

**De-FRAMING GENDER, NATIONALISM AND
SUBALTERN SPACES: MALAYALAM
CINEMA 1970-1990**

*Thesis
submitted to the University of Calicut
for the award of the Degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

MATHEW SAM



**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
2021**

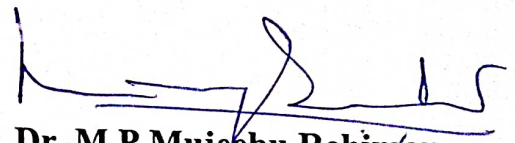
Dr. M. P. MUJEEBU REHIMAN
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled, **De-Framing Gender, Nationalism and Subaltern Spaces: Malayalam Cinema 1970-1990**, submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, University of Calicut is a record of bonafide research carried out by **Mathew Sam**, under my supervision. No part of the thesis has been submitted for the award of any Degree before.

I also hereby certify that the corrections/suggestions from the adjudicators have been incorporated in the revised thesis. Content of the cd submitted and the hardcopy of the thesis is one and the same.

C.U.Campus
21 .06 . 2021


Dr. M.P.Mujeebu Rehimán
(Supervising Teacher)

DECLARATION

I, Mathew Sam, do hereby declare that this thesis entitled, '**De-Framing Gender, Nationalism and Subaltern Spaces: Malayalam Cinema 1970-1990**' is a bona fide record of research work done by me and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degrees.

C.U Campus
. . 2021

Mathew Sam

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I have immense pleasure in expressing my heartfelt gratitude to a number of people and institutions for their untiring and unforgettable assistance during this research work and thesis preparation.

Foremost, I would like to extend my deep sense of gratitude to my supervising teacher Dr. M P Mujeebu Rehiman, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Calicut for his encouragement, guidance, meaningful comments, and valuable criticisms, without which this thesis would not have been materialized.

I thank Dr. V V Haridas, Head, Department of History, University of Calicut for providing all institutional and research assistance in the Department. I am also grateful to the former Heads of the Department of History, Professor (Dr) P. Sivadasan and Professor (Dr) Muhammed Maheen. I express my gratitude to Dr. K S Madhavan, Dr. Vineeth R, and all other faculty members of the Department of History who encouraged me at different stages of this research work. I am greatly indebted to Dr. K. Gopalankutty, Professor (Rtd.) for the encouragement he had given in the formation of this topic. I thank the staff in the office and library of the Department of History, Directorate of Research of University of Calicut, College Development Council, Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam, and Mar Thoma College, Tiruvalla.

I had fruitful discussions with Dr. Muraleedharan T (Senior faculty at Chetana College of Media & Performing Art, Trissur), Dr. Shiju Sam Varghese (Assistant Professor, School of Social Sciences, Central University of Gujarat), and Dr. Sebastian Joseph (Assistant Professor, Department of History, U.C College, Aluva). The deliberations held in relation to the

refresher course conducted by Academic Staff College, University of Calicut in 2018 was another remarkable moment that enabled me to formulate some of the ideas deployed in the thesis. I am grateful to CINFRA Library at Kazhakoottam, DC Library at Kottayam, Manorama Library at Kottayam, SCM Library at Tiruvanathapuram, and Public Library at Thiruvanathapuram for providing the secondary materials for this study. I also place on record my gratitude to online media, various social media groups on films such as Malayalam Movie & Music Data Base (m3db), International Movie Data Base (IMDB), and video streaming platforms like YouTube.

I am thankful to the University Grants Commission for awarding me a fellowship under the Faculty Development Programme for pursuing this doctoral research. I remember with heartfelt gratitude the Manger and the Principals of my institution during the period of this work. I am grateful to my colleagues and friends, especially, Mr. Shibu Thelapuram, Prof. Susan Kuriakose, Prof. Nijin K. Mathew, and Mr. Ratheesh E for their valuable suggestions and encouragements. I acknowledge the support and assistance extended by my beloved parents Mr. P S Samuel and Mrs. Aleyamma Samuel, my brothers, Mr. Zacharia Sam and Mr. Philip Sam, and their families, Mrs. Rini Kurian, Master. Albin S Zacharia, Mrs. Sheena Jibu, and Ms. Abhiyah Elsa Philip.

I am grateful to Mr. Rajesh and other members of Bina DTP centre, Villuniyal for promptly helping me with the printing of the thesis. I express my deepest gratitude to all my friends and well-wishers who stood by me in times of difficulties. I dedicate this work to my beloved brother Jibukuttan, who always wraps me up in his unconditional love and to those who are visualizing and picturizing for an alternative society.

Mathew Sam

CONTENTS

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Page No.</i>
	Introduction	1-25
1	The Past in Frames	26-63
2	The Making of Malayalam Cinema: Historical Antecedent	64-97
3	Frames of Gender	98-160
4	Image of the Nation	161-207
5	The Modern Screen Space	208-250
	Conclusion	251-269
	Glossary	270
	Appendices	271-280
	Filmography and Bibliography	281-344

INTRODUCTION

As a modern system of knowledge, History is built on its own epistemological and methodological foundations. To produce and represent ‘what really happened’ in the past, the historian resorts to disparate conceptual categories, theoretical models, and heuristic practices. One of the technical categories that is widely used in historical scholarship is periodization. The slicing of time has been indispensable to converge the focus of the study on a given conjuncture in detail. Furthermore, historical knowledge is greatly indebted to the space-time bound. Typically, the periodization is grounded on the linear perception of time of the European psyche and classifies the knowledge of the past into ancient, medieval, and modern. Moving beyond the traditional classification of the human past in tripartite time frames, recent scholarship has introduced a new temporal category; the contemporary. What constitutes the temporality of contemporary is yet to be theorized in depth.¹ Political decolonization has been registered as the landmark of contemporary in post-colonial societies. As the debate of whether colonialism was a break in the colonized society, the historical relevance of the post-colonial² period has to be imbibed with rich academic explorations and debates on critical points.

¹ For a preliminary reading, see, Giorgio Agamben, “What Is the Contemporary?,” *What is an Apparatus? and Other Essays*, trans. David Kishik and Stefan Pedatella, Stanford University Press, 2009, pp.39-54.

² Here, I use the term post-colonial not in the sense of the whole theoretical corpus of post-coloniality, but as a temporal category which demarcates the colonial period from the period of independence. The usage is more centred on the aspect of time rather than any theoretical standpoint.

In the historiographical initiatives on Indian history, there are attempts to write the contemporary history of India³ which are the accounts of the Republic of India. Arguing in favour of the contemporary history of India, Ramachandra Guha rightly points out that the day of independence not only brought about a rupture in the nature of the state but also acted as a demarcation line between various social science disciplines. The interest of the historian lays in the time of colonialism and the post-colonial part is left over to political scientists, sociologists, and economists. Though the sister disciplines are producing knowledge of their respective fields on the post-colonial social life in India, a history book dealing with ‘total history’ or genre-specific history has been a rare view in the history shelves of libraries.⁴ However, it is interesting to note that the ‘*Midnight Children*’⁵ have grown up to ‘*Millennials*’ and *post-Millennials*⁶ and they lack a comprehensive history of their contemporary times.

However, even the available scholarly works have been centred on event-based, linear narration of post-colonial nation-state. The sub-national identities are immersed in the grand narrative of post-colonial Indian history. Though the writings from the peripheral socio-political units are making inroads to the dominant version of ‘Indian history’, the representation of the history of the federal states, especially in contemporary history, seldom gets

³ Bipin Chandra, Adhithya Mukherjee and Mridula Mukherjee, *India After Independence*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2000. Ramachandra Guha, *India After Gandhi: The History of the World’s Largest Democracy*, Macmillan, London, 2007.

⁴ Ramachandra Guha, “The Challenges of Contemporary History”, *Historia*, 54,1, May 2009, p.112-117.

⁵ *Midnight Children* is a novel authored by Salman Rushdie in 1981. The narrative is evolving around the life of a child born at midnight on 15th August 1947 in India. In fact, the novel is on the life of post-colonial India in its critical years. The term ‘midnight children’ is often used as a synonym of post-colonial times in the academic discussions of post-colonial literature.

⁶ ‘Millennials’ has been a demographic terminology used to implies the generational cohort born between 1981 and 1996. ‘Post-Millennials’ are the generation of people born since 1997. This generation is also known as *Generation Z*.

its due share in the historical writing of post-colonial India. In the process of nation-building, how regional identities and aspirations find elements of consensus and departures, how they interact with the paramount idea of India, how regional identities are formed and negotiated with the Indian state, etc. have to be problematized. One of the ways in which ‘the contemporaneity’ of post-colonial India can be analyzed is registering the process of convergence and divergence of regional identities in relation to the grand narrative of Indian nationalism at each epoch of history.

The present study makes an effort to historicize an epoch of contemporary Kerala history by analyzing the moving images. The historical account of contemporary Kerala society is an unpeopled path.⁷ There are, obviously, studies from other academic disciplines which provide fragments of the socio-economic life of Kerala since its statehood. The contemporaneity of Kerala allures scholarly attention owing to two peculiar social developments; one is political- the first democratically elected communist ministry in Asia and the other is socio-economic- ‘The Kerala Model’. These two features have been studied in detail by scholars from different parts of the globe. The discourses on Kerala’s ‘distinctiveness’ and pride build on this premise confers the texture of the contemporary identity of being Malayalee. Nevertheless, this claimed progressiveness has been challenged by the discourses from the margins. The Dalits, women groups, sexual minorities, environmentalists, etc. have problematized the undemocratic and exclusive elements inherent in the ‘Kerala Model’. However, such debates and discourses on contemporary social life remain in fragments and a

⁷ By contemporary Kerala I intend to point out the period since the formation of Kerala state on linguistic basis though this has been an ‘official’ periodization of the past. In 2016, Kerala celebrated the diamond jubilee of its statehood. That is to say, the contemporary history has to be written to recognize the ebbs and flows of social life after the statehood.

comprehensive historical analysis of contemporary Kerala society is yet to be made.

As a study of contemporary Kerala, this thesis is employing the benefits of historical writing on contemporary, that is, the availability of diverse source materials. The deployments of diverse sources would enrich the understanding of the past. However, the historiography in Kerala has often been confined to traditional methods of heuristics and hermeneutics. The present study gives more emphasis on the moving images as the source material for making sense of the contemporary social formation in Kerala. Considering movies as the source material has been largely indebted to the 'contemporaneity' of the source material itself. Malayalam cinema gained its industrial and aesthetic reorganization at a time when the Malayalee identity was embodied in the political state of Kerala. The state of cinema, hence, is a part of the state of politics. It is argued, therefore, that the movies can claim much contemporaneity and the easy availability of cinema makes it a material of history with 'popular content'.⁸

The media-related nature of the source material used necessitates an interdisciplinary approach to study. Cinema is a complex text, containing multi-layers of meaning. It cannot be assumed as text in its traditional connotation. The production and consumption of cinema materials have been capital intensive and insist a higher level of technological sophistication. Owing to the complex nature of cinema material, insights from different academic disciplines must be sought to decipher it. Similarly, the image under the analysis navigates across the disciplinary contours. Hence, various

⁸ While analysing the hindrances in the writing of contemporary history, Ramachandra Guha highlights the fact that many official documents and private papers are inaccessible to historians due to the legal restrictions to access those materials only after thirty years. Ramachandra Guha, "The Challenges of Contemporary History", *Historia*, 54,1, May 2009.p.120. Deploying the alternative sources such as moving images can be a solution for this predicament.

theories have to be evoked in the analysis of film images (text). Gender theory, psychoanalysis, literary and cultural theories, ethnographic insights, etc., are employed in the hermeneutical process of moving images. However, it goes beyond the scope of film studies or the analysis of the sociology of text since the film has not been the material of study here. It is deemed a material to understand the broader changes that happened at a given conjuncture in the society and to imbibe the social relations represented in the narratives of cinema. That is, the interdisciplinary approach associates more with the nature of the source material than the context of the research problem.

The incorporation of a relatively new source such as the moving images problematizes the existing style of historical writing. The cinema provides a counter analysis of society.⁹ The frames of images can unravel many visuals which are hitherto non-represented in the normative discourses. It is discernible that the use of moving images as source material is limited to the modern period or rather to the contemporary period. The main argument raised here is the source diversification which is inevitable for an inclusive practice of historiography. Diversified sources would evoke diversified methods and theories which apparently enable us to grasp the various shades of life in the past. Here, no divinity is attributed to moving images. The focal point is the investigation of the potentiality of moving images to be a source of history. If the moving images contain such a potential, what is the likely methodological and theoretical framework to study them have been the central problem of research in this thesis. The potentiality of cinematic data to be a source and the formulation of a generally acceptable methodological and theoretical framework for this have been what the thesis is intended for. The

⁹ Mare Ferro, *Cinema and History*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1988. p.29.

thesis also explores the likely engagements that the cinema can evolve with the knowledge of the past.

As with many other forms of sources such as ancient inscriptions, archaeological remains, etc., the historian using moving images as source material should know the nature of the material at his/her disposal. It includes technical know-how of filmmaking, marketing strategies, the relevance of mise-en-scene, etc. Without the knowledge of media, the film images would not be easy for the historian to decipher. Such media-related know-how stands outside the ambit of traditional historical practices and this part of hermeneutics is novel in historical writing. The relevance of such interpretation can be vivid while the politics of visibility and invisibility embedded in the frames comes to analysis. The recognition of the politics of representation is crucial to make the cinema data a counter analysis of society. Here, the interpretation transcends the sociological analysis of the text. The film images under study have not been placed in the space and time of its release to get the meaning of the text. Contrary, the moving images are pointed towards the social relationship to register a plausible social history of the time. Nor does it mean that cine-frames are reflexive of social realities. Instead, they are representational in essence.

The representational process includes the decision to make choices. That is, there will be a process of selection and omission of 'facts' in representation. The realm of ideology comes in at this juncture. Indebted to the nature of capital-intensive and state-controlled cine frames, the representations inside such frames would be hegemonic. All other identities are misrepresented or non-represented. The absence/invisibility in the frames has to be made present/visible through the hermeneutical operations of the historian. It is only in this context that the cinematic data becomes a matter of counter analysis of social relations. Make the frame visible has been the

analytical endeavour of the historian who considers cinematic frames as source material for writing history.

Images as Representations

Images have been one of the earliest media of rendition by which humankind expresses their internal as well as external worlds. Along with the verbal narration, the ‘world view’ could have explained by using the depiction of the thing narrated that equips the ‘viewer’ to comprehend the idea more visually. It is evident that all forms of images we get from archaeological sites had been drawn for a likely spectator. They might be the self-externalization or self-transcendence searching for an indefinite mark of existence or the representation of a memory.¹⁰ The visualization of the familiar world in images is held to be the nascent form of writing facilitating humankind to overcome the constraints of communication they were facing with the verbal means.¹¹ Thus, we have pictorial ancient scripts like cuneiform, which later had transformed into more complex systems of signifiers. The image signifiers were not confined to the limited space of writing. On the other hand, it expanded to variegated means of renditions such as drawing, painting, sculpture, architecture, etc. These images enabled humankind to cross over the space-time constraints of communications and imagination. The ancient symbols still speak to the present-day spectators. However, the space-time (read culture) is imprinted on each form of images that are intended to represent the ‘real world’ and its signs and syntaxes.

The problematization of ‘reality’ registers the course of art history. How far one can present ‘the reality’ as it is had been a matter of inquiry for centuries. In this context, the ‘mechanical’ era introduced more ‘seemed like’

¹⁰ For instance, the cave paintings.

¹¹ Oral communication is effective in limited groups who receive the signifier sound with the exact thing being signified.

realities in art and drained the 'aura' of a single art form by multiple mechanical reproductions of it.¹² The early art form of this epoch was the photograph. A photograph crystalizes the space-time it is produced, appears as more real than a painted image, and can reproduce in multiple from the basic negative of the film.¹³

However, the dynamic, mechanized, seemed-like, real-world of capitalism could not have been reflected itself in static imagery of photography. What it lacks is the actual movement. One can take a picture of a running horse, but it does not run in the photograph. The photograph, therefore, is the crystallized form of the running horse. Photograph transforms the subject into an object that mirrors the objectification of self under the capitalist system. Only a moving image can be more 'real' of a space-time characterized by its hypermobility. Thus, comes the moving images, the movies.

