

Global Indian Diasporas

Exploring Trajectories of Migration and Theory

Edited by Gijbert Oonk

AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

2007

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Reception of Indian cinema among Hindustani youth in the Netherlands

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... deterritorialization creates new markets for film companies, art impresarios and travel agencies, who thrive on the need of the deterritorialized population for contact with its homeland (Appadurai 1990: 11).
... transnational bonds no longer have to be cemented by migration or by exclusive territorial claims. In the age of cyberspace, a diaspora can, to some degree, be held together or re-created through the mind, through cultural artefacts and through a shared imagination (Cohen 1996: 516).

When media are discussed in the diaspora literature, usually the assumption is that transnational media reconnect diasporic communities to their home countries. Media feed the homesickness of first generation migrants (Karim 2003), who use movies and television serials to educate their children about their country of origin (Gillespie 1995: 78-95). Media invite viewers to identify transnationally (Mishra 2002: 250-269), make migrants reconsider the boundaries of community (Morley 2000: 100-101) and may even guide them into long-distance politics (Anderson 1998, Alessandrini 2001).

The assumed link between media *from* the home country and viewers' identification *with* that home country is problematic and must not be taken for granted. Indian diasporic communities in the Netherlands have watched Indian films from Bombay since 1958, and have been the initiators of a blossoming 'Bollywood scene' in The Hague. This article describes how Hindustani youngsters appropriate Indian cinema

in this specific context. Transnational meanings can be found if one is determined to look for them, but these are not at all the most important aspects of Hindi cinema to the youngsters themselves. Their love for Indian movies is completely detached from the actual locations and people within India. The account that follows is based on four months of fulltime fieldwork in The Hague by one of the authors.¹

Bollywood

The Indian film industry has always targeted audiences around the globe.² Hindi films from Bombay (often referred to as 'Bollywood' films) have been popular in Afghanistan, Iran, the Middle East and Sri Lanka ever since the 1940s.³ Overseas Indians and their offspring in the Caribbean and in Malaysia, for example, have always been an important target audience. In the second half of the twentieth century, a growing number of Indians moved to Western countries, and so the export of Hindi films moved to Europe, the United States, Canada, and Australia (Mishra 2002: 239-340). Since then, special efforts have been made by Indian filmmakers to appeal to the Indian diaspora audiences in the west. In order to compete with Hollywood, themes and story lines were changed and efforts were made to adapt the cinematographic outlook of Hindi cinema.

Diasporic audiences in the west turned out to be a small but lucrative market for Hindi cinema. In Europe and America, a ticket to the movie theatre was priced higher than in India, and was paid in desirable foreign valuta (Dwyer 2002: 178-179). At the same time, however, the industry faced new problems in these western territories. The investments were high and the films had to be screened over a longer period of time to cover the costs. The predominance of American cinema in the west meant that viewers had specific cinematographic expectations, expectations that were not always compatible to the genre characteristics of Indian cinema. Attempts to live up to the audience's expectations included dubbing Hindi films into English, the deletion of song sequences and the export of 'uncensored' versions. Some of the three-hour films were even edited down to shorter versions that would be more acceptable to an audience accustomed to Hollywood feature-length films (Dwyer 2002: 180, Alessandrini 2001: 327). Although most of these experiments were seldom successful, they show that filmmakers were eagerly taking up the challenge of reaching out to the Indian diaspora in the west. This is also clear when we look at the content of Hindi films from that period, which was adapted considerably to match diasporic tastes.

Indian filmmakers had always made movies about Indian migrants. The first documentary film made in India was *Sir Wrangler Mr. R. P. Paranjpye* (1902), about a man from Maharashtra that had studied math at Cambridge. A popular fiction film in 1921, *Bilet Pherat* (England Returned), was also about an Indian man returning after a long stay in Britain. This returnee had strange habits and peculiar ideas about romantic love, and became the object of joking and ridicule in the movie.⁴ *Purab aur Pachim* (East and West), a nationalist motion picture made in 1970, showed Indians in London dancing and feasting in a haze of booze and cigarettes. The youngsters in the film were thoroughly westernised and had totally forgotten their own history, even despised it. Luckily, one honest and honourable young Indian man showed up, who taught the female star to love her country again.

When the film industry began becoming interested in the diaspora as a target audience, the imagery changed. A new 'transnational optic' in Indian media was the result (Moorti 2002). The first film that did not ridicule the diaspora, and instead tried to appeal to it, was *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (1995). The film anticipated the supposed desire of the Indian diaspora to rediscover their homeland, and treated their feelings of nostalgia and longing very seriously.⁵ In the opening scene, we see a Punjabi migrant feeding the pigeons on Trafalgar Square, murmuring and dreaming about his wish to return 'to my land, to my Punjab'. After having lived in England for 22 years, his wish comes true when his daughter agrees to marry a Punjabi man. The return is conceived with great splendour: The land green and fertile, music echoes across the fields and females in colourful clothing sing: 'Come home stranger, your country calls you back!' In the meantime, the daughter has fallen in love – but not with the man that her father had chosen for her. The object of her love is a young man who has grown up in England, like her. This young diasporic hero turns out to be equally true to his Indian roots. He proves this by refusing to elope with his beloved until both her parents approve (Mishra 2002: 250-258).

Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge (DDLJ) was very successful in India and abroad. In an interview with Lata Khubchandani, director Yash Chopra explains its tremendous success:

It's the story. It goes to the very roots of Indian culture. It highlights most importantly that we respect our elders. You just do not run away or elope with the person you fall in love (sic); instead you take the parents consent and their blessings... it's like 'I'll marry you only if your father gives your hand to me'. ... That's what made DDLJ a cult film. It became more so overseas because the characters in the film were ones based overseas who

true to the authentic Indian morals represented in the films. Whether they live in London, in Sydney or in Paris, they will ultimately keep the Indian culture alive.

