

## Introduction

Cinema, the most popular form of entertainment in India, attracts huge audiences. It has secured the status of an 'industry' and has been a commercial enterprise involving with large capital investment and transactions. Several scholars have opined that cinema is more than just an audio-visual form of entertainment. It needs to be studied as an integral part of a particular culture in whose socio political and economic ethos it is deeply rooted. Scholars of the medium have begun to view it as a cultural practice emerging from and producing ideologies. As Niranjana has argued, conflicting and contesting ways of producing meaning are frozen to establish the hegemonic interest. Thus, the study of cinema is a political activism that strikes at the very foundations of hegemonic culture.

This article sketches the history of the early decades of Hindi cinema to outline the ways in which it is both constituted by and in turn constitutes/reinforces the dominant Hindu, bourgeois, upper caste, patriarchal ideology. It then examines the new genre of soft, clean family films to show how firmly they are located within the context of ideologies of globalization and Hindutva. The article also

plans to look at the recent developments and its impact on Indian cinema.<sup>1</sup>

## Early Hindi Cinema

Although cinema came to India as a foreign form of entertainment in the late 19th century, it quickly assumes the character of a 'swadeshi and nationalist' medium. Dadasaheb Phalke, the father of Indian cinema, said in an interview of Tilak's Kesari that not only should the ownership, stories and employees of cinema be Indian, but that it should become the part of the swadeshi movement.

Initially, almost all film narratives were extracted from the rich Indian tradition but in the nationalist period, Indian history and Hindu mythology came to be treated as synonymous. 'Swadeshi' came to be equated with Hindu mythology with the medieval period being almost totally ignored. The first Indian film to be based on a Hindu mythological story was Raja Harischandra and it was made in made in 1913. Interestingly, only after a gap of 11 years, (1924) was the first film with a Muslim subject made. The beginnings of the politics of exclusion of minorities can thus be traced quite far back.

Early cinema also drew extensively upon the exclusionary and patriarchal practices legitimized by the hierarchal structures in the society. For example, when Phalke advertised for a female artist to star in his first film, he received responses only from prostitutes. Therefore, to play the pure and chaste role of Taramati, he ultimately chose a man.

## Nationalist Cinema

The emergence of Hindi Cinema in 1930s was the result of the establishment of Bombay as the commercial capital of the state during and after the first world war. As large numbers of migrants belonging to all classes flocked to the city, Punjabi businessmen were also part of this migration. They came to be the largest investors in the medium. These circumstances

made Hindi the natural and viable choice as the language of Indian cinema.

The 1930s and 40s were marked by two important movement, the modernizing movement with its agenda of social reform and the democratizing movement for political and economic equality. Cinema, itself a symbol of both modernity and democracy provided the legitimate space for comment on these issues. V. Shantaram's cinema of 1930s become exemplary in this context. The self-proclaimed nationalist director of Prabhat Studio declared cinema to be his weapon to fight against British rule and Indian evil practices such as unequal marriage, alcoholism, religious orthodoxy, prostitution etc. Ostensibly, the films hit out at these evil practices, but the sociological and gender analysis suggests that the ending of these films reaffirmed the popular constructions. His female characters were thought to be exceptions but while they demonstrated their potential, of transgressing the normative order, they ultimately always surrendered to it and accepted this as their fate.

### **Cinema in Independent India**

Well into the 4th decade after independence, Hindi cinema focused upon the narratives of the common people. In the first two decades after 1947 particularly, this shift away from mythological costume dramas was reflective of the aspirations of a newly born independent nation. The establishment of IPTA (Indian People's Theatre Association) with its explicit left ideology inspired films like *Do Bheegha Zamin*, *Dharti Ke Laal*, *Mazdoor*. These films were received as realist films that critiqued the problems of industrialization, urbanization, and unionization. Class struggle was a central theme. For example, *Do Bheegha Zameen* outlines the atrocities committed upon the small peasantry by the Zameendars. However, the film was relatively silent on the evils of caste oppression.

This neglect was a general trend and was paralleled by a similar neglect of issues of gender oppression. Although the film *Sujata* which depicts a story of an untouchable girl is an exception. One can easily guess the reasons for the absence of a film with a reverse narrative that it a story of an untouchable man

and savarna woman, as it constitutes a challenge to the Brahmanical order.

In these early years then, cinema remained related to the wider socio-political scenario. For example, *Mr. and Mrs. 55* dealt with the issue of Hindu Marriage Act and divorce although in a comic manner and *Mother India* of 1956 was linked to the Nehruvian dream of modernity and development.