An amalgamation of scientific inquisitiveness with artistic aesthetics made the movies possible which solicited the era of the mechanical production of art. Machines became this 'aesthetic' symbol of the new economic culture and reflected on the cultural economy of the industrial revolution societies in Europe and countries like the U.S.A. The medium of art was a machine, made out of scientific rationality. Movie camera had been an advanced and sophisticated form of the still camera. The scientific explorations to make the image move had succeeded in America, Britain, and France about similar years. Drawing from the insights of Newtonian Physics and the phenomenon of persistence of vision, scientifically inquisitive persons

¹² Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Illuminations*, Hannah Arendt, (ed.), trans. Harry Zohn, Schockenbooks, New York, 2007, pp. 217-252.

¹³ The mechanical reproduction of art goes hand in glove with the logic of capitalist production. More production of the art material can be possible in less cost and minimal time.

like Louis Le Prince, Edward Muybridge, William Friese-Greene, Lumiere brothers, and like many materialized the long-cherished wish to capture the world in its mobility.¹⁴ However, in the widely accepted history of cinema, the exhibition of moving images by Auguste Lumiere and Louie Lumiere at Le Grand Hotel on 28 December 1895 has been taken as the birth of cinema that registers another characteristic of movies; the inevitability of a spectator community.¹⁵ The sophisticated production¹⁶, capital intensity, and spectator community – the constituent factors of cinema as an art and industry had been firmly established ever since its inception. Mediated by the bourgeois cultural values like speed, mechanization, scientific rationality, etc., cinema is a highly modern form of art challenging the nature of the existing relationship between art and people. It is scientifically made, politically controlled, economically consumed, and culturally adapted. Employing the colonial trade routes, cinema had reached different parts of the globe within two decades of its emergence.

The colonial link cannot be disguised in the history of cinema in India as well. It took hardly much time to reach the shores of the Indian subcontinent. The first recorded screening of moving images had been at Watson Hotel, Bombay on 7 July 1896 by the Lumiere brothers themselves.¹⁷ The reception of movies began to be increased gradually since the primary

¹⁴ Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, (ed.), *The Oxford History of World Cinema*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1997. pp.6-12. Peter Mark Roget in 1824 scientifically proved the optical deception or persistence of vision which can be taken as a decisive step towards the possibility to discover the movie.

¹⁵ For Englishmen, it is William Friese – Greene is the Father of cinema. Rather than adhere to one point of origin, it seems that the multi spatial origin is more historically valid.

¹⁶ It is significant to note that art forms like *Pavakoothu* (Puppetry) practiced in the Palghat region in Kerala had been the primary form of visual arts that show the moving of images with the help of lights and shadows. However, modern movies are distinct owing to their technical and scientific complexity.

¹⁷ M Jayaraj, *Malayala Cinema Pinnitta Vazhikal*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2018. p.19.

consumers of the new art form were proletariats in the urban centres. As an industry, the distribution and exhibition had been developed initially than production, seemingly the intricacy subsumed in movie production. Capitalizing on the expansion of the cine market, the Parsi bourgeois class could build a network of distributing and exhibiting centers across the major cities and in the countryside in the later phase. The early centres of movie exhibitions were drama theatres some of which had completely turned to movie theatres or cinemas in the early decades of the twentieth century.¹⁸ J. F. Madan, a Bombay-based Parsi theatre owner, had started Elphinstone Bioscope Theatre at Calcutta in 1902, which marked the beginning of the cinema industry in India. A network of cinemas was established by him and he monopolized the industry in its infancy. Some movies were produced by him in due course of time. He could even regulate the ‘product’ to be distributed among his consumers, which affected the production of Indian movies since Madan had promoted foreign-made imported cinema by evaluating the consumer trend of movies systematically and successfully.¹⁹ Such early events in the Indian cinema industry indicate the fact that ever since its inception movies had close nexus with the ethos of capitalism.

Nevertheless, the response to colonial movies was shaping behind the screen. Taking a cue from Indian mythology, *Raja Harichandra* (1913) directed by Dada Sahib Phalke goes down to history as the first Indian movie.²⁰ As a signifier of truth in Indian Mythology, King Harichandra was presented in the form of a counter-narrative against the evil foreign rules

¹⁸ P S Radhakrishnan, *Samskara Desheeyathayude Chalachitra Padangal*, Chintha Publications, Tiruvanthapuram, 2016. pp. 23-25.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 24.

²⁰ In 1912, R.J Torney directed a Marathi film *Shree Pundalik* as a full-length feature film. (For Bengalis, it is Hiralal Senni). However, the dominant historical narrative on Indian cinema has not considered the movie as the premier movie on the ground that the film has been the representation of a drama with the same title and the crew consisted non-Indians.

though the critique of the colonial regime had been indirect and disguised within the narrative structure. “Phalke’s were early attempts to forge an imagined land and people through allegories”.²¹ It may not be coincidental that this counter-nationalistic imagination hails from Brahmanical mythology where ‘nation can find its soul’ vis-i-vis the materialist west. The swadeshi film products of Phalke were greatly indebted to the swadeshi version of Bala Gangadhar Tilak, the extremist nationalist from Maharashtra.²² What Tilak did in the political frame was transcribed onto the cine frame by Phalke. By posing the Brahmanical value system as the antithesis of the colonial value system in the power, Indian cinema even in its budding stage manufactured cultural legitimacy for the existence of India as a nation. Having excavated from the orientalist interpretation of traditional texts, a stream of nationalist discourse formulated the crux of Indian nationalism on the ‘cultural peculiarities’ of India. The same was the root of the cinematic Republic of India.

More regional cinematic representations were made in the subsequent years.²³ Many of them received their narrative impulses from the Indian mythologies. The growing popularity of cinema especially among the urban working class, increase in the number of movies produced and the ‘nationalistic’ metaphors lurked in the narrative structure brought about the early intervention of a state apparatus to regulate the visual consumption of the masses. It materialised in the enactment of the Indian Cinematograph Act in 1918. However, the Act became obsolete within a while to combat the new ‘crisis’ that emerged due to the swift changes in movie practices in the artistic

²¹ P S Radhakrishnan, *Samskara Desheeyathayude Chalachitra Padangal*, Chintha Publications, Tiruvanthapuram, 2016. p. 28.

²² Ibid, p. 27. Reconciliation with the political ideology of Tilak has been evident all through the film career of Phalke.

²³ The debut movies are *Keechavavadam* (1916) in Tamil, *Bheeshma Prathinja* (1921) in Telugu, *Bhaktamarkandeya* (1925) in Kannada, *Vigatha Kumaran* (1928) in Malayalam.

and industrial domains. The British films began to lose their Indian market in the wake of torrents of Hollywood movies. The menace had not only been economic alone but also cultural. The British were afraid that the image of women depicted in Hollywood films would make their women who lived in India socially vulnerable. The patriarchal fear of women's safety stimulated the control over women's spectacle in the movies.²⁴ The eventual outcome of these economic and cultural fear had been the constitution of the Indian Cinematograph Committee to make recommendations regarding the comprehensive policy for the cinema industry in India. Though the report had not been implemented,²⁵ it has been a potential documentary source that throws light into the early decades of Indian cinema especially on matters such as art, market, audience, sensibility, distribution network, plot, government intervention, etc. The multi-layered interactions between technology, economy, state, culture, etc., that have been evident even in the early history of cinema make the narrative of cinema a social history in itself.

The Historiography of Cinema and History: The European and American Literature

The history of historian's engagement with movies as an intellectually potential medium of their academic endeavours is shared with intricacy. The doors of academia were almost closed to a popular art like cinema, even after the half-century of its existence as an art and an industry, owing to the elitist nature of the former. Marc Ferro writes, "At the beginning, cinema was something for 'helots', it was 'mechanical' in addition, the places where the film shows were held-fairs, café-theatres, and the like were, in Victorian and

²⁴ S Theodore Baskaran, *History Through the Lens: Perspectives on South Indian Cinema*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2009.p. 48.

²⁵ It became the basis for the Indian Cinematograph Act in independent India in 1951.

bourgeois eyes, disreputable, immoral”.²⁶ This alleged status of cinema as an art of low culture might have formed the attitude of the historian in the initial decades.

From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film (1947) penned by Seigfried Kracauer which analyzed the German cinema with the theoretical tools of psychoanalysis to decode the psychological impact of cinema in the making of the history of German people, stands at odd in the early phase. Unfortunately, Kracauer did not get followers in the immediate decade. The attempts to integrate cinema with history by identifying the historiographical potential of cinema, developing a comprehensive theoretical and methodological framework, preparing plans to employ it in the teaching-learning process, etc., got momentum in the 1960s in Europe. French historian Charles Samaran had included film sources in his massive manual *L'Historic et ses methodes* in 1961.²⁷ An institutionalized interaction between cinema and history was experimented at the University of Leeds by constituting the British Inter-University History Film Consortium in 1968 to produce historical films and make them available for academic purposes. John Grenville and Nicholas Pronay were the spearheads of this initiative. In the same year, the University College of London had convened a conference exclusively to discuss the scope of documentaries, and newsreels in historical writing out of which a proceeding was published, titled *Film and Historians*.²⁸

²⁶ Marc Ferro, 'Film as an Agent, Product and Source of History', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.18, no 3, July 1983, p. 357.

²⁷ Paul Smith, (ed.), *The Historian and Film*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976.p.1.

²⁸ Gianluca Fantoni, 'A Very Long Engagement: The Use of Cinematic Texts in Historical Research', *Film, History and Memory*, Jennie M Caristeen and Fearghal McGarry, (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan, London,2015, p. 24.

Meanwhile, the development of a comprehensive theory of cinema based on the philosophical foundation of Realism enhanced the status of it as a discipline worthy of contemplating on. Andre Bazin had developed a coherent theory of cinematic realism while Christian Metz employed the insights from semiotics.²⁹ The changing texture of cinema encouraged more diversified and sophisticated inquiry of making use of movies in historical knowledge. The relevance of Paul Smith's edited work *Historian and Film* (1976) set in this context. It initiated discussions on the use of film as a source of history, the need to develop methods and institutions for film preservation, the potentiality of the feature film as historical evidence, the probability of presenting history in the visual language and make use of it for academic purpose, the future identity of the historian – filmmaker, etc., which directed the research on cinema and history in the future decades. It widened the former horizon of research focussing largely on historical documentaries, newsreels propaganda films, and real footages to the historiographical use of feature films. Five years later, another edited work, *Feature Film as History*, had been come out consisting of the articles of the then leading historians on film. K.R.M Short was the editor of this work.³⁰ D. J Wenden's analysis of Eisenstein's classic *Battleship Potemkin* was seemingly path-breaking text on revealing the complex nexus between the 'what really happened' and 'what we see as really happened'. The freedom the filmmaker takes to narrate a historical event is explained with the famous Odessa step scenes of *Potemkin*, which reveals the 'factual adjustment' made by the filmmaker to get 'the feeling of the event' properly, the argument that led the future course of the discussion of cinema-history nexus. With the expansion of research, new

²⁹ Andre Bazin, *What is Cinema?* Volume 1, Trans. Hugh Gray, University of California Press, California, 1967. Christian Metz, *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema*, Trans, Michal Taylor, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991.

³⁰ K R M Short, (ed.), *Feature Films as History*, Routledge, Oxon, 2014.

works began to be published on the filmic historicization of British society, based on the anthologies of historical films.³¹

The gradual progression towards the epistemological and methodological structure of the cinema-history framework had been stimulated by French historians and film critics like Marc Ferro and Pierre Sorlin.³² Much contemplation and theorization went on to the two possible engagement of cinema with history; as a source of history and as a form of representation. Ferro analyses the multi-layered functioning of cinema as an agent, product, and source of history. “It must look at the historical function of film, at its relationship with societies that produce and consume it, at the social processes, involved in the making of the works, at the cinema as a source of history. As agents and products of history, films and the world of films stand in a complex relationship with the audience, with money and with the state and two relationships is one of the axes of its history.”³³ He also points out the connection between the visible and non-visible parts of cinema, that is, the narrative and the social context where such a narrative is produced and consumed. Pierre Sorlin, on the other hand, emphasizes more on historical films as an alternative imagination of history and an addition to the ‘historical capital’ of the society, the position which gained much currency in the field of research on cinema and history in the later phase. Sorlin’s thesis has closely examined the nexus between historical events and the rendition of those events in national cinema through detailed case studies.

³¹ Anthony Aldgate and Jefferey Richard, *Britain Can Take It: British Cinema in the Second World War*, Blackweel, Oxford,1986.

³² Marc Ferro, *Cinema and History*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit,1988. Pierrre Sorlin *The Film in History: Restaging the Past*, Barnes & Noble Books, New Jersey, 1980.

³³ Marc Ferro, ‘Film as an Agent, Product and Source of History’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.18, no 3, July 1983, p.358.

The ‘cultural turn’ in the social science disciplines had mainly contributed to the cinema-history paradigm in two ways; a) the high culture-low culture demarcation got blurred and culture began to be a matter of wider epistemological inquiry. Cultural studies, an interdisciplinary academic discipline, thus, envisages culture primarily as a locus on which different forces that determine the way of life, interacted, contested, and negotiated, b) the interdisciplinary insights provided by cultural studies problematized the existing notion of ‘film text’ and opened up new vistas of reading it. The change that came about in the source material enabled the historian to raise new questions on film sources and to explore variegated representations it provides. The pictorial mode of representation had been substantiated and augmented by the epistemological and methodological practices of post-modernism which radically criticized the existing epistemological foundation of history as a form of knowledge.³⁴ The methodological framework was drawn in *Image as Artifact: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television* edited by John E O’Connor in 1990, which proposes a two-way process of heuristics and hermeneutics by taking into account the four possible ways of film text in history; a) the moving image as a representation of history, b) the moving image as evidence for social and cultural history, c) actuality footage as evidence for historical facts, and d) the history of the moving image as industry and art form. The epistemological foundation is given by postmodernism, interdisciplinary approach, and methodological framework strengthened the image/visual based historical inquiry as a new path to find out ‘what really happened’.

³⁴ Keith Jenkins Sue Morgan and Alan Munslow, (ed.), *Manifestos for History*, Routledge, London,2007.

Though the venture to integrate ‘film text’ to history had been held by the mid-1970s in American academia,³⁵ the break had come through the publication of a special issue on cinema and history by *American Historical Review (AHR)* in 1988. In the article titled ‘*History in Images/History in Words: Reflections on the Possibility of Really Putting History onto Film*’, published in *AHR*, Robert A Rosenstone further developed Sorlin’s concept of ‘historical film as textbook’ and sought to develop a visual narrative of the past. In ‘*Historiography and Historiophoty*’ published in the same issue of *AHR*, *Historiophoty*, a neologism-was coined and defined by Hayden White which stands for ‘the representation of history and our thought about it in visual images and filmic discourses’.³⁶

To ‘revising history’ and to ‘construct new past’, the potentiality of historical cinema had been inquired in its interactive premises of ‘history on film/film on history’.³⁷ The theoretical and methodological foundations have been formulating and some consensuses have made up – though not settled – among the historians in their academic engagement with cinema and history particularly in conceptualizing historical films as an alternative, rather, a new form of historical imagination and rendition.³⁸

³⁵ Robert Sklar, *Movie Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies*, Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, New York, 2012.

³⁶ Hayden White, ‘Historiography and Historiophoty’, *The American Historical Review*, vol.93, no 5,1988, p. 1193.

³⁷ Robert A Rosenstone, (ed.), *Revising History: Film and The Construction of a New Past*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1995. Robert A Rosenstone, *History on Film/ Film on History*, 2nd edition, Routledge, New York, 2011.

³⁸ Natalile Zemon Davis, *Slaves on Screen: Film and Historical Vision*, Vintage Canada, 2000. Philip Rosen: *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, and Theory*, Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2001. Robert Brent Toplin, *Real History: In Défense of Hollywood*, University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, 2002. Bell Hook, *Reel to Real*, Routledge Classic, New York, 2009. Jonathan Stubbs, *Historical Film: A Critical Introduction*, Bloomsbury, New York, 2013. William Guyan, *Writing History in Film*, Routledge, New York, 2006.