Bombay's film industry is often referred to as 'the dream factory of India' in that it appeals to poor viewers because the glamorised arena of cinema allows them for three hours to forget the harsh realities of their underprivileged lives. Nowadays, we could also call the Indian film industry a 'nostalgia factory'. Having looked into the specific dreams represented in successful films from the 1990s, we see that nostalgia is a crucial theme. From the perspective of the filmmakers, overseas Indian viewers have specific desires and needs; they crave a sense of belonging and dream about being reconnected to their roots. If Indian cinema wants to appeal to these people, it must fulfil these wishes and help them reaffirm their Indian Identities. Director Mahesh Bhatt stated in an interview:

Hindi films have truly become a cross-border phenomenon. ... Asians are asserting themselves these days. They are trying to *de-link* from their own environment with a strong expression of taste. This is being manifested through Hindi cinema. For a long time they were completely preoccupied with making money. Now they are satiated and have the buying power. Music and films are what they are turning to. Films in the main allow them a nostalgia trip, a vision of the *India* they left behind (Bamzai 1999).

If Hindi films provide a nostalgia trip, do the intended viewers actually embark on this trip? Do they indeed feel *de-linked* from their own environments, do they actually crave for a lost *Bharat Mata*, and do they use films purposefully to make up for this loss? According to Yash Raj Productions, the Netherlands is the second largest national market (after Great Britain) for Indian films in Europe.⁸ For decades now, it has been the Hindustani community from Suriname that has been the main audience for Hindi cinema here.

Dollywood

Surinamese Hindustanis in the Netherlands are so-called 'twice migrants': they are the descendants of indentured labourers from North India, who came to work on the sugarcane and rice plantations in the former Dutch colony of Suriname in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. About 34,000 British Indians were shipped to Suriname in the decades after the abolition of slavery; only one-third of

come to India to find their roots. ... I think the main reason [for its success] was the story and the fact that it helped people find their roots.⁶

DDLJ was the first in a series of films that foregrounded the diaspora. Other international box office hits with a diaspora dimension were *Pardes* (1997) *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* (1998), *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham* (2001), *Mujhse Dosti Karoge* (2002) and *Hum Tum* (2004). Like *DDLJ*, they show characters living in the west, or returning to India after a long stay abroad. These cosmopolitan characters are rich and young, consume themselves to death, are searching for romantic love, but are at the same time very inclined to maintaining Indian family values and Indian traditions.⁷

Kuch Kuch Hota Hai (*KKHH*) is set in a high school in India. One of the female students has just returned after having lived abroad for years. When her classmates criticise her for having forgotten her Indian roots, she proves them wrong by singing a *bhajan* (Hindu song): *Om Jai Jagadish*. The classmates are stupefied. Diasporic elements are no longer the central theme of the story here, like in *DDLJ*, but have been casually inserted into the love story. This is common procedure nowadays: filmmakers invariably include at least one migrant character even when the theme of migration is only of limited importance to the main story line; for example in *Yaadein* (2001), *Om Jai Jagadish* (2002), *Devdas* (2002), *Kal Ho Naa Ho* (2004) and many others.

This is also the case in *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham* (*KG*), a movie that introduces the theme of diaspora only after 1.5 hours of intense drama. The second part of the film brings us to London, where Indians drive around in expensive sport cars and own huge homes. Again, we see that the migrants have not forgotten their roots: '*It's all about loving your parents.*' Female star Kajol performs *pujja* every day and expresses her dislike for the English language and culture through grotesque imitations of her white neighbours. When her son is about to perform at school, she expects to hear the stiff and childish English song 'Do re mi'. To her astonishment, the boy starts to sing the Indian national anthem – and all his white classmates sing along. In this moment of ultimate motherly joy, she bursts into tears and runs to embrace her son.

Bollywood, of course, shows us an Indian fantasy about the diaspora (Mishra 2002: 266–269). In this fantasy, India is the centre of the world and the diaspora is its periphery. India is endowed with all kinds of desirable values such as purity, authenticity, and piety. The diaspora, on the other hand, is rich and free but corrupted and self-centred. These migrants can do everything that is forbidden in India, but still they crave for their long-lost homeland and often make sacrifices to re-connect with it. And so they prove, over and over again, that they are

them would eventually return to British India. The migrants came from a poor region called Hindustan, nowadays referred to as Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, and were thus called 'Hindustanis'.⁹ They came from various backgrounds, spoke different languages, and had varying religious beliefs. On the plantations, a *koine* language developed that was later given official recognition as one of the Surinamese languages: Sarnami, sometimes referred to as 'Hindustani' (Damsteeg 2002).

The labourers who remained in Suriname after their contracts expired were given a plot of land by the Dutch government, mostly in one of the isolated provinces of Nickerie and Saramacca. Their farms were able to profit from the decline of the Dutch plantations (Budingh 1995: 255-261) and a top level of successful Hindustani rice farmers developed. In the city, Hindustanis were active in transport and business, and aimed for upward mobility through education (Hira 1998: 15-16).

Around the time of Suriname's independence in 1975, large numbers of Surinamese migrated to the Netherlands. Job opportunities were much better there, and many of Suriname's inhabitants wished to retain their Dutch passports. Hindustanis, the second largest ethnic group in Suriname, also feared the independent country would be ruled by 'Creole' (black) politicians, the largest ethnic group.

At the moment, 325,000 Surinamese live in the Netherlands.¹⁰ Of this total, 160,000 are Hindustanis. The Hindustanis thus comprise one percent of the total Dutch population (Choenni and Adhin 2003: 8). They themselves often claim to be very well 'integrated' into Dutch society, as they speak Dutch better than many other immigrant groups and do relatively well in terms of labour participation, education, and upward mobility. These statements are confirmed in some regards by recent research findings.¹¹

Half of the Hindustanis are under 25 years old. Most of these youngsters are born and raised in the Netherlands (Choenni 2003: 170). Religiously, Hindustanis are divided: eighty percent are Hindu (Ramsoedh 2003: 108), fifteen percent are Muslim (Landman 1992: 204) and about five percent are Christians; each of these religious groups has several subgroups, paralleled by a wide range of differing religious organisations.