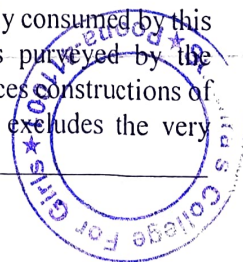
This trend continued into the 60s and 70s, the later decade also witnessing two important trends – realism through 'parallel cinema' as well as the fantasy of the 'angry young man', who has the power to singlehandedly transform the whole system. These trends can be said to constitute very different responses to the disillusionment, despair and anger generated by the failure of the Indian State to build a just society.

### **Hindutva and Consumerism**

From the 1980s onwards, Indian polity has witnessed the rise of right wing, revivalism, and the advent of the economies of the free market and globalization. The new middle class has responded to the process of globalization by seeing both to support them on one hand, and by trying to strengthen its Swadeshi roots to manage the insecurities resulting from these very processes. This new middle class looks at liberalization as the means to a more affluent consumerist lifestyle and yet wants its inner self not to be 'contaminated' by 'western ideas'. This has contributed to the 'Hinduisation' of the liberalizing nation.

This nouveau riche class had felt threatened by the Mandal commission and was apprehensive of having to share any of the spoils of the system. It therefore reacted very sympathetically to the BJP opposition to Mandalization in the form of Hindutva platform. It is this class that not only supported the demolition of the Babri Masjid and the definition of the 'Hindu Nation' as one that excludes all non-Hindus and non-Savarnas (who are similarly ignored and marginalized by processes of globalization).

Satellite television is not only consumed by this class (along with products purveyed by the medium), but it also reinforces constructions of a Hindu nation, as it also excludes the very



same sections in its programming. Studies (Mankekar, 1999; Rajgopalan, 2001) have suggested direct linkages between epic serials and the expansion of the Hindutva ideologies.

### **Hindi cinema in the age of globalization**

Since the 1990s, two major genres of films have reigned supreme: so called romantic, 'clean' family movies such as *Hum aapke hai kaun* (HAHK), *Hum Saath Saath Hai* (HSSH), *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (DDLJ), *Pardes* and later in early 2000s *Kabhi Khushi Kabhi Gum* (K3G). The other genre addresses issues of terrorism, partition, communalism, border infiltration and includes films such as *Roja*, *Bombay*, *Border*, *Gadar* and *Sarfarosh*. These have heightened patriotic fervour while so called soft and clean movies construct communal ideologies at a more subtle and therefore dangerous level.

In recent times, a third genre of films such as *Satya*, *Vastav*, *Company*, *Gunah*, *D-Company* has emerged in which there was an attempt to rationalize the increasing intervention of the underworld in social and economic activities. This not only reflects the growing linkages between film financiers and the mafia, it also points to the extent of criminalization of the open market driven society. While each genre calls for a separate discussion, the focus here is on the soft, clean family genre.

### **"Soft, Clean" Family Films**

The hero of this family films is not a seeker of justice or a transformer of the established order. He no longer wishes to oppose the heroine's family but seeks their blessings by undergoing hardship. The traditional values of respect for elders, obedience to the patriarchal order and irresistible desire to conform to the wishes of the larger family and community is a common theme.

The cinema of 1990s takes a postmodern turn in which the search for truth is abandoned. Till before this transformation was still a possibility but the 90s established a reality that was 'given'. This reality is unmarked by caste, class, gender inequalities and cleansed of all its problems such as problems of day-to-day survival. Very subtly but even more firmly, this genre establishes the equation of Indian tradition with Hindu tradition. There are few

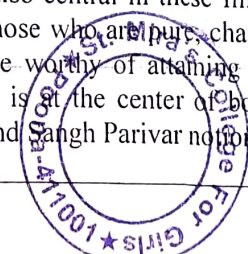
themes that recur in this genre and the article will discuss each in turn.

### **The New Woman of the 1990s**

The project of Hindu Nation is necessarily tied to the new woman. This new woman is educated, modern and at the same time chooses tradition. It is not thrust on her. Women in HAHK, HSSH, K3G, DDLJ clearly wear the signs and marks of being affluent. They are represented as mothers, wives, sisters, sisters in law ie their identities are always derivative and always defined in terms of kinship relation to a man.

These women are necessarily housewives, and although occasional reference is made to their educational qualifications and careers, these identities are never foregrounded. For example, Madhuri Dixit in HAHK is a computer science student but in no frame is she shown in proximity of a computer. Similarly Sonali Bendre in HSSH is a doctor by profession, but the measure of her true worth is determined by whether she can make *gajar ka halwa* for Prem (Salman Khan). Happily, enclosed within the confines of the home, these women recognize that being a *sidhi-sadhi* (simple, undemanding) woman is the main qualification needed to achieve legitimate status in the family.