Indian Literature on Cinema and History

The literature on cinema has been largely confined to the paradigm of film studies in post-colonial India. Perhaps, the first dissertation on Indian cinema was of Panna Shah's *The Indian Films* elaborating the growth of the film industry in India by situating the social factors of it. Such an initiative was left incomplete for a long period.³⁹ The literature on Indian cinema had received new vigor and direction since insights from cultural studies began to pour into Indian academia. These works have utilized the post-colonial theories to construct the subtle interactions between cinema and the Indian nation-state, emphasizing the various phases of nation-building and corresponding cinema narratives. The making of national identity⁴⁰ and national imagination in the Nehruvian and preliberalisation period have been problematized by the nuanced engagement with cinematic text and it found out a cinematic history of the Indian Republic. Cinema served as a faithful ally of nation-building in the immediate post-colonial period and swung with the waves of popular politics (or rather created it) in the later phase as in federal politics, Emergency, Hindutva, neoliberalism, etc.,. The ideological politics of Bollywood film was historicized by M. Madav Prasad in his seminal work *Ideology of the Hindi Film: A Historical Construction*. Building upon the Marxist theoretical premises, *Ideology of the Hindi Film* is contextualizing the production and consumption of Hindi cinema in the larger socio-economic fabric of Indian society. By using melodrama as a key concept to understand Indian cinema, Ravi Vasudevan attributed the melodramatic content to the Indian public psyche. Through the consumption of melodramatic genre, new sensibilities, largely centred around emotions,

³⁹ Anirudh Deshpande, *Class, Power and Consciousness in Indian Cinema and Television*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2009. p.3.

⁴⁰ Sumita S Chakravathy, *National Identity in Indian Popular Cinema 1947-1987*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998.

have been building up in the political and economic life of which the eventual beneficiaries are right-wing politics and the neoliberal market.⁴¹ Anirudh Deshpande, on the other hand, emphasis on the historiographical possibilities of cinema, the need to consider historiophoty, and the deployment of Hindi films as a cultural force vindicating the bourgeois nation-state and masquerading class struggle.⁴² The detailed historical survey of pre-independent Indian cinema and the cinema's critical engagement with state power at different epoch are surveyed in the work of Ashish Rajadhyaksha.⁴³

The post-colonial appreciations have enriched the field of cinema that has been evident from the recent works. Priya Jaikumar evaluates how the British cinema was imperial and Indian cinema began to reflect the nascent form of a nation-state in the last decades of British colonialism in India.⁴⁴ Rather than a matter of art and aesthetics, films of two societies represent two sets of values, politics, and policies. Assuming family a miniature of the new Indian nation-state, Jyothika Virdhi argues that Hindi cinema can be the potential representative of social history and cultural politics. Through cinematic imagination, she conceptualizes gender and family relations in the context of nation-building in post-colonial India.⁴⁵ Receiving cues from the colonial historiography, 'medieval' is all time problematic category in popular history. The cinema narratives are conducive to the construction of 'medieval' stereotypes and the othering of Muslims in the popular nationalist imagination. Analyzing the 40 years of cinematic representations of Hindi

⁴¹ Ravi Vasudevan, *The Melodramatic Public: Film Form and Spectatorship in Indian Cinema*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2010.

⁴² Anirudh Deshpande, *Class, Power and Consciousness in Indian Cinema and Television*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2009. pp. 116-122.

⁴³ Ashish Rajadhyaksha, *Indian Cinema in the Time of Celluloid: From Bollywood to the Emergency*, Tulika Books, New Delhi, 2009.

⁴⁴ Priya Jayakumar, *Cinema at the End of Empire: A Politics of Transition in Britain and India*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 2006.

⁴⁵ Jyothika Virdi, *The Cinematic Imagination: Indian Popular Films as Social History*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2008.

films, Urvi Mukhopadhyay deconstructs the ‘medieval’ in Hindi film, which can be reckoned with a seminal academic work on how a comprehensive ideological world of history is traced out from cinematic representation.⁴⁶

Equating Hindi cinema with the national cinema is problematic for the federal imaginations are rich in the Indian cinema republic. The cinema in non-Hindi states is different as they have had a distinct history of social formation and a unique way of doing politics. The cine star turned politician in South India, for instance. This unique political phenomenon has been scholarly addressed by M.S.S Pandian⁴⁷ and M. Madhav Prasad.⁴⁸ It explains how the lacuna of political promise, which emerged in the post-colonial Indian society was occupied by the film stars who build up the image of political solution through the cinema narrative. These works throw light on the dynamics of democracy in the post-colonial political framework. The embodiment of ideology in the screen is transcribed to actual political praxis which is pretty unique in democratic experiments. The historiographical propensities of cinema and the emergence of a cinema civil society and the public sphere in South India have been surveyed by S. Theodore Bhaskar.⁴⁹ It also attracts the attention of the readers to the problems of systematic coding and insufficient repositories for cinema and materials associated with it.

For Malayalam cinema, even the diversification of film review had been limited in scope and scattered across the various forms of print materials such as newspapers, periodicals, cine magazines, etc. However, the historical

⁴⁶ Urvi Mukhopadhyay, *The ‘Medieval’ in Film: Representing a Contested Time on Indian Screen (1920s-1960s)*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2013.

⁴⁷ M S S Pandian, *The Image Trap: M G Ramachandran in Film and Politics*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1992.

⁴⁸ Madhava Prasad, *Cine- Politics: Film Stars and Political Existence in South India*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2014.

⁴⁹ S Theodore Baskaran, *History Through the Lens: Perspectives on South Indian Cinema*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2009.

facts can be distilled from these writings and some of the cine writers approach the material in the pretext of socio-cultural history.⁵⁰ However, the scope of history is circumscribed as an analytical tool in these writings, which crossover the intricate layers of cinema-history nexus. The written history of Malayalam cinema shows more justice to the industrial and aesthetic development of it or limited itself to the paradigm of history of cinema, negating other possible existence of cinema and history.⁵¹ The early phase of Malayalam cinema has been examined in connection with the history of modernity.⁵² It explores the nature and content of the public sphere that emerged out of the cinema and the ideological clout it made over 'modernization of life in Kerala'. P. S. Radhakrishnan enquires the aspects of nationalism represented in Malayalam cinema.⁵³ The film studies offer more insights into the gender narratives in Malayalam cinema that unveils the historical structure of society.⁵⁴ The use of cinema as a source of historical inquiry and a form of historical representation is yet to be researched and written in the context of Malayalam cinema and Kerala history.

⁵⁰ T K Ramachandran, Chintha Ravi, C S Venkiteswaran, G P Ramachandran, and K Gopinathan are prominent among them.

⁵¹ Chellangattu Gopalakrishnan, *Malayala Cinema: Charithram Vijitram*, Chintha Publication, Tiruvanthapuram,2013. Chellangattu Gopalakrishnan, *Chalachitra Vyavasayam Keralathil*, Chintha Publications, Tiruvanthapuram,2013. Vijayakrishnan. *Malayala Cinemayude Katha*, Poornna Publications, Kozhikodu,2017. M Jayaraj, *Malayala Cinema Pinnitta Vazhikal*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu,2018.

⁵² Bindu M Menon, *Re- Framing Vision: Malayalam Cinema and The Invention of Modern Life in Kerala*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2014. P K Rajasekharan, *Cinema Sandarbhangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2019.

⁵³ P S Radhakrishnan, *Samskara Desheeyathayude Chalachitra Padangal*, Chintha Publications, Tiruvanthapuram,2016.

⁵⁴ Meena T Pillai, (ed.), *Women in Malayalam Cinema: Naturalising Gender Hierarchies*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad,2010. Jenny Rowena, *Reading Laughter: Popular Malayalam Comedy Films of the Late 80s and Ealy 90s*, Unpublished Thesis, Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad, 2002.

Objectives

The thesis is intended to examine the historiographical potential of cinema and to develop a theoretical and methodological framework for using popular cinema as a source of historical studies. The thesis also attempts to analyse the socio-cultural history of Kerala in the 1970s and 1980s by deciphering the Malayalam Cinema narratives of the period. How cinema functions as a catalyst in the process of naturalization of social categories have been another objective that the present thesis tries to accomplish. The scope of the thesis is also extended to the historicization of the changing cine sensibilities of the time.

Sources

The present study is based on the analysis of popular Malayalam movies of the 1970s and 1980s. The criteria of source selection, that is the movies, are purely concentrated on the chronological position rather than any old-fashioned demarcations such as art movies, middle movies, or commercial movies. Such a selection is owed to the theoretical formulation which bypasses the gradation of cultural artifacts as high and low. Irrespective of its 'cultural' currency, each cultural object of a given period carries traces of social life that existed during the period. Therefore, Malayalam cinema is considered a comprehensive set of source material to understand the broader socio-cultural patterns of Kerala society in the 1970s and 1980s. Along with the moving images, the literature on Malayalam cinema has also been instrumental in the writing of this thesis.

Methodology

Since the primary source material has been visual images, this thesis employs the methodological apparatus of image criticism to trace out the elements of the past from the moving images. Moving images are more

complex than the text in the matters of its constitutive elements. The cinema images cannot be confined to ‘textual’ properties alone. The production and dissemination of moving images are intervened by economic and political structures. Therefore, the analysis of moving images necessitates deliberation over the ‘non-text’ elements embedded in the image. It goes beyond the methodological terrain of textual criticism and brings about image criticism as the analytical framework for making sense of the moving images. The thesis proposes *deframing* as the methodological device for the analysis of moving images that facilitates the historicization of both content and context of the image. By image, nor does it mean the single unit of an image. While the single frame elaborates the physical space, the constellation of images in motion creates a textual/image effect that can otherwise be called the narrative. The thesis utilizes the potential of the image in both manners. Single image frames are referential points to the material culture of the time whereas the images in motion that create the narrative imply the ideological cohort in the social space.

It calls upon a referential system. The direct referential system of moving images is experimental. For video reference, MLA 8th edition is followed in the thesis. Available YouTube links have been given for easy and direct cross-check of the sources. However, the link may be deleted at some time. Such a problem is hardly related to moving images and cannot be proposed as a justification to abandoning the use of moving images as source material for history. Damage of source material has been applied to all varieties of historical source materials. Unlike the other sources, the direct examination of moving image sources is possible through the links if the thesis or text are available in soft copy format. The point of time in the narrative time of the movies is used as the referential mark for single frames and dialogue-based shreds of evidence. The entire plot of a movie has also been used to register historical trends. Such a referential system is indebted to

the page number system employed for making textual references. Nevertheless, the use of moving images as the direct referential point in historical knowledge has to be evolved through rigorous historiographical practices.

Chapterization

The thesis consists of five chapters with a general introduction and conclusion. The first chapter is entitled *The Past in Frames*. It explores the possible engagement that cinema can put into practice with the past. The potentiality of moving images to use as a source of historical studies is also investigated and some preliminary observations have been delineated on the theoretical and methodological frameworks upon which the instrumentality of moving images as source material of the past can be discerned. The second chapter attempts to do a general survey of the formative decades of Malayalam cinema. The subtle interactions that happened between social landscape and cinematic images have been surveyed in this chapter. It has been more concerned with the history of Malayalam cinema with special reference to the industrial and aesthetic changes until the 1970s. The third chapter titled *Frames of Gender* inquires the gender representations in Malayalam cinema. These representations dialectically correlate with the social relations of the time. Social structures, ideologies, and subjectivities related to the gender paradigm are discussed in the purview of this chapter. The representational changes in marriage, romance, domesticity is explained. The chapter problematizes the images of masculinity and femineity and the other notions associated with them. Stardom is yet another area of focus to imbibe the microelements of the ‘en-gendering’ process that occurred during the period under discussion. The fourth chapter attempts to discern the intense alliance cinematic images maintain within the hegemonic power structure. These visual images manifest the dominant image of what constitutes a

nation. The counter-narrative is mis/non-represented in the politics of visibility. The chapter examines the cinematic images as a site of struggle for hegemony over national consciousness. The survey of cinema narratives in this time shows the changing texture of political and economic ideologies, the search for alternative systems, and the response to the internal crisis of the existing political economy. The final chapter explains the modernity discourses in the moving images. The physical and narrative spatial practices revealed through the visual images are examined to understand the larger canvas of social relations. Cinema as an industry went through radical changes in its physical narrative spaces. Such changes have been recorded in this chapter. How different subjectivities were being negotiated and positioned in the cinematic frames has been emphatically explained in this chapter.

CHAPTER 1

THE PAST IN FRAMES

History decays into images, not into stories.¹

Introduction

The present chapter attempts to explore the epistemological nexus between the knowledge of the past and the moving images. An uncharted territory of exploration in the context of Kerala history, employing moving images as a source to making sense of the past is yet to be evolved in epistemological and methodological terrains. Consequently, the argument presented in the chapter can be reckoned with some preliminary itinerary for the extraction of the elements of bygone days from the visual artifacts. The sense of the past is articulated in myriad ways relied on the nature of social formation. The historical consciousness is preserved and transmitted to the next generation through the representative edifices of culture. The first part has been a general survey of the nature of historical consciousness and its relation with the representational regimes of the past. It is envisaged as a summary of historiographical trends and has addressed the issues of sources and the need for representing critical and inclusive history.

The subsequent portion analyses the complex interactions between academic history and moving images. The connection of the past with the moving images is neither unidimensional nor negligible. Ever since its inception, cinema had interacted with the dispositions of the time and the society where it is consumed and became an ally of hegemonic ideology. Therefore, the potentiality it presented before the seekers of past knowledge is

¹ Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, Trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2002.p. 476.

immensely rich. The moving images are used as a system of historical representation and a source of historical writing. It also facilitates to mapping out historical knowledge on the development of art and industry alike. The present chapter is exploring the possibilities of using moving images as source material for the analysis of contemporary Kerala history.

Such an examination invites a theoretical and methodological framework which this thesis proposes with the nomenclature of *deframing*. The central theoretical models are taken from Fredric Jameson's formulation of 'narrative as a symbolic act'. The theoretical insights from Guy Debord's articulations on spectacle are also put in place to contextualize the nature and dynamics of images in the larger contours of social formation. The thesis proposes a four-dimensional (as in a frame) analysis of the cinematic frame which constitutes space, time, capital, and state to *deframe* the frame so that the social history of the epoch can register.

1. Historical Consciousness and Representations of History

The consciousness of the past which is formulated through the actual everyday life has been registered through disparate modes of representations. In quiet distinct manners, each society possesses, preserves, and transmits historical knowledge relied upon the requirements of the society in present and the structures of discourse following the dispositions of historical conjuncture where the given society is located. Storytelling, ballads, folk arts, and other oral and creative methods were/are instrumental in imparting the knowledge of the shared past by which the subjectivity of the individual and solidarity of the community has been firmly established. The transition from hagiography to the evidence-based historical narration in a written form initiated the practice of modern historical writing. In these academic endeavors, more fundamental questions such as what happened in the past, why it happened, what are the likely impacts it generated, and so on had been

raised and explored through various means of historical research and presented in written form with generalizations and ‘lessons from history’. Although the sense of past exists in myriad formats, what is written began to be purported more authenticity in the due course of time as the writing had been almost exclusively associated with the authority (like inscriptions) and the process of writing was exhaustive, time-consuming, and demanded special expertise.² The reliability and authenticity of written documents are in some way or other endorsed by power. Thus, the documents established hegemony over other forms of historical consciousness, particularly in societies where the letters dominate.

The document-oriented writing of history became institutionalized with methodological and epistemological frameworks that revolutionized – Berlin revolution as it is known- and standardized the practice of historical writing and such a production of history claimed the status of ‘the authentic’ form of knowledge of the past. Evidently, the modern form of historical knowledge and its genealogy can be traced back to the European encounter with modernity. The Renaissance exploration and the celebration of ancient European civilization inquired more vividly in the backdrop of Enlightenment rationality by upholding the element of reason in the search for identity in the past. The self-seeking agenda of Enlightenment by employing human reason necessitates an epistemological framework with conceptual categories, theoretical formulations, and methodological subtlety through empiricism which by then became the generally acceptable modality of knowledge production. This process of exploring the lineage has not been a mere intellectual extravaganza but could be expanded to the self-determination of the newly emerging political body- nation state-seeking ideological

² The lack of any copying technology and the predominant state of illiteracy in society (pre-literate society) facilitated the emergence of a peculiar writing class in many societies. They were known as scribes. See. Steven Roger Fischer, *History of Writing*, Reaktion Books, London, 2003.

vindication of its existence over the common past and common culture.³ Interestingly, in this effort, the repositories of historical knowledge embedded in documents grew up and based on which 'archive positivism' received its currency as the objective methodology of writing history. Sources become fetish, attributed with the power of representing 'what really happened' in a naïve and credulous manner.⁴ The modern historical narration in its inception, therefore, reflected more of an official and political interpretation of 'what really happened'.