About half of the Hindustani population in the Netherlands lives in or around The Hague, the administrative capital of the country. About ten percent of The Hague's population is of Surinamese Hindustani descent. Most of them live in the two downtown areas, the Schilderswijk and IJmooier, where one can find many temples, mosques, and volunteer organisations that cater to the spiritual and worldly needs of the Hindustani population. There are numerous import shops that sell products from India and Suriname; among them are at least ten special-

ised 'Hindustani' video rental stores. Every weekend, special events are organised for the Hindustani audience: fashion shows, dance events, music performances, live theatre, or movie screenings. Not surprisingly, the city has sometimes been referred to as the 'city of Hindustanis' or even 'Dollywood' (a combination of Den Haag and Bollywood).¹²

Indian cinema has always been a huge success among Hindustanis, ever since its introduction in Suriname in the 1930s (Manuel 1998: 19). In the 1950s, an observer called it 'the principal expression of the cultural life of Hindustanis in Suriname' (De Klerk 1998: 215). At that time, cinemas provided one of very few opportunities to go out. Farmers in the rural districts travelled large distances to the nearest movie theatre; the outings provided a rare opportunity to meet relatives, exchange the latest news, and look for potential marriage partners (Bijmans 1996: 59-60).

When the first Hindustanis migrated to the Netherlands, Indian cinema moved with them. The first Indian movie shown here was *Aan*, in 1958. It arrived in the Netherlands via Suriname: the celluloid film was transported in boxes along with tropical fruits, vegetables, and other 'homesick items' to be sold to Hindustanis who had migrated to the Netherlands (Bijmans 1996: 61-62).

The Dutch market grew rapidly in the 1970s as a result of the mass migration of Surinamese Hindustanis to the Netherlands. The *West-Indië Film Society* and *Roshni Film Society* were founded. These companies had established trade connections with film entrepreneurs in England and were commercially successful. Beginning in 1972, films were shown every Sunday in the four main Dutch cities The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Utrecht. Smaller theatres also showed films on an irregular basis. The Dutch government even established a travelling movie theatre in 1975. The travelling theatre toured to the immigrant centres in the Northern provinces from 1976 to 1982, screening Hindi films in order to entertain new Surinamese immigrants (Bijmans 1996: 62-64).

These booming years of Hindi cinema in the Netherlands lasted until the beginning of the 1980s, even though overall cinema attendance in the Netherlands went steeply down in that same period as a result of the competition from television, video and other new forms of recreational entertainment.¹³ It was video that would eventually drive the Hindustani crowds away from the theatres. The first official Hindustani video rental that opened in the Netherlands was *Ram's Videotheek*, in 1974. *Ahmed Video Centre*, *Roshni Video* en *Govinda's Video* followed five years later. From 1986 to 1991, not one Hindi film was shown in Dutch cinemas (Bijmans 1996: 78-80). Hindustanis had retreated into their private spaces; watching films whenever, wherever, and with whomsoever they liked.



Roshan Video, a well known video store in The Hague

Photo: Sanderien Verstappen

Young Hindustanis that had grown up in the age of video had never showed much interest in the Indian classics that their parents loved so much. Even though many of them felt an affinity with Indian music, most of them preferred to watch American movies. Compared to Hollywood, they found the three-hour long Hindi melodrama's boring, and cinematographically of poor quality.

Since 1998 however, a revival of Hindi cinema has occurred among the younger generation. For many of them, it all started with the movie *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*. This film toured the Netherlands three times, and each time, theatres were sold out to the last seat. The film generated sizeable profits for its distributor Ramsfilm and, moreover, it marked a turning point in the market for Indian cinema in the Netherlands. For the first time in a long period, the young felt an affinity with a Hindi film. Their enthusiasm for Hindi cinema has continued ever since and so the younger generation of Surinamese Hindustanis became the driving force behind the re-emerging 'Bollywood scene' in The Hague, spending their pocket money on CDs and DVDs as well as keeping up with the latest gossip on their favourite Bollywood stars through magazines and cable television.

Since then, film screenings have been organised about once a month in The Hague; these have been commonly sold out even though tickets are relatively expensive. In 2004, mainstream Pathé movie theatres started to distribute Hindi cinema on a daily basis, so screenings be-

came cheaper and more easily accessible. In the video rental stores, fifty percent of the visitors are now under thirty years of age.¹⁴ Hindustani dance parties are also organised every weekend, sometimes in huge party halls on the outskirts of the city; teenagers and *twens* come here to enjoy live performances and remixes of Bollywood songs, performed by local artists. A dozen *movie dance schools* teach young girls how to dance to this music; clothing shops in the Hindustani neighbourhood of Transvaal sell the matching outfits. Bollywood ringtones, Bollywood school organisers and Bollywood key holders are the appropriate gadgets available in both video rental stores and on the Internet.¹⁵

The revival of Indian cinema among Hindustani youth was partly a result of substantive changes in the aforementioned film scenarios. The young certainly noticed that the new love stories were 'more modern than before'. But formal improvements in Hindi cinema were equally important. Hindustanis in the Netherlands were happily surprised by the 'professional' appearance of the newest films, which integrated the latest camera, lighting, and editing techniques and were thus well-suited to compete with the Hollywood blockbusters.

Three other factors contributed to the Bollywood revival. First, the arrival of digital television, and consequently the timely availability of information among subscribers about upcoming films and stars, made people talk more frequently about Hindi cinema – and visit the video stores more often. Secondly, DVD came along (in 2002). This new data carrier was considered 'clean' because it lacked the annoying 'snow' and other distortions that had typified Hindi cinema in the era of video, and moreover it brought English subtitling.

Subtitling clearly helped trigger young people's interest, as many of them no longer speak much Hindustani (Sarnami) and have even less knowledge of 'proper Hindi'. One young man, Rakesh (25), explained:

Ever since subtitling came along, I watch Hindustani films more often. In the past, I did not like them at all, although I did feel connected to some of the stars like Amitabh Bachchan. Now, we have the films by Amitabh Bachchan on DVD. The other day I sat with my parents to watch *Muqaddar Ka Sikandar*. We had seen it before, but now for the first time it was subtitled. It was a revelation! I watched my eyes out. What beautiful dialogues ... and all of these years I had missed them! In the past, I used to make up my own story – in my head. I think I only understood 25 percent of the dialogue: I was happy to pick up any of the words. And when they danced, you knew they were in love. But now I understand why my parents cry, and I am myself deeply

touched as well. When you know what they are saying, you have to cry.