The ultimate identity of all women of all ages, and all their decisions at different points of time, reveal that their primary identity to be a maternal one. For example, Jaya Bachchan in K3G is passive woman who cannot defy her husband's will and can only watch the happenings in the family. She meets the audience throughout the film primarily as a mother. In HAHK, Bindu mamiji the only quasi villainous character becomes good only when she is pregnant. In fact, she can conceive only when she realizes her mistakes promises to behave 'properly'. Similarly, the frolicky heroine of HAHK who sacrifices her love to mother her sister's child fits into the construct of the sacrificing mother. The question as to who can become a mother, which is central to Hindu discourse is also central in these films. The idea that only those who are pure, chaste, and good hearted are worthy of attaining the status of a 'mother' is at the center of both-family genre films and *Sangh Parivar* notions.



The women of these films are the living symbols of Hindu traditions and culture. The ornaments they wear and their observance of rituals like Karava Chauth all symbolize their conformity with tradition. In K3G Kajol's restless on the day of Karava Chauth because she does not receive a traditional gift from her mother-in-law, symbolizes this tradition bearing role. She is not only the bearer but the transmitter of Indian values. Though she lives in London it is these values she will inculcate in her son.

### Exclusion of 'Others'

The context of these films is necessarily Hindu using predominantly Hindu motifs and excluding Muslims, Dalits, and other identities. Often the symbolic presence of those by and large excluded is also telling. Consider for example, how in HAHK and HSSH the symbolic presence of the Muslim friends, Satish Shah, and Shakti Kapoor respectively.

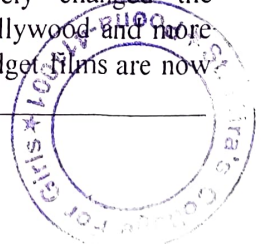
In films of these genre the 'Other' community may also be inscribed using comic tokenism in the construction of Hindu identity. Both HAHK and HSSH employ the popular stereotype about the representation of minorities, by which a Muslim is a nice person only when he reaffirms the fundamental goodness of his Hindu brethren (Rustom Bharucha, 1995). In these films Muslims are depicted in stereotypical terms like reciting shayari, wearing achakan and ghagra even while performing their professional duties. Farid Kazmi (1998) has rightly commented that this is the easiest way to homogenize the entire community and erase all kinds of differences within it. After the demolition of Babri Masjid in 1992 the dissolution of Muslim identity in the name of the nation became an important part of the political Hindutva agenda. If Muslims refuse to this, they are labelled as outsiders and therefore anti national. Niranjana in her critique of Roja questions the National Integration award it won and ask whose nation was Roja integrating? The nation depicted in these films is necessarily Hindu, upper caste, middle class and patriarchal and working-class men and women who were at least initially inscribed in the master narratives of Hindi cinema have been almost erased.

### Globalized Bollywood

In the last few years, the globalization of Bollywood has become apparent. Ever varying foreign locations are now accompanied by global premiers and awards. Bollywood is being discovered by Hollywood. It is interesting to note that two diametrically opposed heroes of the nationalist era-Bhagat Singh and Devdas -one historical and other celluloid have been repackaged for our times, while all four of the Bhagat Singh's version have flopped, the new avatar of Devdas has created records for most expensive costumes, huge sets, and the collection at the box office. The opulence of the liberalized Devdas, Paro and Chandramukhi call for a separate discussion. But this much is clear that-the decades to come Hindi cinema will continue to serve as an important source for the legitimacy of the ideologies of liberalization and Hindutva.

### Multiplexes and Cinema

The decade of 2000 saw the growth of multiplexes. The liberalization policy, disposable income from MNC jobs, American dream- all these factors contributed to the development of new urban middle class in India. This class who believed in gentrification of spaces, preferred a place minus rowdy sheeters crowd, mass comments, and ensured the safety for women of this class. The liberalization process, development projects in this period favoured to create spaces which have ample parking space, clean and hygienic environment, world cuisine, world class amenities in the screening halls. The multiplexes provided such places. The varying seating capacities also resolved the logic of having mass audiences for screenings. As a result of these developments a niche audience was created whose distinctiveness was defined in terms of being different than the mass audience. New plots and narratives were introduced. These plots catered to niche topics and issues. This new urban middle class, with its familiarity with American lifestyle is now more comfortable with exploring new narratives as a part of their world class citizenship. This has surely changed the structure of the plots in Bollywood and more sensible plots and small budget films are now



introduced in Bollywood-changing the face of Bollywood at a global level. The recent development of OTT platforms and the transformation of Indian cinema calls for a separate enquiry in details. But it has transformed the content of the cinema as well as the viewing practices of audiences.

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