However, as democracy enlarged with the inclusion of different social sections into the category of 'people', the multi-layered aspects of social life began to be subsumed in historical writing and diversified the theoretical and methodological premises in accord. To contextualize the political movements, history was instrumental, the 'laws' of the past were invented through the lessons of history, and new blueprints for an ideal society were forged. The materialist interpretation of history precipitated the democratization of historical writing and initiated the inquiry into social and economic relations in the past. On the other hand, the attempt to register 'total history' further expanded the scope of historical research into fields such as environment, mentalities, etc., that was hitherto remained non-historicized. The 'cultural turn' opens up new vistas of the past or the way of making sense of it and tries to turn the tide of historiography by looking at the past from the perspective from below and marginalized people in the distribution of power that revolutionized the academic search for historical knowledge. New histories such as gender history, environmental history, microhistory, local history, history of everyday life, history of emotions, history of health and medicine, history of the prison, history of images, etc., diversify the practice of

³ Romila Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 4-5.

⁴ Mary Fulbrook, *Historical Theory*, Routledge, New Delhi, 2008, p. 3.

historical writing and make it as a site of struggle. All the historiographical varieties are the responses to the contemporary phenomena of society by which Croce's dictum 'all histories are contemporary' got validated. When the disciplinary boundaries get blurred, history moves closer to life sciences, cognitive and neuroscience, etc., and transforms the very nature of inquiry of the past. (DNA is considered as a document). The democratization of historical knowledge can be achieved only through the intrusion of more people to its framework, source diversification, and methodological pluralism nevertheless such 'freedom'-it is argued- might weaken the objectivity, causation, and generalization upon which the 'good histories' raised in the realm of historiography. It has not been the negation of the possibility of somewhat an objective history, but to problematize the linkages that the power is having with the enterprises of historical writing. Therefore, it has been in this context, the critical history becomes a struggle against the power structure by which history itself is formulated and regulated and a negation of the canonization of historical knowledge.⁵

'The textual' base of modern knowledge could create a hierarchy of knowledge systems. All non-textual forms were treated as less authentic or sometimes illogical. Constituting an integral part of the modern knowledge system, history has not been an exemption from the textual clout in the process of knowledge production and the representations of the knowledge produced. As discussed elsewhere, the nexus of historical scholarship with state power, particularly in the early times of its existence as a modern system of knowledge has to be deemed while analyzing the potential of historical knowledge to imagine a new society. Modern historiography is that much relied on 'authentic' source materials on its mission to recreate the 'objective' knowledge on the past. No source, no history. Therefore, the diversification

⁵ Keith Jenkins, Sue Morgan and Alan Munslow, (ed.), *Manifestos for History*, Routledge, London, 2007, p. 90.

of sources would enrich the historical knowledge. However, a latent hierarchy of sources is existing among the practitioners of the discipline of history. Written sources are received as more authentic and reliable. Taking cues from the post-structuralist epistemology, it has been firmly established that the text contains power structure in its form and content. When analyzing the textual sources, historians have to be vigilant of the power dynamics fixed in the sources. In the process of creation, dissemination, and preservation, textual sources are greatly indebted to the existing institutionalized power structure. The history blinded towards the inherent power in written sources will eventually become the voices of the power. Seemingly, the less 'authentic' nature of non-written sources is connected to the insufficient element of state in the process of production, consumption, and preservation of such sources. Marc Ferro rightly points out that the hierarchy of sources reflects the hierarchy of society.⁶ It owes to the elitist and hegemonic nature of knowledge production in the past. The subversion of the hierarchy of sources, therefore, becomes inevitable for an alternative historical scholarship. Image as source material of the past has contained that potentiality.

Nor were the images a part of the language system of the 20th century. 'The sacredness' of the text had continued even in the first half of the century. Images, on the other hand, were not attributed with identity and moving images had been considered as 'the spectacle for slaves'. The lack of identity alleged over the moving images is related to the hegemonic perspective on cinema. This perspective is shaped by the 'the popular' content cinema upholds both in industrial and narrative terrains. Though the 'spectacle for slaves' concept had been relinquished in the due course of time and intellectuals and elites had become the spectator of cinema, it was not

⁶ Marc Ferro, *Cinema and History*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1988. p.25.

construed as something worthy to be taken for serious contemplation. However, cinema continued as the most popular form of entertainment, not merely because of its entertainment value but of the relational matrix the cine narrative could create with the everyday life of its spectators. And this relationship between cinema and society makes it an ideological tool and a site of the politics of visibility and invisibility in the cinematic narratives on society and dominant everyday narratives in the society. Cinema 'helps to see the nonvisible by means of the visible'.⁷ It expedites cinema to be a counter analysis of society.

Nevertheless, this potential of cinema can be extended to an alternative imagination of the past. The cinema can unfurl wider representational possibilities of the past owing to the fictional nature of its narrative structure. It can shed light on more microelements of social life, many of which may lose in the textual description since text has its own limits as the images have. Cinema narratives with historical themes may provide the feel of the past and multiple narratives can be possible through the narrative strategies of cinema mode. The change in the form of historical representation is itself radical for such representation utilizes different narrative mechanisms which may open up new opportunities for historical representations. That is, the moving images require more subtle detailing than textual narratives to 'represent' the past. These characteristics are media-related. The long textual narrative can be 'imagised' within a single scene. It is also worthy to be pointed that images may not easily represent some of the textual narratives. Images cannot be assumed as precisely as the text for the constitution of a moving image is more complicated and compromised than the construction of a sentence. However, the alternative form of representation of the knowledge on the past implies the alternative analyses of the present society. The counter analytical

⁷ Ibid, p.30.

potential of moving images can be summarized as follows; (a) it undermines the hierarchical, structure of historical sources, (b) it helps to see the nonvisible through the means of the visible, (c) it facilitates an alternative representational form of historical knowledge.

2. History and Cinema: A Critical Appraisal

By subsuming the 'people content' in the endeavour to comprehend the intricacies of life in the past, moving images nurture the process of historical discernment and raise the historiographical question of the critical engagement of history and cinema. As a popular cultural artifact of modernity, the cinematic influence in the making/understanding of the past unfolds the subtle exchanges of 'historical sense' (sense of the past and sense of the contemporary- the historical setting in which the movie is located) through a cultural product. Cinema does not 'reflect' the reality as such, but represents the reality ideologically and cinematically through the language of visuals and the related logic of the narrative. Walter Benjamin perceives that the modern period as an epoch of images where the subjectivity and notions of space-time are mediated and negotiated.⁸ Thus, the historical engagement of cinema is a history of modernity in itself and initiates its use in the understanding of modernity. In the process of the representation of realities in the past, the moving images have distinct existence. It can be acted as a source of history,⁹ a history of an art form,¹⁰ another way of imaging the

⁸ Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Illuminations*, Hannah Arendt, (ed.), trans. Harry Zohn, Schockenbooks, New York, 2007, pp. 229-235.

⁹ See. Anirudh Deshpande, *Class, Power and Consciousness in Indian Cinema and Television*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2009. John E O'Connor, *Image as Artifact: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television*, Robert E Krieger Publishing Co., inc., Florida, 1990.

¹⁰ John E O'Connor, *Image as Artifact: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television*, Robert E Krieger Publishing Co., inc., Florida, 1990.

past¹¹, and a pedagogical instrument for making sense of the past.¹² Potentially, this nexus can be distilled as the history of cinema (the industrial and aesthetic changes), history in cinema (the narrative representations of cinema), and history as a source (as the primary source in the case of actual footage and as the hybrid source for socio-cultural history). Analyzing the authenticity of the past in movies, Natalie Zemon Davis further emphasizes the fact that the credibility and historicity of movies are linked to the values and habits of a period.¹³ The past is, therefore, embedded in cinema in diverse forms and the historicity of cinema makes it worthy to be analyzed in the search of modern social realities. It has been more attached to the new experience of reality constructed by modernity and provides meaning to its existence.

Cinema has been a collective, capital intensive, and market-oriented aesthetic production, governed and consolidated through various mechanisms (schema) of power. The trajectory of cinema's growth as an industry and an art form, therefore, subtly interwoven with the larger socio-economic structure of the society in which the cinema is produced and consumed. A more direct and traditional way of linking history with cinema is registering the technological and aesthetical changes chronologically and contextualize the latter within the parameters of the history of a given society. That is rather an institutional history of cinema, emphasizing not only the 'internal'

¹¹ Robert A. Rosenstone. *History on Film/ Film on History*, 2nd edition, Routledge, New York, 2011.

¹² Paul Smith, (ed.), *The Historian and Film*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976. K R M. Short, (ed.), *Feature Films as History*, Routledge, Oxon, 2014. S Theodore Baskaran, *History Through the Lens: Perspectives on South Indian Cinema*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2009. R. Schwartz, 'Film and History', *The Sage Handbook of Film Studies*, James Donald and Michael Renov, (ed.), Sage, London, 2008.

¹³ Natalie Zemon Davis, ' " Any Resemblance to Persons Living or Dead": Film and The Challenging of Authenticity" ', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, vol.8, no 3, 1988, pp. 273-279.

developments of cinema but external factors like the proliferation of industrial networks, censorship regimes (cinema production and its distribution networks, exhibition centers, and like), and auxiliary literature like cinema magazines, songbooks, notices, posters, etc. However, such historical inquiry confines itself into the chronological descriptions of an art form and related institutions in the wider canvas of historical changes in society. The scope of such literature is focusing on the ‘eventful’ conjunctures in linear narrations.

Historical films (history in cinema), on the other hand, centers around cinema narrative rather than the institutional advancement in the analysis of the history of cinema. The definition of what makes a film 'historical' has been a point of debate and no consensus has been formulated so far. The definition is imperative for the object of analysis carries certain features of being 'historical', upon which the present thesis is centered. Generally, historical films are the representation of a documentable past.¹⁴ The central narrative ought to be events or persons in the past.¹⁵ However, the scope of the historical film is widened in the definition given by Marnie Hughese-Warrington. He thinks that “what makes a film historical, [.....] is its location in a timebound network of discussions- more or less explicit-on what history is and what it is for. On this definition, any film may be historical because it is viewed offering indexical markers-on-screen phenomena seen as capturing or connected with past phenomena-or because it suggests something about how and why histories are made”.¹⁶ Considering the historical trajectories of the representation of the past, historical film initiates a new

¹⁴ Robert A. Rosenstone, *History on Film/ Film on History*, 2nd edition, Routledge, New York, 2011, p. 2.

¹⁵ Biopic, Costume drama, heritage films are the major sub-genres of the historical film based on the nature and emphasis of the content. See. R. Schwartz, ‘Film and History’, *The Sage Handbook of Film Studies*, James Donald and Michael Renov, (ed.), Sage, London, 2008, p. 208.

¹⁶ Marnie Hughese-Warrington, *History Goes to the Movies: Studying History on Films*, Routledge, Oxon, 2007, p. 191.

path which Hayden White christened as *Historiophoty*. While ‘historiography is the representation of history in verbal images and written discourses’, *Historiophoty* has been novel since it is ‘the representation of history and our thought about it in visual images and filmic discourse’.¹⁷ He attributes autonomous status for historical films by arguing that the visual evidence is but a supplement of historical writing – ‘a discourse in its own right’. Such an independent character of these films urges its own grammar, lexicon, and syntax.¹⁸ The sense of the past in modern times percolates to people mainly through representations like history films that seek the attention of professional historians onto the historical representation of the past. Related to postmodern theoretical hues, looking at history as a system of representation rather than reconstruction, Rosenstone concentrated on historical films as a representational regime/unit of the past. The rules of written history cannot be applied to visual history.¹⁹ The nature, methods, and meaning of the historical world created by the historical films have been crucial areas to be problematized.²⁰ However, the 'autonomous' status of historical films of the written history as a representation system of the past is contradicting the methodological framework of Rosenstone. “The strategy for analyzing each work consists of three parts. First, the genesis – who got the idea for a film, what were its sources, how did various producers – writers – directors bring it to the screen, and what were his/her/their intentions. Second, a synopsis, one that highlights the characters and events, and also points to the major deviations from the historical record, Third, the judgment (s) –why should we care about the film, what does it contain that makes us

¹⁷ Hayden White, ‘Historiography and Historiophoty’, *The American Historical Review*, vol.93, no 5, December 1988, p.1193.

¹⁸ Ibid. p.1193.

¹⁹ Robert A Rosenstone, *History on Film/ Film on History*, 2nd edition, Routledge, New York, 2011, p.182.

²⁰ Robert A. Rosenstone, (ed.), *Revisioning History: Film and The Construction of a New Past*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1995, p. 4.

think seriously about the past, and how might it be changed to make it more valuable as historical work?”²¹

Though it is not complimentary, but a supplement to the historiography, the examination of deviations from the historical record proves that the validation of *historiophoty* should be done by the historiography. The written history/documents become the point of authenticity and vindication. *Historiophoty* offers a change in the medium of the representation of the past and its characteristics are attributed to the medium itself. In the complex nexus between the past and cinema visuals, *historiophoty* provides a new platform for unfolding the narrative on the past. Rather than history, as it is proposed by White and Rosenstone, historical films are largely concerned with the representation of history and the discursive practices embedded in it which make them a record of ‘the present’. Since history films emotionalize and personalize the past, the ‘message’ is rather determined by the medium. If *historiophoty* in Hayden White's sense of the term – is a different medium of the already written message, the distinctiveness of visual representation of the past is more media-related than historical. The media-related characteristics would turn the past more popular in which the real peril is rooted; the danger of distortion, manipulation, and romanticization of the past. Though the same can be applied to textual history, the wider acceptance of visual history makes it a matter of great concern. Without a rigorous theoretical and methodological framework, the *historiophotical* analysis would end up in a sort of genre studies. The scope is limited in industries like Malayalam

²¹ Op. cit. p. 30.

cinema that produce only a handful of historical films of which many are costume dramas.²²

Exploring the likely nexus between the past and the cinema, the potential of cinema to become a source of history reinforces the paradigm further. The pertinent question is whether the feature films can be a source of the past and if so, how it should be dealt with. The earlier attempts in this regard had largely been centered on real footage, propaganda films, and documentaries. The propaganda value of cinema was exploited by the non-Hollywood industries like Soviet cinema and German cinema²³ which made them a part of political history analysis. Such propaganda movies reflect the ideological undercurrents of the stakeholders and shed light on the political culture and cultural politics of the society that is represented or addressed in those movies. However, in the absence of wider theoretical and methodological formula, the proposed use of cinema as a source of history would be confined to a footnote in the written history especially when the real footages being employed for the substantiation of the narrative.

However, there were attempts to offer methodological clarity between the likely exchanges of cinema and society. Marc Ferro can be considered as one of the pioneer theoreticians in this regard. Marc Ferro's methodological approach is based on the ideological analysis of cinema to derive social meaning. Within the premises of ideological analysis, he contextualizes the film in the society where it is produced. The film is rather perceived as an image object.²⁴ It goes beyond the semiological analysis and locates 'the text' in the socio-historical context. What is unraveled through visual narratives

²² In the 1960s, there were some movies close to costume drama that dealt with historical events or persons. Udaya studio has immensely contributed to the widening of this genre.

²³ Marc Ferro, 'Film as an Agent, Product and Source of History', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.18, no 3, July 1983, p. 357.

²⁴ Mare Ferro, *Cinema and History*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit,1988.p.29.

has been the latent social relation which makes the narrative possible. He articulates, “Film is not considered from a semiological viewpoint here. Nor is it seen in terms of cinema history or aesthetics. The film is observed not as a work of art, but as a product, an image-object whose meanings are not solely cinematographic. The film is valuable not only because of what it reveals but also because of the sociohistorical approach that it justifies. Thus, the analyses will not necessarily concern the totality of work. They may be based on extracts; they may look for “series” or create ensembles. Nor will they be limited to the film itself. They will integrate the film into the world that surrounds it and with which it necessarily communicates”.²⁵

Here, the image is not outside the social narrative. It constitutes and is constituted by the social forces at play. The ideological analysis of these cinema narratives would divulge the ideological networks in social life. The analysis of the bygone day movies, therefore, is potential enough to provide insights on the ideological constitution of the society within the frames of the narrative. In such an ideological analysis, Ferro suggests a methodological framework not only to analyze the film text but also to understand the ‘extra filmic’ (its author, production, public, reviews, and the state) to make sense of the narrative and reality that it represents.²⁶ However, the methodological approach that Ferro postulates do not cross over the limitations of hermeneutics. There are chances to be fallen into the traps of sociological analysis of the film. Though Ferro’s hypothesis enables us to view cinema in the context of society and vice versa, it fails to contextualize the larger historical structures to which the micro-narratives of beliefs, intentions, etc., are contesting and finding their more or less autonomous space. It is prudent to discern cinema as space where traces of history can be found rather than considering cinema as History. It has been the fragments of the past by which

²⁵ Ibid,pp.29-30.