Another factor that gave a strong impetus to the Bollywood revival among young people was the growing interest in Indian cinema in the wider Dutch context. New initiatives since 1995 has attracted a broader audience. The Royal Tropical Institute started the festival Cinema India, which generated serious reviews of Indian films for the first time in Dutch newspaper history. In 2000, the annual Hindustani Film Festival came into existence, working together with established art houses in various cities. Since 2001, the NPS (Dutch Broadcasting Foundation) has been programming Indian films on television several times a year, mostly on Sunday afternoons during the winter months. In 2002, Oscar nominee *Lagaan* toured the Dutch art house circuit and received very enthusiastic reviews from prominent Dutch movie critics. In 2005, when Amsterdam hosted the IIFA (Indian International Film Academy) Award Ceremony, the 'Indian Oscars', Indian cinema was suddenly news across all mainstream Dutch television channels and newspapers. Nowadays, regular movie theatres in The Hague, Amsterdam and Rotterdam show Indian films on a daily basis and regular video rental stores have a limited stock of Indian (art) films available.

The increasing availability of Indian cinema in the Dutch context reflects a broader tendency in international popular culture. In the 1990s, trend watchers witnessed the breakthrough of Asian architects, Asian designers, and Asian musicians. By 2001, India had become 'cool' on MTV as well. Superstars like Madonna and Janet Jackson exhibited oriental styles in their videos, prominent disc jockeys produced club remixes of Bollywood soundtracks, and scenes from the colourful urban India even popped up in television commercials (Hulsman 2001, Moorman 2001).

In the past, India's culture was most commonly seen as age-old, traditional, and deeply spiritual. But nowadays, the attention is focussed on India's urban and popular culture. Indian clothing and jewellery are no longer considered 'religious' or 'traditional'; on the contrary, they have become perfectly suitable to wear to a dance party. Hindustani youngsters who are fine-tuned to these changes in imagery, happily followed this trend. For example, a teenage girls who bought a *sabhar kamis* several years ago – for a wedding – suddenly realised how 'hip' it was, and showed it off at school dances.

Hindustani youth can now watch Hindi films with pride, not having to feel ashamed for watching 'low budget' and 'kitsch' musicals any longer. They can talk about the latest films at school with non-Hindustani friends more easily than ever, and many do so with great enthusiasm.

Bollywood and India

Do the devoted film fans among Hindustani youth in The Hague correspond with the projected images of the diaspora audience we encounter in some of the literature? Do teenagers watch DVDs to learn more about their ancestral homeland? Do they go to the video rental store to reaffirm their Indian identities? What image do these movies conjure up of India? In what sense do these create a relationship to the homeland, a sense of roots or even long-distance nationalism¹⁶ among the youth, who are indeed highly aware that their family histories lie partly in India?

When asked openly about Indian cinema, Hindustani youths do not mention India that often. When asked specifically about the relationship between the movies and India, many respondents replied concisely: 'What you see in the movies is not India. It is a world of dreams. The setting is India, yes, but that is not of crucial importance to the story'. For any researchers immersed in the diaspora discourse, like us, these kinds of responses can hardly be very satisfying. When the interviewer pursued her point, however, asking, for example, what the respondent had learned about India by watching Hindi films, some of them got really annoyed. 'How could anyone believe that Bollywood represents India truthfully? It is all fiction, of course. If I want to learn something about India, I'll watch a documentary!'

In the eyes of these youngsters, there are only a few Hindi films that represent India accurately. A famous example is *Lagaan: Once upon a Time in India* (2003). *Lagaan* was the first Indian movie to be officially screened in the Dutch art-house circuit; a circuit that, according to one respondent, 'is usually preserved for highly intellectual French and Italian movies'. The educated elite among the Hindustanis took *Lagaan* very seriously because it was nominated for an Oscar and because it was received well in the Netherlands. In the *Haags Filmhuis* (The Hague Cinema House) for example, the audience for *Lagaan* consisted mainly of white people.¹⁷ *Lagaan* was also taken seriously because, contrary to many other films, 'it is about India'.

Lagaan takes place in a poor village in the northern Indian countryside during the age of British India. The villagers are upset because this years' harvest has been lost and the authorities have doubled the tax (*lagaan*). When they plead for an exemption to their local lord, a cruel British officer challenges them to join him in a game of cricket. If the villagers win, they will be freed from taxation. But if they lose, they will have to pay triple.

Some of the Hindustani students saw *Lagaan* in the art house and were struck by its 'authenticity'. The fact that it was spoken in Bojpuri, a language that they found unintelligible and unpretentious, certainly

added to the authentic flavour. On the way home, one of the girls asked: 'Is this really how cricket got introduced into India?' One of the boys replied: 'Not exactly, but approximately'. Said, a 19-year-old psychology student, made the following remarks about *Lagaan*:

I thought *Lagaan* was excellent. Lots of deep layers. It is all about India's caste system, Hindu-Muslim relations, interactions between the British and the Indians ... and the integrity of it, just a village like that. No flashy cars, no beautiful clothes ... this is India, you know. It's just quite representative. I also bought the music tape and then you usually get this extendable cover showing pictures of beautiful clothes and all that ... here you just see that cricket team. If you go to a village in India, you'll see the same. This is what people wear in a village in India.

Said thinks *Lagaan* is special and 'not standard Bollywood fare.' He describes it in comparison to other Indian movies, in terms of what the film does *not* show: no flashy cars, no fancy clothes. Contrary to most other Hindi films, which show super-rich people living a shiny lifestyle full of glitter and glamour, *Lagaan* shows poverty in the countryside. Said thinks this is more like Indian reality, and that's why he likes this film so much.

We must emphasise here that Said is a fanatic viewer of world cinema and art cinema, a characteristic he does not share with most of his Hindustani peers. Said is very critical of Bollywood films. He calls them 'commercial' and 'standardised'. *Lagaan* is his favourite precisely because it is different. Although Said's taste is shared by some of the highly educated among Hindustanis, *Lagaan* did not become a huge hit.¹⁸ Most Hindustani youngsters saw *Lagaan* on DVD and thought it was 'rather amusing' but they did not feel a special connection to it, nor did they feel inclined to watch it a second time. Unlike Said, they do not care much for 'the reality of India'.

Most Hindustani film fans have no notion of what daily life in South Asia is like, and more importantly, they are not interested either. For example, out of eleven respondents that had access to ZEE TV at home, none watched the daily nine o'clock Indian news. They preferred Dutch news programs. One explanation given was that the Hindi vocabulary used by the ZEE TV reporters is 'difficult to understand'. But apart from that, the social and political affairs in South Asia are never an issue of conversation among Hindustanis. This is true not only for the youth but also for most of their parents. 'What happens there doesn't affect me', one mother said. 'I don't need to know if they are tearing down a temple, or if they've attacked Pakistan'. This lack of interest in India's social and political affairs partly explains why films 'about In-

dia', like *Lagaan*, are not that popular among the Hindustani youth in The Hague. Gossiping about Indian film stars is standard behaviour during social gatherings, but the daily affairs of the common man in South Asia do not qualify as relevant.