²⁶ Ibid,p30.

historians attempt to represent the incomplete picture of what happened in the past. These hypothesis and postulate are arguing that cinema is history in itself and explores the emotional aspects of the knowledge on the past which is limited in scope in textual representations. It also emphasizes the agency of humans in the making of history and the role of non-event elements in making sense of the past.

The utilization of a wide range of feature films would enhance the potentiality of the film in the discourses of history. The film provides a distinct type of source material to the reconstruction of the past. Rosenstone writes: “Filmmakers do routinely utilize, even create, new sorts of evidence that might call “cinematic” data, visual and aural “facts” that the written word would find impossible to reproduce”.²⁷ The 'cinematic data/fact' ensures multiple explorations of the past. Even a single frame shot outdoor can produce knowledge on geography, topography, designs, infrastructures, and the way things are arranged in the time as the image has been shot. Pierre Sorlin emphasizes this point of cinematic facts that could possibly register – sometimes unintentionally – the physical and geographical features of a conjuncture.²⁸ The deliberately arranged frames can be delivered even more. The frames are set to resemble the lifestyle of the character, the people they meet, the things they either possess or connect with, the spaces they spend much of their time, etc. Such scenes/frames have been carrying out the weight to serve the ideological purpose of defining subjectivity²⁹ and fixing the normative social relations intact. While the frames act as a mirror in Lacanian sense to the immediate spectator, it is a window/frame for the historian.

²⁷ Robert A. Rosenstone, (ed.), *Revisioning History: Film and The Construction of a New Past*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1995, p. 6.

²⁸ Quoted in Anirudh Deshpande, *Class, Power and Consciousness in Indian Cinema and Television*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2009, p. 63.

²⁹ For instance, how different social classes look like, their lifestyle – manners, the material circumstance where they are lived in, and so on.

Intentionally or not, a frame in the movie potentially defines the space and spatial practices as they do in the portrait of urban-rural areas, for instance. The single cinematic fact/data also offers ethnographic details such as the dress, customs, rituals fashion, style, appearance, etc.³⁰ All sets of gadgets, automobiles and other technological devices and commodities of consumption vouchsafes historian a glimpse over the material culture of the time and more specifically the material culture of different social classes which evidently replicate the distribution of social production in the society. Nor does it intend that the distribution of things – be that people, commodities, spaces – are representing the reality of the times as such; rather fantasy (unreal) elements within the frame (such as identification of characters' lifestyle) set the stage to inculcate the need for 'more' in comparison with the existing 'real' life.

In this context, the cinema reels unfold the tone and tenure of everyday life. Cinema becomes a part of everyday life in the modern world and functions as a potential agent in the making of it. The cinema narrative revolves around ordinary life (not generally), its routines, the spaces like home, workplace, etc., and more personalized and privatized issues of life, and circulates 'historical forms of individuality'.³¹ The discrepancies of 'modes of life' and the forms of daily behavior and experiences (everyday life) are not represented so vividly other than the cinematic frames which subsume it to the trustful ally for the history of everyday life as a more 'mundane' source.³² The fictional collective may disclose fictional structures such as state and market which are fundamental to the 'eventful' histories.

³⁰ R. Schwartz, 'Film and History', *The Sage Handbook of Film Studies*, James Donald and Michael Renov, (ed.), Sage, London, 2008, p. 202.

³¹ Alf Ludtke, (ed.), *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, Trans. William Templer, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1995, p. x

³² Ibid, p. 25

Cinema may narrate the story of personal life or one event. Yet it carries the ways of social life in general. Cinema frames provide experiential past in dialectical forms; experience the past through narrative structure and how past works on life experience. It speaks the language of emotions and therefore bestows to the register of history of emotions of which the theoretical and methodological roots are yet to be established.³³ However, the emotional content of cinema would make it a potential source to register how society feels at a given conjuncture. Thus, the moving images are closely associated with new histories as a potential source along with the novel approaches to social and cultural history. It is closer to the historiographical explorations on contemporary history as well since the medium itself has only a history of around one century.

The cinematic source would be one of the possible ways out from the 'textual tyranny' of archival positivism and the power relations which constitute them. Since the filmic source is more popular due to the appeal to pre-literate, literate, and post-literate generations alike, the cinematic text is complex³⁴ and demands interdisciplinary insights to decipher. The people-centered endeavors to register the past are facing a shortage of data (in the traditional sense) and alleged of being lucid, vague, and 'irrational'.

3. Conceptual and Methodological Framework

Generally, the hazards of cinema-history nexus are drawn in the absence of theoretical and methodological ambiguity. Yet despite, the hitherto uncharted approach of historians towards cinematic data has been depended on the perception of the medium that they uphold. In *The Historian and Film*, one of the early works on cinema- history theme, Paul Smith draws

³³ For preliminary reading see, Jan Plamper, *History of Emotions: An Introduction*, Trans. Keith Tribe, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2015.

³⁴ For analysis of film text semiotically, see. Christian Metz, *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema*, Trans. Michal Taylor, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991.

five major reasons for historian's negation of cinematic data; a) the historians are snobbish about the material and consider it as trivial and ephemeral popular entertainment, b) academic conservatism, c) lack of time and mental endurance, d) availability of time, material, money, and facilities, e) validity of the material.³⁵ Many of these reasons for negation are pointless now. The insights from cultural studies³⁶ and interdisciplinary approaches have crossed over the cultural barrier of high and low art and the disciplinary boundaries created by modernity. Historical trends like history from below, peoples' history, and epistemological critiques of post-structuralism could shatter the positivist rigidity and academic conservatism on theory and methodology to a great extent. Time, money, availability can hardly be a hindrance in the era of the internet and multiple video streaming platforms like YouTube, Netflix, Amazon Prime, and video sharing groups in social media. However, no consensual methodological form has been evolved so far³⁷ though the deliberation and discussion have been evolving among the historians engaging cinematic data of the past. To acquire the know-how on cinema data, as in the case of the decipherment of ancient text or analysis of archeological remains, historians ought to have command over the visual language and the technological sophistication that produces the cinema lingua franca. It necessitates more skill and labor from those who are interested in the filmic data.

4. The Deframing

To deal with the moving images, John E. O'Connor proposes a three-tier methodological framework for historians. In the first part, historians are

³⁵ Paul Smith, (ed.), *The Historian and Film*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976, pp. 4-7.

³⁶ S Theodore Baskaran, *History Through the Lens: Perspectives on South Indian Cinema*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2009, p.1.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 12.

to be concerned with the content of the moving image- the dialogue, mise-en-scene, narrative structure, the ideological affinities, etc. Here, rather than examining the authenticity or accuracy of the images, the nature and value of the content get prime importance. Historians may ask, "Do the social and cultural concepts represented relate to other known aspects of the society and culture of the period? [...] Are there interpretative biases not necessarily explicit in structure, narration, dialogue, or the surface message of the production, but hidden in its visual language"?³⁸ The 'textual' part of the source is analyzed in the initial stage. The second is the production aspects. This section is more document-based. The purpose of production – commercial, art, propaganda, etc., is to be deciphered to contextualize the 'text'. Based on the intention of the producer, the structure of the content and the style of the narrative would be decided. The purpose can hardly be personal since the production of the film has been a collective venture subsuming the artistic and commercial interest. "The concept of auteur may have its place, but such an analysis is particularly vulnerable concerning large-scale commercial production".³⁹ Third, Reception; the reception of a film is inevitable to place it in a socio-cultural space. Though the reception patterns would be diversified on racial, gender, regional, class, caste, and other social categories, and it is, therefore, more subjective. O'Connor' argues that the insights of 'reception analysis' and reviews written over the movie could provide sufficient evidence to how a given movie was received. "A production which angers or bores on the audience has much relevance as a very popular one when the focus of the inquiry is social and cultural history".⁴⁰ Here, one must keep in mind that the cinema is interacting with

³⁸ John E. O'Connor, *Image as Artifact: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television*, Robert E Krieger Publishing Co.,inc., Florida, 1990, p.115.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p.116.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*,p.117.

the modern space and the eventual outcome of such an understanding would be the historicization of modernity itself.

Modernity is often perceived as an era of images that are circumscribed to mechanical reproduction, ensuring the amplified production of images, although the authenticity in its traditional sense of the term is compromised.⁴¹ The images in the modern period have been an indispensable part of the contemporary mode of production/mode of life and while claiming the status of art, it is at the core, a product of cultural industry, aiming at the penetration of capital in the consciousness by engaging with the time of leisure.⁴² Nor are these images naïve or direct. In the era of late capitalism, the images become spectacles, so does it turn the society into a society of the spectacles. Analyzing the content of modern life, Guy Debord implies the emergence of a specific form of social life mediated by images. He termed it as the society of the spectacle. Image is transformed into a spectacle in the late capitalist epoch and these spectacles mediate social relations. Therefore, modern society is the society of the spectacles.⁴³ It can also be characterized as the society of spectators since each spectacle creates a spectator in its own image. When the spectacle mediates the social relations, social life becomes nothing but a mere appearance. Debord delineates the trajectory of alienated subjectivity as being to having and having to appearing.⁴⁴ Each mode of production produces corresponding signs and symbols. While in the matter of capitalism, the image itself becomes a commodity and the commodity

⁴¹ Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Illuminations*, Hannah Arendt, (ed.), trans. Harry Zohn, Schockenbooks, New York, 2007, pp. 217-252.

⁴² See, Theodor W Adorno, *The Culture Industry*, Routledge Classic, New York, 2001. In the expedition of capitalism, all walks of life being commodified. Through the products of cultural industry, the capitalist dispositions molds popular consciousness as the system please it. See. Fredric Jameson, *Post Modernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 2012, p. 36.

⁴³ Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, Black and Red, Detroit, 1983. 1.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 11 and 17.

becomes an image. The emphasis given to image-dense commodity further alienates the producer from his/her product. The spectacle is not only refixing the commodity-society relationship but also transforms itself into a commodity in society. It is evident from Debord's analysis of celebrity status. Celebrities promote fashionable commodities through their fictional or physical lifestyles. The star image attached to a commodity function as the surplus image in the spectacle regime and promotes consumption thereof. Nor is it confined to that realm. In a spectacle society, the celebrity image is a spectacle in its very constitution. That is, the image-commodity relation is dialectical in the society of the spectacles. It is also worthy to be noted that there is a process of selection and omission in the spectacle regime. Debord writes, "That which appears is good, that which is good appears".⁴⁵

The selection of 'good' negates the right of the other images to be visible. The hegemonic gaze decides the aesthetics of the images to have appeared. Those images which are outside the ambit of hegemonic aesthetics are avoided as not presentable. The spectacle society is, therefore, hegemonic in its visibility. It problematizes the politics of visibility and invisibility. The spectacle around us is selective based on dominant sensibilities and mediate, naturalize, and hegemonizes social relations. The reality constructed through these spectacles distorted the reality it attempts to represent. The spectacle reality is exclusive since it presents only what is presentable or 'good' and negates the images which are distinct from the commonly accepted standards of a presentable image. Negating the visibility in an image-driven society is nothing but the negation of life per se. While the good appearance is the sole criterion to have appeared, the counter-appearance must be introduced by the undermining of hegemonic aesthetics. The hegemonic image-the spectacle-can only be challenged by the counter images of real life. Social relations

⁴⁵ Ibid,12.

mediated by images offer two potential processes; a) representation of social relations, b) production of social relations. Cinema as a compilation of spectacles, therefore, mediates the social relations which make it, even in fictitious and spectacle nature, and become a potential source of the time (Past or Present). It also creates, as Guy Debord argues, spectacle time; as the time of consumption of images in the narrow sense and as the image of consumption of time in the broader sense.⁴⁶ The logic of late capitalism has been more emphasizing the notion of space rather than time.⁴⁷ The spectacle more or less defines that space and delivers the experience of it. The imagery of machines gives way to the machines of images in the later life of modernity.⁴⁸ That is, the spectacle can decide the experience of space and time altogether. The spectacle always holds space within itself and the physical space where it is placed. In both these terrains, the spectacle acts as the medium to interact with 'a represented reality'.

In the image regime of modernity, the nexus between cinema and social relations are always dialectical. The cinematic spectacles are mediating social relations and are mediated by the same structures of social relations. The approach to making cinematic images readable, therefore, demands dialectical means by which the 'spectacle' can be placed in the larger matrix of social relations and distilled the variegated ways of social interactions that make the spectacle possible. Here lies the importance of an image criticism relied on a dialectical approach.⁴⁹ The fundamental of image criticism proposes here is the historicization of the narrative unfolds through the moving images, and it's the potentiality to historicize the 'concept and

⁴⁶ Ibid, 35.

⁴⁷ Fredric Jameson, *Post Modernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 2012.p.16.

⁴⁸ Perry Anderson, *The Origins of Modernity*, Verso, London,2002.p.88.

⁴⁹ In his theoretical approach of political unconscious, Jameson offers a dialectical approach for textual criticism.

categories to understand' the past by evoking the historicization of moving images as a category/source to make sense of the narrative as well as a space-time being represented in it. Frederic Jameson emphasis on the relevance of historicization of the text. In his paradigm of political unconscious, the concept of narrative (cultural artifacts in a broader sense) is proposed as a socially symbolic act. Frederic Jameson has liberated the hermeneutical practices of reading a text in literary and cultural analysis. The methodology of Jameson is emphasizing on the retrieval of the political unconscious embedded in the text or it is the historicization of the text itself. Each text is a site of struggle which represents the social relations and contradictions of the Real-world. The structure of these relations upon which the text is built has been the mode of production. The political unconscious methodology proposes the unveiling of the mode of production that is otherwise left unaddressed.

Unlike the post-structuralist perspective of considering history and social relations as text, Jameson would argue that history is not text but textual. "History is not a text, not a narrative, master or otherwise, but that, as an absent cause, it is inaccessible to us except in textual form and that our approach to it and to the Real itself necessarily passes through its prior textualization, its narrativization in the political unconscious".⁵⁰ The text, in this postulate, acts as a medium between the self/society and history. Through the dialectical approach Jameson suggests by the political unconscious, the medium itself – the text –becomes history. In the textual mediation of history, the most prominent forms are existing in arts and literature. Therefore, the reading of the text is the understanding of history and the process is political at the end since Jameson observes, "There is nothing that

⁵⁰ Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*, Routledge, New York, 2012.p.20. Absent cause is Althusser's terminology of History and Jameson uses the Real in the Lacanian sense of three stages of subjectivity.

is not social and historical – indeed, that everything in the last analysis “Political”.⁵¹

The textual forms or rather the culture itself is a problematic area in Jameson’s Paradigm, contrary to the classical Marxist doctrine of the base-superstructure model. Culture has not been reflective of economic conditions, rather it is a field of life with relative autonomy in the larger structure of mode of production. The cultural realm is more representational rather than the reflection of the economic base. Such representations through sign and symbols – ie, through text- is the medium in which history transmits. However, this process is no longer simple or naive due to the latent manner by which history is fixed in the representational text. Only through the reading of the political unconscious, the history becomes evident, Jameson argues. Historicization of the text is also textualization of history. The historicized text produces the textual history. Therefore, “in any kind of work in the cultural study, the larger issue is that of representation of History itself”.⁵² Jameson proposes the representational nature of cultural texts and textual forms of history alike.

To historicize the text, he draws three semantic horizons. “[...]first, of political history, in the narrow sense of punctual event and a chronicle like a sequence of happening in time; then of society, in the now already less diachronic and time-bound sense of a constitutive tension and struggle between social classes; and, ultimately, of history now conceived in its vastest sense of the sequence of modes of production and the succession and destiny of the various human social formations, from prehistoric life to whatever far future history has in store for us”.⁵³ In the tripartite system of textual analysis,

⁵¹ Ibid,p 15.

⁵² Ibid,p 13.

⁵³ Ibid, p 60.

Jameson presents an inductive method, starting from the immediate, present cause to the absent cause of the text. The first stage represents an eventful and linear history. It is the immediate historical context in which the text is generated and assemblage the text-context relation through the sign and symbols presented in the text. It is the more visible and direct contextualization/historicization of the text. The individual texts are considered for analysis at this level, and it is perceived as the symbolic act.⁵⁴ Each cultural text represents its historical time symbolically. The symbolic act of representing the time is also contributed to the making of real social relations/history upon which the text became possible. That is, the political history analysis often confines to the realm of space and time-bound and leaves the internal contradictions of the historical conjuncture which is disguised by the symbolic act of textual narrative. This crisis indicates the inevitability of a deeper historicization of the text.

In the second stage, the emphasis is no longer on an individual text or work, but on the collection of texts. Jameson suggests the analysis of ideologeme which he defines as “the smallest intelligible unit of the essentially antagonistic collective discourses of social class”.⁵⁵ It is the space where ideology works. The naturalization of hierarchy in social relations has been taking place through the hegemonic leniency of the narrative. Text, here, mediates the antagonistic interests of emerging social classes and the struggle for hegemony over social narrative. Such an ideological analysis is socio-historical analysis in itself. It is the space where the possibility of an ‘integral state’ – as in Gramscian notion- is sought. The ideological realm of the text-which constitutes the text per se- has been subtle and inaccessible without methodological analysis. In this perspective, Jameson does not imply ‘ideology as something which informs or invests symbolic production’. But it

⁵⁴ Ibid, p 61.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p 61.

is viewed as 'the aesthetic act is itself ideological' and he suggests 'the production as an ideological act in its own right...' Since the textual activities are ideological in itself, no cultural gradation of textual forms is worthy to be followed. Every form of text is relevant in the discernment of socio-historical context, rather only a collective text can shed light on the general trajectory of change in the society which the narrative tries to hide.

While the classical ideological analysis of text ends here, Jameson's paradigm proposes a much deeper level of historicization or political unconscious, which he termed as the ideology of form. The form is nothing but the content, or to be more precise, the sedimented content.⁵⁶ It is the realm where History acts as the ground. The form of a text is determined by the nature of social formation. Form changes as society changes. The existence of various forms/content of text justifies the existence of various social formations at a given time. In the third phase of the political unconscious, the text is read in the backdrop of the mode of production. The ideological content presented in the text may be contradictory to the first phase of analysis. The direct meaning of the text may change in the analysis of the ideology of form. Here, the ideology stands for the dispositions of the mode of production. One form gets dominance in the mode of production and the signs and symbols of other forms are in constant struggle with the dominant. At this phase, the text exposes the real forces which create, preserve, and consume the text. The text has crossed over the realm of representation here. The meaning of the text is attributed within the larger canvas of mode of production. Here, history becomes a tool for reading the text and text becomes history itself. The tripartite system of historicization of text facilitates the retrieving of the fundamental history from the cultural text.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p.84.

For historical films, Rosenstone draws a similar methodological domain consisting of three layers of analysis. "First, the genesis – who got the idea for the film, what were its sources, how did various producers – writers- directors bring it to the screen, and what were his/her/their intentions. Second, a synopsis, one that highlights the characters and events and also points to the major deviations from the historical records. Third, the judgment(s) – why should we care about the film, what does it contain that makes us think seriously about the past, and how might it be changed to make it more valuable as a historical work?".⁵⁷ Both the approaches are introducing the production-commodity-consumption pattern of methodology as the peculiarity of the moving images are reckoned with. However, as mentioned earlier, the moving images are hard to analyze since the material is a site of struggle which characterizes the three domains of its existence. Though the auteur/director has been an influential point in the making of the movies, 'the intention and purpose' of the cine making cannot be reduced to a single subjective entity. The peculiarities of the time she/he represents, nature of capital, the intervention of the state, and other similar factors of governance have been in function behind the formation of 'the purpose'. Furthermore, as the cluster of movies put under analysis, the purpose of a single movie might not have as much importance as it is in the deciphering of a single unit of movies. On the other hand, the trajectory of consumption is too subjective even if a movie becomes a box office hit, the reason of likeness would vary from spectator to spectator largely based on the historical conjuncture and the composite factors of subjectivity by which the spectator identifies herself/himself. The past has had its own sensibilities that might be varied from the present. The methodological and epistemological devices are yet to be formulated for the historians to analyse the sensibilities of the past of

⁵⁷ Robert.A Rosenstone, *History on Film/ Film on History*, 2nd edition, Routledge, New York, 2011, p. 30.

looking at the moving images of the time (history of emotions, spectator studies, etc.). The endeavor is more sophisticated since the spectator has not been a passive receptor of some large structural meanings delivered through images. Conversely, the spectator intervenes dynamically in the making of meaning by employing her/his agency to the narrative. Both the production and consumption practices of a cultural artifact like cinema, are emphasized on ideological surplus⁵⁸ it creates through the frames of narratives that can be discerned by the stereotypes, star system, etc., inherent in the aesthetic and industrial paradigms of cinema

In moving images, narrative cannot be ‘a text’ in the sense of literary studies, but ‘an image’ of framing meanings. Classical film semiotics draw parallel lines for ‘cinema text’ in consonance with the literary text underestimating the peculiarities of the image's compositions. For cinema is a ‘galaxy of signifiers’ the semiotic methodologies can be employed up to the mark as the analysis ought to be entered into a realm of image specificities. ‘The galaxy of signifiers’ has been too divergent and connected with distinct forms of signs and syntax, unlike the literary text. A scene in the moving image interferes in the making of meaning through the ‘structures of feeling’, not merely in its phenomenological value, but its contextual space of additional signifiers like light, music, angle of the camera, method of editing—the whole mise – en – scene. Since the material (image) is mediated with many worlds of signifiers, the historian dealing with moving images should have the knowledge of cine language like the one who learns the language of an ancient inscription to decipher it. The visual–audio know-how would enable the historian to discern the given scene or movie and to draw a larger trajectory of the form of cinema aesthetic in a historical conjuncture. Watching/reading of the image is a process of textualization of the image

⁵⁸ Raveendran, *Cinema Samooham Prathyasastram*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2011, p. 29.

while in the reading of the text, it is more of the imagination of the text. Hence, the watching (reading) of the moving image is textualization of the image itself.

The mediated nature of moving images encourages to inquire on the factors of image production which would facilitate the *deframing*/historicization of the image. In this process, four elements constitute a moving image; space, time, capital, and state. The narrative unfolds within the interactive site of these four constituting factors. “A beginning and an ending- that is to say, the narrative is a *temporal sequence*.”⁵⁹ However, the temporality in image narratives gets mediated by time mechanisms of cinema such as slow-motion, flashback, etc. Within the temporal framework of cinematic narrative, multiple layers of time can be explored and the social time of the narrative may not be homogenous. The linearity of time, the notion of time in capitalist modernity is contested by evoking the multiplicity of time inside a narrative frame. Narrative social time may not correspond to social narrative time. Therefore, the time of narrative social has hardly been reflective of the social time, rather it is representational time (as representational space in Lefebvre or the second level of analysis in Jameson’s framework). Space constitutes the horizontal axis of the cinematic frame. As the image transforms into the spectacle, space receives more narrative time within the narrative frame. Such spatial representations produce knowledge of social relations and the spatial practices that existed in society. Space in its very physical sense influences the meaning-making of the narrative.⁶⁰ Elaborating on the matrix of signifier and signified in cinema language, Christian Metz delineates the possible formations of space-time in

⁵⁹ Christian Metz, *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema*, Trans, Michal Taylor, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991, p. 18.

⁶⁰ The dark ambience, large screen- Dolby sound system and so on – The theatre experience altogether.

the process of meaning construction. He writes; “[...] There is the time of the thing told and the time of the telling (the time of the significate and the time of the signifier). This duality not only renders possible all the temporal distortions that are commonplace in narratives. [...] More basically, it invites us to consider that one of the functions of the narrative is to invent one - time scheme in terms of another time scheme – and that is what distinguishes narrative from the simple *description* (which creates space in time), as well as from the *image* (which creates one space in another space).

The example of the cinematographic narrative easily illustrates these three possibilities. A motionless and isolated shot of a stretch of desert is an image (space-significate - space- signifier); several partial and successive shots of this desert waste make up a description (space- significate – time-signifier); Several successive shots of a caravan moving across the desert constitute a narrative (time significate – time – signifier).”⁶¹

Space cannot be separated in the Metz's semiotic paradigm and it is perceived as an entity traveling through time. (The narrative time in this context determines the spatial allocation within the narrative.) The space-time bound is having an ever-changing role of a signifier–signified and makes the cinematic narrative more complex to comprehend. The narrative time and physical space in the narrative offers a possibility - in the worst scenario – of anachronism which would severely affect the historicity of the moving image, especially when the narrative is dealing with a documentable past. As the reciprocal relation between narrative time and social time, the narrative space also offers insights into the spatial practices – both physical and ideological- of the society. The lacuna in which the representation of various subjectivities placed in the narrative unravels the ideological distribution of

⁶¹ Christian Metz, *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema*, Trans, Michal Taylor, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991, p. 18.

cultural space in the social narrative. The historicization of the narrative becomes possible in this matrix of space-time. The frame (the image narrative) is upholding its own space-time dynamics when the social space-time being represented in fragments. A single movie can be seen as the collective of frames containing the fragments of the space and time it narrates. As the cluster of movies is taken into consideration, the composition of those fragments elicits a rather comprehensive picture of social relations practiced in the space and time of the movies under scrutiny. The clusters of cinemas can facilitate a cracked rear view of the past which is more representational and therefore, ideological in content.

The other two composite elements of the frame have been capital (economic) and the state (political) which are having more structural clout in the formation of the framed image. Unlike the literary text or photography (in that matter any traditional art), the moving images are capital-intensive since the cinema is an ensemble of various art forms mediated by modern technological devices. As a product of industrial rationality, cinema has been a commodity in/of the market. It has been evolved a system of production, networks of distribution, centers of the exhibition, and a potential community of consumers/spectators. Capital expands to leisure time and consciousness through the frames of cinema and tries to build a society in its own image. Without contextualizing the development of capital, how can a phenomenon like a star system be described by the methodology of classical textual criticism? Each mode of production creates its own ways of conceptual and practical space-time. In a system that perceives time as money, speed becomes the rule.⁶² Historically, it carved out its own space and altered the

⁶² Cinema is the image in motion. It is an art of speed that signifies the rhythm of life in a capitalist society. Raymond Williams draws our attention to the interconnections between the pace of life in a mode of production and the corresponding pace of its art forms. See, Raymond Williams, *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists*, Verso, London, 1996, p. 111.

traditional one. Percolation of capitalist ethos is evident in a cultural product like cinema which is formulated by the capital-intensive process of production and sustained by the cash-based pattern of consumption. The technology of the machine of image-making would determine the style of rendition as have seen silent movies or studio systems. The cinematic narrative is, therefore, indebted to the level of technological advancement and the nature of capitalist development, for these two factors would decide the texture of the image by which the narrative unfolds. In a postmodern or late-capitalist phase, the intensity of transformation of an image into spectacle would be high and the commodified image serves the market objectives in the physical world. The physical space alters when the cinema is coming out of the studio to the outdoors that registers the changes in narrative space and its visualization. It also facilitates to register the level of changes capitalism brought about in physical/mental space. The 'things' in the frames, be that accidental or arranged, represents the material culture of the time and the spectatorship of that frame/image ensures two ways of consumption; a) the consumption of the commodity represented, b) the consumption of the image in which the commodity explicated. The spectacle of an image, therefore, represents the form of an epoch of capital development. The narrative could be a response/resistance to the patterns of capitalist development (nostalgic, spatial and temporal bifurcation, etc.) and mark the various intensity of capitalist penetration across land and people. The cinema creates an internally commodified spectacle through the star system which is an intellectual alienation of the maker. The commodity fetishism is attached to the star in two levels; a) star as a medium of the commodity market, b) star as a market product in itself. Thus, the cinematic narrative creates capitalist space-time. (Capital in production, narrative, and consumption.)

The state's control over the narrative is intense in cinema than in any other art form. Through the censorship regime, the state apparatus decides

and regulates the ingredients of the content. State in the *deframe* framework is an integral state, taking a cue from Gramsci's conceptualization of state.⁶³ Antonio Gramsci postulates the concept of the integral state as the 'organic reality' of power which consists of the political society and the civil society. Within the Gramscian theoretical framework of the integral state, the interaction between political society and civil society has been indispensable though both realms have their own practices and modalities. While the political society exercise coercion to impose power, the civil society aligns the people on the lines of the interest of the dominant class through consent. The dominant class becomes dominant and remains so because of the hegemony it can create. In civil society, hegemony is constructed by consent. On the other hand, coercion is the tool for hegemony in political society. That is, the hegemony in the integral state is an amalgamation of coercion and consent. It is evident that without producing hegemony, no state can function. The nature and intensity of the hegemony over the civil society would vary on the basis of the form of the political system. Hegemony is integral to bourgeois democracy. But when the dominant class loses its hegemony over the civil society, the parliamentary democracy would slip over to brutal exertion of state power which creates the fascist form of state. It is dominance without hegemony. However, in the due course of time, the dominant class must regain its ideological control over the society to justify the existence of the state. While the practices of hegemony would carry over to the subordinate classes, coercion will be imposed on those who oppose it.

The hegemony of a dominant class has not been static or fixed, rather it is dynamic. There are constant fluxes in social life to determine the dominance of social classes. Moufle argues, "Hegemony which always has its basis in the decisive nucleus of economic activity, operates principally in civil

⁶³ Marcus Green, *Gramsci Cannot Speak*, Critical Quest, New Delhi, 2016, p. 12.

society via the articulation of the interest of the fundamental class to those of its allies in order to form a collective will, a unified political subject".⁶⁴ Hegemony operates within the matrix of forces of production and relations of production. When the nature of economic activities in a given society changes, new social relations/classes would emerge and it creates struggles to hegemonize the entire social life on par with its class interests. It is in this context the struggle for hegemony takes place. A Mouffe elaborates, the main locus of this struggle is civil society and its institutions like family, religion, education, art, literature, etc. By hegemonizing the society, the dominant world view becomes naturalized and the hierarchical social order would be established firmly. However, this is hardly a unidimensional process. The subordinate social classes will produce counter-hegemony which intensifies the struggle for dominance over the integral state. "Hegemony as the structure of capitalist power in the integral state is simultaneously and indivisibly dominated by consent and determined by coercion."⁶⁵ Therefore, hegemony is the sum total of coercive political society and consensual civil society and it constitutes the organic reality of the integral state. The integral state acts as a force between civil society and economic structure.⁶⁶ Consent is made in favour of the existing class relations of the social formation and the instruments through which the integral state gets hegemonized. It contains both a coercive state system and an ideological state system.

The role of cultural representations is registered in the ideological mission to hegemonize civil society in accordance with the ruling class's worldview. It functions in civil society by employing ideological devices like

⁶⁴ Chantal Mouffe, "Introduction; Gramsci Today", in Chantal Mouffe, (ed.), *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1979, p.9.

⁶⁵ Perry Anderson, "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci", *New Left Review*, London, November 1976-January 1977, p.36.

⁶⁶ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, (ed.), Orient BlackSwan, Hyderabad, 2014. p.208.

literature, theatres, cinema, and so on. Considering the frame of movies, the struggle for hegemony has been quite vivid and clear. The frame is the representational space where the narrative unfurls. This space is utilized for consent manufacturing of the dominant way of life or to dominate the ways of life. The narrative may not be reflexive of social reality. Nevertheless, it would be representational. The representations/ narratives create a world and the visual of the world portrayed would be determined by the ideological world of the narrator. That is, narratives are ideological representations and the analysis of such representations provides insights into the ideological regime upon which the narrative is built. In the case of cinema, framed visuals are the locus of narrative/ representation and it is the space of struggle for hegemony. The cinematic frames are an ideal instance for an integral state. It can be framed by censorship mechanisms which is the expression of political society in its coercive manifestation to regulate the visual experience and ideological world it constructs. On the other hand, consensual intervention occurs in hegemonic representation. Through the repetitive frames, a given ideology gets established as the standard of social life and all the variants become the other of the standardized and naturalized narrative frames. Stereotyping is an ideological instrument of the dominant worldview. Inside the integral state system of cinema frames where the political society (coercion/censorship) and the civil society (hegemonic representations) combines, the methodological potential to explore *idealogme*- as described in the methodological paradigm of the political unconscious- can be conducted. The ideological analysis of cinema frames would facilitate the unraveling of social forces which are at play for domination over society. It opens up the horizon of social history before the seekers of knowledge on the past. ‘The state’ element in the *deframing* methodology is indebted to the concept of integral state presented by Gramsci and the concept of *ideologme* in Jameson’s methodological framework of the political unconscious as

discussed elsewhere. Such an analysis would bring about not only the ideological world of the dominant but also the counter-hegemonic narrative discursively placed within the hegemonic narrative per se. Owing to the support of the integral state, it is easy for the dominant class to represent their discursive world. However, representational justice is often negated for the subaltern classes, and their representations, if any, are misrepresentations prepared under the hegemonic gaze. Therefore, the methodology of *deframe* explores three factors within the frame(s) of cinema; (a) the ideological hegemony in the frames, (b) Mis/non-representations of the subaltern classes, and (c) the frames as a site of struggle for hegemony in the context of changing economic relations.