India and Hindustani

It is clear from earlier research as well as ours that Hindustanis show ambiguous attitudes towards India.¹⁹ On the one hand, Hindustanis are highly aware that 'India is the country our ancestors came from', and many have foregrounded this Indian background in public discourse. On the other hand, Hindustanis also identify themselves as a separate category that has its own distinct language, history, and culture. When they compare themselves to the population of India, they usually describe themselves as financially better off, better educated, more modern, better suited to life in the west, and, in general, more comfortable. Indians are poor, repress women, and face brutal caste discrimination, while these aspects of Indian society are said to be absent in Hindustani culture in the Netherlands and Suriname.²⁰

More than anything else, India is perceived as a poor country in the Netherlands. The slums, the beggars, the crowded streets, the earthquakes, and the floods are shown on Dutch news programmes and in Dutch newspapers on a regular basis, so anyone who lives in the Netherlands is accustomed to them. Hindustani children are also brought up with the idea that their ancestors worked hard to free themselves from poverty. Having come to Suriname with nothing but the clothes on their backs, the ancestors worked everyday and saved every penny, to give their children a better future. The idea that India is (still) poor and Hindustanis are not (anymore), is thus a vivid point of reference in any discussion about Hindustanis versus Indians.

The issue of female repression is similar. When asked to compare themselves with Indians, some Hindustanis remarked that women are treated worse in India than they are in the Netherlands. Spectacular stories about the burnings of widows, rape, and violence against women popped up every now and then during the interviews. These stories served mainly to bring Indians into disrepute vis-a-vis Dutch Hindustanis. Girls as well as boys emphasised for example that: 'Women in India are treated like slaves, especially in the villages ... here, a woman can more easily go her own way'.

A third issue that is said to set Indian society apart from Hindustani culture, is caste. According to Hindustani youth, the caste system is an essential characteristic of Indian society. It is not, however, part of Hin-

dustani culture in the Netherlands. This point was emphasised during interviews, as well as in historical literature.

During the process of migration to Suriname, the power of the caste system as an organising principle of society was lost (De Klerk 1998: 167). This started in the depot in Calcutta where the migrants waited for months to board a ship that would bring them to Suriname. In the harbour, it was impossible to maintain the prescribed purity regulations: high castes and low castes had to sleep side by side, stand in line collectively to wait for their food, and they were cared for by servants of varying social backgrounds. Keeping to your own kind was simply unworkable in those circumstances (Hira 2003: 128-131). Furthermore, there was a shortage of women among the migrants, so the endogenous marriage rules were impossible to maintain (De Klerk 1998: 169-170).

The Hindustani youth interviewed had a very negative impression of the caste system in India. They saw it primarily in terms of caste discrimination and seemed eager to announce that they themselves were 'beyond' that. Considering caste, gender and money, many Hindustani youth consider themselves as being more 'modern', more 'emancipated' and more 'well-to-do' than the India they visualise: an India that is essentially rural and poor, backwards, and in some sense morally unjust. That image of India can hardly be derived from Hindi films however: Other sources such as documentaries, news reports on Dutch television, rumours and orally transmitted stories inform them about the India they describe. In fact, most of the new movies actually contradict the imagery of poverty as described. Although poverty and violence against females used to be included in classical Hindi cinema, they are generally ignored in contemporary Hindi cinema. The caste system is barely evident in most movies: when it is portrayed, it is often in an ambiguous or indirect way.

Hindustani youth are not surprised about this paradox at all. First of all, poverty doesn't sell. 'Who wants to see a village where everybody walks around in dirty clothes?' one teenage boy said. 'Indians see that all day long.' Another boy said that 'in the Indian movies you can see everything you wish for, all the things you aspire to: large house, cars, a beautiful room, totally posh, luxurious tapestry, roses and moonshine ... what more do you want?'

Secondly, although violence against females was a common theme in the movies made in the 1980s, the tone has changed significantly. However, viewers still notice elements that strike them as violent. This was revealed, for example, during a lively discussion about a short but remarkable scene in the popular film *Devdas* where a man slaps a woman in the face and gives her a scar, even though he loves her to death. The group consensus was that this behaviour was 'strange' and

'ridiculous', but they also added that 'what you see in the movies is only the tip of the iceberg. Female repression is in fact much worse in India.'²¹

Thirdly, caste is represented in contemporary Bombay blockbusters but rarely in an explicit way. In *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham* for example, caste is not mentioned at all as an obstacle to the intended marriage between Kejval and Shahrukh Khan: the girl simply 'doesn't fit in with' and 'wouldn't understand' the boy's family traditions and status. In *Devdas*, caste differences between the two families is clear to the viewer, but nevertheless is left unspoken. Instead, the boy's father accuses the girl of indecent behaviour while his mother disdainfully ridicules the rude habits of the girl's mother.

This rather implicit, ambiguous approach fits in very well with the ambiguous attitude that Hindustani youth themselves feel towards the caste system. Although most of the young claim that the caste system is nonexistent in the Netherlands, many also noted that their own parents preferred that they marry 'within a family that befits us'. Common demands put forward by the parents are a certain amount of wealth and education, light skin, and, in any case, marrying within the Hindustani community. Literature on the subject explains that specific elements of the caste system, such as the *varna* consciousness, remain vibrantly alive in some Hindu families (Mungra 1990: 116-119). If the boy's family claims to be from a Brahmanic background (even though this claim may be disputed by others) they usually prefer the girl friend to be of the same status (even though they may avoid speak openly about such expectations in public).

The notions these youngsters have about Indian society are quite different. As they see it, caste discrimination is much harsher in India than it is in the Netherlands, and it is much more explicit in real India than in Bollywood movies. The 'Indian way' of dealing with caste, as deduced from the interviews, can only be seen in exceptional films like *Lagaan*. In *Lagaan*, a casteless man is explicitly bullied by his fellow villagers; they initially refuse to play on a cricket team with a man from a lower caste. The explicit treatment of caste here adds to the truly Indian flavour of that film, reaffirming its exceptional Indianness in comparison to most other Bollywood films that treat the subject indirectly.