Owing to the 'closeness' to reality, the moving images always pose threat to the structures of power and the ordering of spectatorship is, therefore, inevitable for 'stability'. In the censorship regime, the state uses direct and vivid power over a civil society instrument. It acts as an external/repressive state apparatus to regulate the frame/narrative in favor of the ruling class interests, a pre-emptive strike on the 'unwanted' frames. The legality of the state makes excuses for the discipline of frames produced and consumed. The right/freedom to choose the commodity (frames) is limited even by the liberal democratic state, which pretends to be the champions of freedom of expression. The censorship process is evidently displaying the state's fear of the image narrative. The state/power determines the frame in two manners; a) censorship – The external control over the frame, b) hegemonic discourse inside the narrative/frame.

The narrative is the civil society realm of cinema space which naturalize the power relations in the society and serves the ideological function of the hegemonic class. Through the clusters of narrative, cinema makes ideological surplus and formulates hegemonic discourse. The world

view of the dominant/ruling class gets naturalized in this process and a consensus is made in favor of the state/status quo. Though the narrative seems to be addressed the real social problem, the resolution is more 'cinematic' and channelize the anti-establishment tendency. Stars – the intellectual alienation of the auteur⁶⁷ – is a site of struggle and negotiation in the politics of culture. They are the epitome of the resistance who raise the valid questions of social life and resolve them in individualistic, non-human ways. The naturalization and vindication of hegemonic discourse are carried out through the ideological surplus the movies created. The state, thus, intervenes in the construction of frame both the domains of repressive state and ideological state apparatus. The coalesce of political society (censorship) and civil society (the narrative) transforms the frame into an integral state in itself where the narrative unfolds. Hence, the “*deframing*” of the moving images carries the potential to be a critical social history of the time.

Conclusion

The social repositories of past experiences are diverse and historically constituted. Nevertheless, its representations have been based on the cultural practices that existed in society. Technological and cultural advancement can be considered as the decisive factor in the formation, preservation, and exchange of historical knowledge. Modern historiography with its own epistemological and methodological roots registers a distinct phase of historical narration. Over the years, the historiographical trend had been shifted as a response to the contemporary socio-political changes. The inclusion of 'people' had really radicalized the practice of historical knowledge production. The discovery of new sources, interpreting the existing facts with new theoretical frameworks have been radicalizing the sense of the past, and history becomes instrumental in the orchestration of

⁶⁷ Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, Black and Red, Detroit, 1983, 60

everyday life in the modern world. Cultural artifacts like movies, in this milieu, offer insights into how social life is constituted in a given historical conjuncture.

The cinema is used to propagate the dominant view of the past, a pedagogical instrument, a complementary way of articulating historical events, and the source of history. Through these sophisticated discourses, the moving images are developing their relational structures with the past. After the 'cultural turn' in social science, the products of culture got alluring status in the circles of knowledge production. However, the endeavors to comprehend the multilayered experience that the moving image can provide on the past is yet to be developed concrete theoretical and methodological structure. The taxonomy of cinema, definitions of what makes a cinema 'historical', the methodological instruments to extract the elements of the past from the narrative, and image frames are some of the points which the practitioners of cine-history have been contesting upon. The study on Malayalam films attempts to delineate a framework to deal with cinema as a potential source for historical writing. The theoretical framework suggested in this regard is using neologism, *deframing*. It is largely drawn from the theoretical formulation of the political unconscious embedded in the narrative formulated by Frederic Jameson and the social analysis of the spectacle by Guy Deboard. Unlike the other cultural representations, cinema owing to its nexus with capital and state demands distinct analytical methods. The history embedded in the cine frames should be discerned through the dissection of space and time (the historical setting of the discourse) with special reference to the nature of state and capital. The frame of cinema is visualized as a site of struggle where different social classes are in search of discursive hegemony through naturalizing and stereotyping the representations. The analysis of these historical tensions set in the frames offers the subtle nuances of social life which is rendered through the frames of the narrative.

CHAPTER 2

THE MAKING OF MALAYALAM CINEMA: HISTORICAL ANTECEDENT

Introduction

The present chapter is envisaged as a general survey of the Malayalam cinema at its formative decades and the dialectical relation that cinema established with society during those days. While focusing more on the history of cinema as the history of an art form with closer ties with the industrial sector, the chapter is not confined itself to the stringent economic facts of cinema production and consumption, but extended to the contextualization of images unfurled through the cinema reels and the subtle relation it maintained with the hegemonic forces of the society.

Cinema intervened in the making of a modern public sphere in Malayalee society by bringing about a new sensibility determined by the ability to purchase. On such a firmly established foundation of industrial networks like permanent movie theatres, fan clubs, cinema journalism, spectator community, etc., the first Malayalam movie *Vigathakumaran* was produced and released. The history of the pioneer Malayalam movie unravels the social history of the time when it was produced. ‘The Rosi event’ associated with the film made it a ‘social melodrama’ in itself. The forthcoming decades witnessed the growth of Malayalam cinema as an industry and manifested the trajectory moving towards the distinct language of cinema.

By the time of independence, Malayalam cinema took a shift in its emphasis in favour of the nation-building project of the post-colonial state. As having a vernacular identity, how did Malayalam movies in the 1950s and

1960s constitute the identity, social dispositions, and sub-national culture? The chapter tries to answer the functionality of Malayalam cinema in the imagination of sub-national identity within the larger framework of post-colonial nationalism. Emerging from the technological constraints (to a considerable extent), Malayalam cinema accommodated diverse social sections within its narrative structure which facilitated the narrative diversification of cinema. In these narratives, identities were shaped and reshaped, 'the soul' of the national consciousness was defined and a cinematic myth (through the mythical narratives) was formulated to validate the continuum of newly constituted sub-nationalism. The socio-political struggles and the undercurrents through which the society was undergoing received their due in the galaxy of cine narrative. However, many historical changes are left non-represented. The chapter has attempted to provide a bird's eye view of the cinematic engagement with Kerala society and vice versa.

Malayalam Cinema and the Construction of the Public

Cinema, to define in its early premises, had existed as a social experience practiced on its own spatial configuration largely drawn upon the prevailing tendency of bourgeois modernity.¹ It creates a public-not only in the form of physical space, but also in ideological- to interact with. The cinematic public is, therefore, an amalgamation of physical space carved out for the production and consumption of the object called cinema and of the ideological discourses allied with it as have seen elsewhere. The encounter of cinema with Kerala society in the heydays of colonial modernity has caused

¹ The Lumiere show is considered as the moment of 'Big Bang' for cinema since it was the first paid show of the moving images conducted for the public. Two elements of bourgeois modernity have been evident in this process; the public and the purchasing power. The public constituted by the ability to spend money is integral for cinema to happen. The earlier versions of moving images like Bioscope could only facilitate a single view at a time. P K Rajasekharan, *Cinema Sandarbhangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2019, p. 72.

the emergence of the cinema public which has been a singular process of modernization of Kerala society along with its more institutionalized and profoundly narrated bid of social reforms. The first film screening in Kerala was held at Kottayam in 1902 before Sree Narayan Guru founded SNDP to propagate the values of modernity and to initiate organized methods of social transformation.² Though the moving image-based art forms like puppetry were in practice in some regions of Kerala and the musical dramas had contributed significantly to become the predecessor of the public sphere created by the movies,³ it is evident that the impact made by the visual consumption of movies was far-reaching and crucial in the historical process of the making of a public sphere in the modern sense of the term. Unlike the bourgeois public in Europe flourished by the 18th century at places like coffee shops and salons,⁴ the public in Kerala was predominantly subaltern in content for the socio-reform movements were deliberately intervening in the making of the public and ensuring equal access to the public. If the evolution of the public in Europe was ‘textual’, the public took shape in Kerala was indebted to the public consumption of images as far as the history of moving image is concerned.

The formation of the cinematic public sphere is owed to the nature of the medium per se. Cinema has been, after all, an invention of modern scientific rationality and seeks some of the fundamental values of modernity

² E K Premkumar argues that the first screening was at Kottayam, contrary to the popular literature on film history claiming the first screening was at Muthalakulam, near Calicut in 1906. He presents evidence from an editorial written by Kandathil Varghese Mappila in Malayalam Manorama on 25 April 1903 which states that some Mappila youth had formed a company named English Motograph Company to screen films. The inspiration was from the screening of films on the Boer war by the British Motograph Company at Kottayam in 1902. See, E K Premkumar, ‘Charithram Thiruthi Chalikum Padam’, *Malayala Manorama Sunday Supplement*, 23 June 2013.

³ Geetha, ‘Cinema Srishticha Pothujanam’, *Pachakuthira*, vol. 13, no 7, 2017, p. 45.

⁴ Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Trans. Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence. The MIT Press, Massachusetts, 1991.

as the normative rule for its functioning. As a product of modernity, the consumption practices of movies were modern in itself. The engagement with the moving images in Kerala witnessed a caste-based consumption/reception of art to cash-based consumption of it.⁵ “Anyone who could afford a ticket could go and watch a film”.⁶ However, the spatial practice of the cinema public had not been gender-neutral or unencumbered by class-based divisions as far as the dispensation of space inside the permanent movie theatres is reckoned with. Until the 1970s, distinct spaces such as the floor, bench, chair, etc., were allocated to people depend on their ability to pay and a portion was demarcated with ropes for women.⁷ The class division of cinema space, unlike the Euro-American societies, reveals the realities of caste in the Indian context since generally economically weaker sections would be socially deprived as well. Owing to the significant presence of the working class/lower caste, the cinema theatres were considered as a space of 'castelessness' where the boundaries of purity and pollution were disrespected and unfollowed.⁸ This class/caste predicament had been resolved by genre diversification such as pious movies, family drama, etc., that could meet the distinct cultural and social requirements of its upper caste spectators and by the proliferation and categorization of theatre space such as A, B, C classes for the exhibition of distinct genres of movies.

The cinema experience had brought about a new temporality in art and thereby in life in comparison with the sluggish pace of the art forms in feudal

⁵ Op.cit, p. 45.

⁶ S Theodore Baskaran, *History Through the Lens: Perspectives on South Indian Cinema*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2009, P. 45. In the early days, the ticket fare was 4 Anna. See, M. Jayaraj, *Malayala Cinema Pinnitta Vazhikal*, Kozhikodu, Mathruboomi Books, 2018, p. 41.

⁷ P K Rajasekharan, *Cinema Sandarbhangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2019, p. 93. However, it is pertinent to note that cinema initiated the integration of women to public aesthetics than many other art forms of bygone days.

⁸ Jayamohan, 'Tamil Cinema Arude Kannadiyanu', *Mathrubhumi Annual Issues*, 2013, p. 146.

‘high culture’.⁹ Liberating art from caste-based, region-specific ritualistic traits, movies had created a modern community of spectators in a composite manner which later became a modern form of pilgrimage or secular festival in the social life of Kerala.¹⁰ It is also epistemologically liberative as it does not demand *a priori* knowledge over the content and subtle nuances of rendition as some former art forms demanded earlier. In cinema, the prerequisite for aesthetics is money rather than textual knowledge of the plot or the familiarity with sophisticated art semiotics. This transformation from monopolistic knowledge of art to cash-based aesthetic signifies the social transformation of new cultural and social relations that relied on the notions of modernity than the traditional caste normalcy. The 'aura' of the art got blurred and cinema formulated a new democratic and secular space for art both in terms of form and content that eventually created a new language and novel aesthetic style in society. Besides the utilization of modern technology, money-based consumption of art, and a network of institutionalized production and consumption system, cinema could create a modern spectator community in Kerala ever since its inception. Unlike the bourgeois public sphere in the wake of industrial modernity in Europe that Habermas elaborately theorized, the cinema public sphere was more of a subaltern constitution in Kerala than elsewhere. ‘The spectacle for slaves’ was captured the imagination of the working class and was immediately celebrated. The growing popularity of cinema among the working class brought about the government intervention in cinema to discipline the consumption of visuals by which the working class

⁹ Raymond Williams, *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists*, Verso, London, 1996, p. 111. Raymond Williams relates the temporal nature of art with the temporality of society. "Many old art forms were static as it originated from a conservative society", he writes. An instance from the historical context of Kerala is Kathakali. The pace of this art was connected with the pace of upper caste social and personal life. It is in this context the mobility in moving pictures are radical in itself.

¹⁰ Geetha. ‘Cinema Srishticha Pothujanam’, *Pachakuthira*, vol. 13, no 7, 2017, p. 45. P K Rajasekharan, *Cinema Sandarbhangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2019, p. 94.

(the spectator community in general) might be disciplined and put in order.¹¹ In Travancore alone, 400-500 screenings were held in the period 1910-1920¹² and those early screenings were conducted by touring talkies representing the 'nomadic' stage of the film exhibition in Kerala.¹³ Through the touring talkies and the increasing number of screenings, a horizontal community of spectators had been formulating, those who consume movies from different cultural contexts and transformed the screen into a window to the visuals of another world.

By the 1920s, a matured community of spectators had formed in Kerala. The second decade of the twentieth century had also witnessed the establishment of permanent theatres for cinema which earlier exhibited either through touring talkies in the backdrop of festivals, circus, etc. or through the space of drama theatres. The permanent theatres for cinema institutionalized the visual economy, composed a defined space, forged more or less a fixed community of spectators, changed the act of cine-going a deliberate, therefore, political act rather than the casual voyeurism in the festival premises,¹⁴ and invented more media-specific organizations such as fan associations.¹⁵ But by the time the third movie was produced in Malayalam,

¹¹ The Indian Cinematograph act was enacted in 1918 and the Indian Cinematograph Inquiry Committee was formed in 1927 to make recommendations for further control of the cine industry. See, S Theodore Baskaran, *History Through the Lens: Perspectives on South Indian Cinema*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2009.

¹² Bindhu Menon, *Re- Framing Vision: Malayalam Cinema and The Invention of Modern Life in Kerala*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2014, pp. 45-46.

¹³ The touring talkies existed in some form until the 1980s in Kerala. P K Rajasekharan, *Cinema Sandarbhangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2019, p. 60.

¹⁴ In the initial years, the moving images were experienced through Bioscope, a device that facilitates the vision of a moving image for a single person at a given time.

¹⁵ *The Thief of Bagdad (1924)* had been a box office hit and Douglas Fairbank who played the main character in the movie could have attracted a considerable fan base as elsewhere in India. See, Geetha. 'Cinema Srishticha Pothujanam', *Pachakuthira*, vol. 13, no 7, 2017, p. 50.

Kerala had 30 cinema theatres¹⁶ that in another way signifies the ongoing electrification in urban and rural areas, provided the infrastructural amenities for the cine industry to take off. Simultaneously, the literature on cinema began to have appeared that yielded 'textual' support to the cinema in terms of review of specific narrative- which is a sort of advertisement in itself- and information on the cine industry.¹⁷ It is worthy to be noted that the film and the spectator in the early decades were mediated by a group of people christened the commentators (*vilichu parachilukar*) who narrated the otherwise silent visual images in detail so that the spectator could grasp the plot easily -sometimes contextualizing the plot to the familiar surroundings of the spectators and created a local narrative inside the cinema narrative-by which they enrich the cinema experience.¹⁸ That is, the early cinema experience had not been visual-oriented alone, but it was a space for multiple layers of narrative involved in the process of meaning-making. The involvement of women as spectators/audience in the public and arts made cinema more inclusive and acknowledging women as a potential spectator had enlarged the spectator/consumer community of cinema art/industry. In the case of illiterate-most of the spectators had been - the image modernity presented through cinema could induct a new space distinct of 'aura' of art in traditional renditions - as Walter Benjamin argues - and text-based representations of modernity since the image-based narration neither asks *a priori* knowledge of the content nor requires any specific skills such as reading to communicate with the audience.