Having noted all this, it is hardly surprising that Hindustanis barely mention 'Indian movies' when describing the majority of commercial Bollywood blockbusters; they prefer the phrase 'Hindustani movies'. Most viewers have not given it much thought, but it nevertheless points out something significant: that for many Hindustanis these movies represent the Hindustani culture better than they represent their projected ideas of Indian society.

Hindustanis and Bollywood

When discussing their favourite 'Hindustani films', the fans enthusiastically describe the handsome actors, the enchanting music, the wonderful dances, and the hilarious comedy scenes. Some viewers specifically note the fashionable clothing; others play the songs over and over to copy the dance steps. However, there's more to Bollywood: 'It is also about the story.'

Many respondents said they felt a thoroughly personal connection to some of the movies. Even those who watched only few movies per year claimed that their involvement was very strong. Their favourite films were usually the ones they related to in a personal way. Compared to American films, which they also liked to watch, they felt that Hindi films 'come closer to who I am.'

Avinash was born and raised in The Hague; he is the eldest son in a family of three children. He is 26 years old, lives with his parents, works fulltime at a ministry and is studying economics. Avinash sees Indian video clips and film scenes daily; his family has a subscription to the digital cable channel ZEE TV. About twice a month Avinash watches an entire Hindi film with his friends, either in the movie theatre or at home.

When Avinash was asked what it means to have watched so many Indian movies, he said they make him feel normal: 'Our traditions, the norms and values we grow up with, and the experience of that ... what you see in the films is the same.' For example, Avinash explained that his family has been very important to him all his life, and this special bonding with his family made him feel quite abnormal within the Dutch context. Whereas most Dutch youth spend limited amounts of time with their grandparents and extended families, Avinash keeps in close contact with many members of his rather large extended family by going to birthday parties, the hospital when an aunt is ill, helping an uncle out with his chores at home. Avinash has a close relationship to some of his nieces, whom he calls 'didi' (older sister), and he always invites his brother along when he is going out.

Avinash and his best friend Gopi could talk for hours about the 'special type of caring' experienced in their families, which they described as typically *Hindustani*, and which they recognised in 'Hindustani movies'.

Avinash: My parents were on holiday for two weeks. Everyone phoned: aren't you hungry, can I cook you something? Join us for dinner! At other times, they might phone and say: 'Can you help me in the house, I made *pori* especially because I know it is your favourite ...' You just feel that these people have you on their minds all the time.

Gopi: When they know you like something, and they make it for you and then call you up, they can get really angry if you don't show up. It is a weird type of care, a very special type of care. Very beautiful.

Avinash: It is very different in Dutch families.

Gopi: In Dutch families, you might find elderly women who claim they have been forgotten that nobody comes to visit her. We think you should care for the ones that gave birth to you. When someone is in a nursing home, everyone comes by and brings food.

Avinash: When I was in hospital, it was really busy everyday with my parents, and all my family members, whoever. There was this Dutch boy in the same ward. His parents would visit him every now and then, maybe once a week! And when I took driving lessons, my parents came outside to take a look at how I was doing. There was a Dutch girl in the car and she found that odd. But I think it's really great that they come and watch!

Gopi: When I took driving lessons, my parents asked if they could come with me in the car! That was overdone, though. I said: 'Well, no. This is something I'm going to do on my own ...' Sometimes I have to slow them down ...

Gopi: And all those things, all these special types of care, you can see in the films. It is all really familiar.

Avinash: In the films, everything is more extreme. It's like: 'I'll die so you can have my eyes ... very extreme ... All these things are exaggerated in Hindustani movies.'

Answering questions about their relation to Bollywood, Avinash and Gopi talked at length about the joint family structure they described as 'typically Hindustani'. Interestingly, the joint family was not imported straight from India. It has, in fact, a Surinamese history. The indentured labourers that came to Suriname came as isolated individuals and had to build up new families in the course of the settling process. On their new farms, the joint family structure proved instrumental: the labour force of many family members became a key to agricultural success. In the 1940s, the joint family had become the dominant form of living in the Surinamese countryside (de Koning 1998: 155). Nowadays in Suriname's cities and in the Netherlands, the family lives spread out over several houses while maintaining the *ideal* of the joint family (Choenni and Mathura 1998: 254).

Avinash and Gopi seem to cherish the joint family structure. They describe it as loving, caring, and sometimes annoyingly intrusive, comparing it to the tolerant but indifferent atmosphere in 'Dutch' families. Their familiarity with Dutch family life is derived partly from everyday

can be different, one day you might get home to a guy who is serving you dinner ... But that's not what I see in my sisters' houses. They hardly have any time for themselves.

My parents have the same problem. My dad's the worst. He wants everything to be arranged for him, everything! Do this. Do that. My mother starts cooking early in the morning and she doesn't stop until three in the afternoon. I don't know what she is cooking! This morning I wanted to sleep late, but my mom woke me at seven. She wanted me to clean the house, vacuum, dust, you know. I was dog-tired. After a couple of hours I went back to bed. I don't understand why my mother stays with him. He even told her to leave him once, but she didn't. She says marriage is forever.

Arranged marriages are rare among Dutch Hindustanis. However, many parents do introduce their children to one or more suitable candidates, and they indirectly try to influence their children's choice of partner. Earlier research indicates that there is a certain amount of pressure on any daughter to keep her virginity and get married. This pressure becomes more intense when the girl seems to 'go in the wrong direction', for example, when she is unable to find a suitable candidate at a certain age (Lalmahomed 1992: 160 and 193-194; Mungra 1990: 92-103). This is certainly the case for Sharita.

Sharita feels loyal to her parents and tries hard to live up to their demands: getting home early, doing domestic chores, handing over part of her income, babysitting her younger nieces, always keeping her mobile phone on when she is out of the house. On special occasions, she may ask for her parents' blessing by bowing down before them and touching their feet. She feels obliged to her father and mother, who raised her and still care for her, but cannot fulfil all their wishes. Marriage is not an option for Sharita. Instead she dreams of an independent future in her own house, with her own car and her own stable income, freed from all the family obligations she has to deal with in her parents' house.

It is precisely these tensions between personal desires and parental loyalties that are dramatised so intensely in movies like *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*, *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham*, or *Main Prem Ki Diwani Hoon*. Troubles between parents and children also occur in American movies and Dutch soap operas, but they usually have a very different form. 'American or English movies are less recognisable. That's why I usually find them boring,' says Sharita. *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham* has had a particular effect on her because it shows a son who fails to accommodate his fathers' wishes and is subsequently banished. The son is or-

interactions with non-Hindustani peers but also from popular Dutch soap operas, which they watch several times a week. Having lived in the Netherlands all their lives, they perceive themselves as 'different'. Their otherness is in some sense neutralised and even celebrated by Hindi cinema, which shows them 'the things we learned at home, the culture we grew up with. It is very nice to notice that it wasn't all made up'.

Sharita is a 26-year-old film fanatic who watches an Indian movie every day. Her parents came from the agrarian district of Nickerie in Suriname. Sharita is the youngest daughter in a large family of nine children, and was just a baby when the family moved to The Hague. She dropped out of school before getting a professional diploma; since then, she has been temporarily employed in various low-paying occupations. Sharita's main problem in life is the difficult relationship she has with her parents. She is very distressed because her parents think she is the right age to marry and they try to talk her into getting married as soon as possible. Sharita currently has no partner and is in no hurry to find one; she says she has no desire to get married at all.

Sharita's favourite movie is *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham*. It touched her so deeply it made her cry. The hero in *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham* is pressured into marriage he doesn't want by his father; instead, he decides to marry the love of his life. As a consequence, his father throws him out of the house. Sharita comments:

What you see in these movies, has also happened in my life. It makes me think. *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham* is truly about reality. All those demands raised by parents. They want him to marry someone, but he loves another. I had to cry.

During what scene did you cry?

After the wedding, when he wants to say goodbye, but his father refuses even to look at him anymore. I found that so sad ... and it made me wonder, because it could happen to me as well. What should I do? How should I deal with this?

Do you know anyone that was married off?

No. It doesn't happen here like you see in the movies. In the past, in Suriname it did happen, but not anymore.

So what's so realistic about it then?

Well, the pressure. You have to marry. You know, my parents want me to marry too. But I don't want to. I see it around me everywhere. When a girl marries, her husband wants her to do all kinds of things: stay at home, do the cooking ... When he comes home, everything has to be ready for him. These days it

dered to leave the family mansion and is no longer considered a family member. Sharita fears the same thing might happen to her if she keeps refusing to marry.

During the interviews with Hindustani youth, many of them emphasise the personal relationship they have with Hindi cinema, and usually illustrate this point by referring to their own social relations, within their families and beyond. The stories differ widely thought, depending on their particular social position within their families. Avinash and Gopi, who are both the eldest sons in small households, have evaluated the Hindustani family structure much more positively than Sharita, the youngest daughter in a large nuclear family.

Earlier studies have explained that an 'illusion of realism' is a prerequisite to experiencing pleasure when viewing any type of audiovisual entertainment. In her study 'Watching *Dallas*', Ien Ang discerns two types of realism: empirical realism refers to visible or material resemblances between film and reality, while emotional realism refers to the feelings that the characters undergo, just like viewers do in real life.

The type of realism described by Sharita, and by many other Hindustani girls and boys, does not quite match either of these types of realism. Although emotional and empirical resemblances are present, it is the social reality that they point out over and over again. This social reality unfolds as the characters meet, greet, interconnect, and negotiate relationships in the course of the stories. Bollywood films thus function as a mirror of social relationships within the Hindustani community in the Netherlands.

'Hindustani movies' are truly Hindustani in that sense. They are read in contrast to other popular media, namely Dutch soaps and American movies, which fail to accommodate the Hindustani social situations and thereby emphasise the otherness of Hindustanis in the Dutch context. Contrary to expectations, Hindustanis do not watch these movies because they want to 'de-link' from their own environment'. Instead, the movies help them to live their lives in the Netherlands by making them 'feel normal', and it is primarily within the Dutch context that we must look to explain their affinity to Hindi cinema.

Conclusion

Diasporic studies have rightly emphasised the significance of transnational media among diasporic communities, but have had difficulty grasping the varied and complicated meanings of the processes at stake. We suggest that diaspora studies must be more cautious to avoid implicit assumptions about the effects of transnational media. When people spend their money and time on import products such as movies

from a certain country named India, 'Indianness' is not necessarily an important part of the bargain.

Aksoy and Robins (2003) made this point earlier in research they did among Turkish television viewers in London. They concluded that the diaspora perspective is in fact a faulty framework for media research, as it assumes too easily that media support the emergence of transnational imagined communities. It usually does not ask *if*, but *how* media support the emergence of transnational communities. However, 'transnational broadcasting is not about magically transporting migrant viewers back to a distant homeland. It is about broadcasting services being delivered to them in their new locations' (Aksoy and Robins 2003: 102).

From the point of view of most of our respondents, the link between India and Indian cinema is not the most interesting aspect of their viewing experience. Indian movies add to the variety of genres available to them, not because the films teach them about India, because most of the movies don't, but because they mirror their own lives here in the Netherlands. The pictures 'come close to who I am' because they show 'the things we learned at home'. The stories that get bottled up when we ask youth about their relationship to Hindi cinema thus emphasise the resemblances between the social affairs in the movies and those within the Hindustani community in the Netherlands. In the Dutch context, 'Hindustani movies' are truly 'Hindustani'.

Comparing this conclusion to research on other audiences among the Indian diaspora (Gillespie 1995, Hansen 2005, Brosius 2005, and others) the apparent diversity in viewing experiences is striking. These empirical studies, which were done on the brink of diaspora theory and ethnographic audience research, provide an important contribution to diaspora studies. They show that messages of belonging and nostalgia, which have increasingly spread through audio-visual media over the last decades, are viewed and appropriated in highly diverse and often unpredictable ways. Such processes of appropriation can never be understood from the armchair: performing ethnographic research in interaction with the viewers themselves is crucial,²² just as it is crucial to analyse the findings within a broader framework of diaspora theory.²³

Notes

- 1 This fieldwork was performed by Sanderien Verstappen as part of her masters thesis at the University of Amsterdam, which resulted in the book *Jong in Bollywood. Hindostaanse jongeren en Indiase films* (2005). Verstappen observed activities in six video rental stores, in two dance schools, and at numerous cinema screenings; she also

joined Hindustani youth during their outings in the evenings and weekends. She had informal conversations with about 80 youth, interviewed 42 who were between 16 and 29 years old, and also interviewed nine distributors and several other professionals in the Bollywood business. She also repeatedly performed 'couch observations' in five households, watching television with family members in their living rooms.

- 2 When we talk about Indian cinema or Hindi cinema here, we are referring to movies produced in India. This article thus does not take into account movies made by filmmakers with an Indian background who live outside India; such as *Mississippi Masala* (1991, directed by Mira Nair) or *Bend it Like Beckham* (2002, directed by Gurinder Chadha). Indian movies are usually divided into three subcategories: commercial cinema, art cinema, and regional cinema. We only discuss commercial cinema from Bombay, commonly referred to as 'Bollywood' films.
- 3 The phrase 'Bollywood' has been objected to by Indian filmmakers who find the term paternalistic, but Hindustani youth in the Netherlands use the nickname 'Bollywood' willingly and lovingly. In this article, we will follow Hindustani youth on this matter. This film is not available in the Netherlands. Information is therefore derived from the Internet Movie Database: www.imdb.com (20 March 2004).
- 4 See, for a detailed analysis of the diaspora element in DDLJ, and in the film *Parades*, Uberoi (1998).
- 5 Lata Khubchandani (2001). *DDLJ story goes to the roots of Indian culture' Transcripts of the interviews*, Yash Chopra. Website <http://www.rediff.com/broadband/2001/feb/05trans.htm> (2 September 2005).
- 6 Dwyer (2002: 179) refers to her own article "Indian values" and the diaspora. Yash Chopra's films of the 1990s; in: Parthiv Shah (ed.), *Figures, facts, feeling. A Direct Diasporic Dialogue*, pp. 74-82. Catalogue that accompanied a British Council Exhibition, November 2000, West Coast Line.
- 7 Personal communication with Sammeer Shoekai (April 2002): he was a member of the organisation of the Hindustani Film festival in 2002 and handled communication with the staff of Yash Raj Productions.
- 8 The label 'Hindustanis' must not be confused with 'Indians', the label used in Suriname and the Netherlands to describe NRI's who have migrated directly from India. In contrast to Indians, Hindustanis have no personal memory of the villages of origin in Bihar or Uttar Pradesh, nor have they retained any personal relations in those villages (Bal and Sinha, this book). There is very little interaction between the two communities (Lymnebakke, this book).
- 9 *Allochtonen in Nederland* 2004. Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), Voorburg and Heerlen, 2004. www.cbs.nl.
- 10 Choenni 2003: 170-171; Van Noort 2000: 159-160 / 198-204.
- 11 Dollywood is officially the name of Dolly Parton's Amusement Park in the United States.
- 12 *Cultuurbeleid in Nederland*. Zoetermeer, Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen; 2002. <http://www.minocw.nl/cultuurbeleid/nota6/index.html> (12 November 2002).
- 13 Result of people count in two popular video rental stores in The Hague, carried out by Sanderijen Verstappen on two Saturdays from opening until closing time in January 2002.
- 14 Photographs by Sanderijen Verstappen; flyers collected during fieldwork period in 2003.
- 15 The term long-distance nationalism was introduced by Benedict Anderson in the Wertheim Lecture (1997) at the University of Amsterdam: 'Long-distance Nationalism. World Capitalism and the Rise of Identity Politics.'

- 17 According to an employee at the Haags Filmhuis.
- 18 Films that were a hit in the Netherlands at the dawn of the 21st century were *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* (1998), *Kaho Na ... Pyaar Hai* (2000), *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham* (2001), to a lesser extent *Mujhse Dosti Karoge!* (2002), *Devdas* (2002), *Saathiya* (2002), *Dil Ka Rishta* (2003), and *Chalte Chalte* (2003) and more recently *Koi Mil... Gaya* (2004), *Kal Ho Naa Ho* (2004) and *Hum Tum* (2004).
- 19 Bloembergen 1995: 205; Klimmer 1999: Verstappen 2005.
- 20 This is the picture Verstappen deduced from 25 in-depth, taped interviews (varying in duration from 1.5 to 3 hours) with Hindustani youth aged between 16 and 29 years.
- 21 This issue is quite complicated, however, as some girls claimed that Indian women have more freedom than Hindustani girls. Sharita, for example, noticed that 'women in India can walk on the streets with their bellies naked. If I tried that, my father would lock me in the house'.
- 22 This point is supported by anthropologists such as Baumann (1999: 150) and Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod and Larkin (2002: 6).
- 23 This link to diaspora theory is sometimes lacking in media studies, for example in the work of Straubhaar (1991/1997) and Burch (2002).

Films

- Aan*, directed by Mehboob Khan, 1952.
Bilet Phera! (*England Returned*), directed by N.C. Lohary, 1921.
Chalte Chalte, directed by Aziz Mirza, 2003.
Devdas, directed by Sanjay Leela Bhansali, 2002.
Dil Ka Rishta, directed by Naresh Malhotra, 2003.
Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge, directed by Aditya Chopra, 1995.
Hum Tum, directed by Kunal Kohli, 2004.
Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham, directed by Karan Johar, 2001.
Kaho Na... Pyaar Hai, directed by Rakesh Roshan, 2000.
Kal Ho Naa Ho, directed by Nikhil Advani, 2004.
Koi Mil ... Gaya, directed by Rakesh Roshan, 2003.
Kuch Kuch Hota Hai, directed by Karan Johar, 1998.
Lagaan: Once Upon a Time in India, directed by Ashutosh Gowariker, 2001.
Main Prem Ki Diwani Hoon, directed by Sooraj R. Barjatya, 2003.
Mujhse Dosti Karoge!, directed by Kunal Kohli, 2002.
Muqaddar Ka Sikandar, directed by Prakash Mehra, 1978.
Om-Jai Jagadish, directed by Anupam Kher, 2002.
Parades, directed by Subhash Ghai, 1997.
Purab aur Pachhim, directed by Manoj Kumar, 1970.
Saathiya, directed by Shaad Ali, 2002.
Sir Wrangler Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, directed by Harischandra Saktharam Bhatawdekar, 1902.
Yaadein, directed by Subhash Ghai, 2001.