¹⁶ M Jayaraj, *Malayala Cinema Pinnitta Vazhikal* , Mathruboomi Books, Kozhikodu, 2018, p. 51.

¹⁷ K V Koshy published the first cine magazine in Malayalam in 1940 under the title Cinema Masika. See, Chellangattu Gopalakrishnan, *Malayala Cinema: Charithram Vijitram*, Chintha Publication, Tiruvanthapuram, 2013, p. 305.

¹⁸ Later, many of these commentators became well known political and literary figures. Chellangattu Gopalakrishnan, *Malayala Cinema: Charithram Vijitram*, Chintha Publication, Tiruvanthapuram, 2013, pp. 15-18.

By this time, cinema has claimed the status of an art form and begun to interact with other forms of cultural objects. *Thyagathinu Prathiphalam* (The reward for sacrifice),¹⁹ a novel written by Thakazhi Sivasankaran Pillai, the well-known progressive writer of the time, portrayed the subculture of watching films at cinema theatres. Cinema theatre as a public space and cinema watching as a youth subculture got evolved even in the remote places by the days of Indian independence. This desire to be in the cinema theatre and watch a film manifests the evolution of consciousness as a free individual who is capable enough to decide his/her own form of art. This selection of a form of entertainment is paramount because the process of selection always includes an element of rational thinking which is inevitable for the formation of bourgeois individuality. Considering the fact that the main consumers of films in the rural region were agricultural labourers, movie-going had not only been a social practice but also an attempt to get hold of one's own time. The liberation of time from feudal values heralds the making of a modern every day. The conceptual standpoint of the free time raised in the agitations against the feudal system has to be explored in detail. One of the eventual outcomes of these struggles was claiming the right to use the time according to one's own will. Gradually, a time of leisure evolved. Nor does it mean that there was hardly any entertainment before the period under discussion. What makes distinction has been the nature of capital involved in the production and consumption of such temporality. As mentioned above, the movie-going time is associated with a process of selection. Along with that, the purchasing power of the decision-maker has to be reckoned with. Hence, the movie time is a purchased time. The social process of cine-going can be possible only in a society where the right to spend time should be inalienable from the individual and the ability of the individual to decide and purchase that time.

¹⁹ Thakazhi Sivasankaran Pillai, *Thyagathinte Prathibhalam*, Poorna Publications, Kozhikodu, 2006.

The gradual widening of the social practices of movie-going, therefore, manifests a new temporality evolved in social life and the rearrangement of everyday life in the backdrop of changing social formation.

The widening horizon of the cinema public elicited governmental intervention to 'order' the production and consumption of the moving images.²⁰ The British government enacted the Indian Cinematograph Act in 1918 to colonize the spectator community. Paradoxically, the censorship regime of Indian cinema had begun on the same day when Mahatma Gandhi had initiated the first mass movement -the non-corporation Movement- in the Indian national movement. The ordering of the cinema public, nevertheless, was not confined to British India alone. The Cinematograph Bill was introduced in Sree Moolam Prajasabha, - the legislative Assembly of the princely state of Travancore- in 1926, which inaugurated the era of legality in the cinema industry functioned in the region. The colonial act was emerged out of colonial interests such as ensuring a market for British cinema vis-vis the Hollywood movies, eliminating the misrepresentation of western women before the 'illiterate' Indian working class, and curtailing the growing 'Indianness' in cinema narrative, etc. The legal modalities for cinema in a princely state also share the 'moral' apprehensions on the visual narrative. In the premises of intermittent epidemics, the public space of cinema was viewed as a potential locus of contagion. Another reason placed in favour of regulation of visibility had been the fear of caste pollution. Both the arguments of 'physical and moral' health were articulated to enact the Cinematographic Bill in 1926 at Sree Moolam Prajasabha.²¹ The introduction of a legal mechanism to regulate the narrative and social public of cinema

²⁰ Bindu M Menon, 'Romancing history and historicizing romance', *Seminar* 598,2009, p. 29.

²¹ The Cinematograph Regulation was passed by Her Highness Maharani of Travancore on 24 May 1927, under section 14 of Municipal Regulation of 1922.

demonstrates the manner in which the cinematic public was constituted in the region, the potential of moving images to visualize another 'reality' that may contradict the social normality of the time and thereby evoking counter-culture against the hegemonic. Hence, the state intervention. The state gaze over the cinematic public (on both narrative and social spaces) historically implies the extent to which cinema and the new modalities such as cash-based consumption, casteless spatial practices, and so on received a place in the popular imagination. Thus, through myriad ways and manners, the cinema public dialectically engaged with the emerging civil society of Kerala by defining the public with its own institutions and modalities.

A) *Vigathakumaran* (The Lost Child): An Unlost Social History

While analyzing the historical development of Indian film production, Brian Shoemith made a three-stage categorization; a) cottage industry-individual filmmakers raised money in their own capacity and produce movies, b) studio system-the movies are shot in the prefixed settings of a studio, c) Star era-the industry began to be rotated around a star persona.²² The film production in Kerala shares the trajectory of progression intact. It was built on the firmly established community of spectators who used to be the consumers of cinema from the developed zones of cine industries. This was the historical premise in which the attempts were made to produce regional movies. The venture to produce a Malayalam movie has been fulfilled by the industrious effort of J C Daniel. Inspired by English, Hindi, and Tamil movies that he watched, Daniel had decided to produce a movie in Malayalam by the latter half of the 1920s. Unlike the premiers of other industries in Indian languages, the plot used for the first movie in Malayalam

²² S Theodore Baskaran, *History Through the Lens: Perspectives on South Indian Cinema*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2009, pp. 10-11.

was social in content.²³ For Daniel, it must be something like Chaplin's *The Kid* (1921), which he experienced before. It has been, therefore, quite evident that the nature of the spectator community has been in resonance with the product they consume and it influences the making of the cine product as well. The mature spectator community developed by the 1920s had been the source of inspiration and the ultimate group of targets for Daniel. "He tried to stand with world cinema rather than other Indian movies".²⁴ It can be attributed to the socio-political context in which Daniel made his maiden attempt. It was a princely state-Travancore- having a 'good' relationship with the British Crown. Hailing from a socially deprived caste context, J C Daniel himself personifies the benefits of colonial modernity, especially in the realm of education and social mobility.²⁵ Therefore, the 'nationalist' metaphors like in *Raja Harichandra* were not likely to be visualized in *Vigathakumaran*. He ventured to portray the regional variant of national imagination rather than the pan-Indian nationalism as having meant today.²⁶

To mobilize capital for the movie production, Daniel sold out his ancestral property and learned himself the technological aspects of movie-making. The whole process of production was 'cottage' based. Though the strives were made to employ the heroine from Mumbai, it went in vain and he

²³ *Keechakavadham*(1916), *Bheeshma Prathinja* (1921) and *Bhaktamarkandeya* (1925) were the premiers of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada languages respectively. The initial attempt of Daniel was to shoot a film on *Kalaripayattu*.

²⁴ G.P Ramachandran, 'Kalayude Swathanthrya Bodhathe Maraviyil Ninum Tirichedukumpol', *Celluloid: Charitrathilillatha Jeevithavum Cinemayum*,G.P Ramakrishnan and Radhakrishnan Cheruvalli, (ed.), Tiruvanathapuram:Chintha,2013, p. 82.

²⁵ J C Daniel belonged to Nadar Christian community in southern Travancore. The community was considered as socially backward in the traditional caste hierarchy. However, the colonial encounter dramatically changed the economic nature of the community which can be evident from the life of J C Daniel himself for he practiced as a dental doctor and had got ancestral property worthy enough to finance the movie enterprises.

²⁶ Daniel's studio was named after Travancore National Pictures showing his political and nationalist loyalty towards the princely state of Travancore.

was managed to organise capital and crew from the immediate locality per se. The hero was Daniel himself, P K Rosi, hailed from Pulaya community, acted heroine's role of a young Nair woman named Sarojini and Daniel's relatives were cast for other characters. Ten days was the schedule fixed to shoot the first Malayalam movie and the premiere show was scheduled at Capitol Theatre in Trivandrum.

The date of the first screening of *Vigathakumaran* is a matter of debate among film historians. One group of historians²⁷ argue that it was in November 1928 the movie was screened for the first time, while others²⁸ hold the view that the year was 1930. Interestingly, both are claiming possession of a notice which states the screening of *Vigathakuamaran* in the respective years. Two shreds of evidence are supporting the initial postulate; first, Chellangattu Gopalakrishnan mentioned the date after consulting J C Daniel, and nor did Daniel rectify it when the same got published,²⁹ second, in 1929, Daniel was honored with a medal for the efforts he put in the making of the movie.³⁰ Therefore, the film had been out there before 1930 and it had many screenings spread across different places in the coming years. It is quite likely to get a printed notice of *Vigathakumaran* with the year 1930.

The first screening of *Vigathakumaran* had ended up in violence. The upper caste spectators many of whom were invited, turned intolerant and violent as they realized Rosi, a Pulaya girl acts the character of Nair woman. They began to shout when the scene of Rosi was projected and it culminated in pandemonium and anguish on Rosi. She was forced to flee from 'the

²⁷ Chellengattu Gopalakrishnan, Kunnukuzhi S Mani, Manarcad Mathew and Edamaruku.

²⁸ R. Gopalakrishnan and Vinu Abraham stands for the year 1930.

²⁹ Chellangattu Gopalakrishnan, *Chalachitra Vyavasayam Keralathil*, Chintha Publications, Tiruvanthapuram, 2013, p. 42.

³⁰ Vijayakrishnan, *Malayala Cinemayude Katha*, Poorna Publication, Kozhikodu, 2017, p. 33.

scene'.³¹ Yet, the film had been screening in the city for the next two weeks in cinema theatres, *Vigathakumaran* became a financial tragedy. Daniel sank in debt, moved to Nagarkovil, and remained as the 'lost child' of Malayalam cinema until Chellangattu Gopalakrishnan found him, unearthed his story, and published the history of premiere movie in Malayalam.

Why did *Vigathakumaran* become a financial failure and remain unattended in cine history? Ajay Sekhar believes that the non-reception of *Vigathakumaran* should be seen in the idiosyncrasy of movies as a western art form that symbolically sabotages the existing caste dominance and elitist values.³² According to Domanic J.Kattor, the unattractive plot and the elitist perception of the movie as cultural domination of Nadars have led to the negation of the movie.³³ The analysis of these arguments shows that the reason for the failure of the movie is evaluated in relation to the events of the first screening. The failure of a movie fundamentally means financial failure for movies are industrial products and the financial drawback or the failure of *Vigathakumaran* should be discerned in a larger canvas. It cannot be confined to the failure of the first screening alone. Even after the tragic event which vividly portrayed the values of a graded society, *Vigathakumaran* exhibited for two weeks in the same town. It was released in places having permanent cinema theatres (read as the permanent audience) yet the reception was lukewarm. The sluggish reception in these regions cannot be attributed

³¹ K P Panthalm describes the violence that erupted in the premiere show of *Vigathakumaran* in an article he had written in the magazine 'Cinerama' on 17 July 1967. Quoted from Geetha. 'Cinema Srishticha Pothujanam', *Pachakuthira*, vol. 13, no 7, 2017, p. 45. See also, Kunnukuzhi S. Mani, *P K Rosi*, Mythri Books, Tiruvanthapuram, 2014.

³² Ajay Sekhar, 'Savarnna Charitra Nirmithikal Nilam Parichakumpol', *J C Daniel: Malayala Cinemayude Vigathakumaran*, Premlal, D and Dr. S R Chandramohan, (ed.), Raiwan Publications, Tiruvanathapuram, 2013, p. 125.

³³ Domanic J Kattor, 'Vigathakumaran-Celluloidinu Appuram', *J C Daniel: Malayala Cinemayude Vigathakumaran*, Prof. Premlal and Dr. S.R Chandramohan, (ed.), Tiruvanthapuram: Raiwan Publication, 2013, pp. 99-100.

exclusively to the events at the Capitol Theatre and the casteism of the spectator community. The early audience of movies was largely urban working class, many of whom belonged to lower caste and the cine market had not been upper caste oriented. Therefore, elitist apathy would not affect the financial success or failure of a movie. Indeed, *Vigathakumaran* did not change the caste equilibrium in its narrative as well. Even if one accepts the argument that the Nadar background of J.C. Daniel backlashed in Thiruvananthapuram, it does not explain the reason for the failure elsewhere.³⁴

Vigathakumaran failed because of the unfamiliar narrative plot, limitation of production, and flaws of marketing. The audience had been accustomed to puranic themes. The mythological narratives could communicate even in the weakness of direction since the story is familiar to the audience. The spectator could fill the narrative vacuum with the *a priori* knowledge of the plot, yet a coherent narrative is the quintessence of a social plot. Nor does it mean that the Malayalee audience at that time was completely ignorant of social drama. However, the movie might not have satisfied their sensibilities for social films that had emanated from the western movies they had watched. Besides, it appears that Daniel failed to grasp the marketing techniques, though he learned the techniques of movie production. *Vigathakumaran* lacked the ingredients to attract the existing cine market and Daniel could not develop a marketing strategy accordingly. The entrepreneurial inefficiency followed him in the second attempt he made to produce a movie which ended up in nowhere.

‘The crisis’ of *Vigathakumaran*, however, indicates the social scenario of the time. Rosi had prior acting experience in *Kakkariassinadakam*, a form

³⁴ The movie was screened in places like Nagarkovil, Kollam, Alapuzha, Thrissur, and Thalasseri.

of folk drama, from where she was appropriated to the screen space of a modern art form like cinema. She played the role of heroine, Sarojini, a Hindu Nair young woman by which the traditional artistic (*Kakkariassinadakam* to the cinema) and narrative boundaries had been tried to crossover by the Dalit community in the premises of modernity discourses.³⁵ The change in the status of a Dalit body to the status of an upper caste body-even in the narrative- was evidently antithetical to the boundaries of a graded society built on the consciousness of purity and pollution, and such an attempt made in the narrative of *Vigathakumaran* would be anti-social in the Brahmanical world view by which the assault on Rosi was instigated. A parallel can be drawn with the *Channar rebellion*³⁶ too. Challenge raised by the Channar women vis-i-vis the Brahmanical normative values and praxis of caste-based gendered boundaries were dealt with physical violence and they tried to destroy the symbolic material that problematized the Brahmin patriarchy.³⁷ While the symbolic material was the upper jacket in *Channar rebellion*, it was a white screen in the Rosi episode and both were, interestingly, the product of modernity. The Brahmanical attempt to control the Dalit women's body and its visibility and representations were too naïve and direct in the Rosy episode, which later artfully disguised in the narrative framework of cinema which shall be discussed in the following chapters. The event was an embodiment of upper caste resentment and intolerance against the social and symbolic mobility of the downtrodden gained from the colonial modernity milieu ³⁸ and the 'visual unseeability' of Brahmanism as having

³⁵ *Celluloid*. Directed by Kamal, Kamal and Ubaid, 2013. *YouTube*, uploaded by TVNXT MALAYALAM, February 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tWY7fBUGBfQ>. 1.01 min

³⁶ J Devika, *Kulasthreekalum Chanthapennum Undayathengane?*, 2nd Edition, Kerala Sastra Sahithya Parishad, Trissur, 2018, pp. 131-137.

³⁷ Uma Chakravarthy, *Jathiye Lingavalkarikkumpol*, Trans.P S Manojkumar, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2008.

³⁸ Sanal Mohan, 'Adimajathikaludethalla aa Suvaranna Bhoodakala Myth', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol.93, no.29, October 2015, p. 40.

seen in the life of Rosi problematizes the politics of visibility in cinema narrative and other material and cultural representations of Kerala modernity. The internal contradictions of modernity are revealed even when the screen space-visual representation – is allotted for the Dalit. It was the hegemonic structure of Brahmanical value of labour that was translated to the modern capitalist logic of the market. Since the Dalit and their labour are undervalued in terms of social and economic exchanges, Rosy was paid Rs 5 per day as the Anglo-Indian actress received Rs 5000 in advance.³⁹ It is nothing but the Brahmanical division of labour value, renewed itself in accord with the exploitative structure of capitalism. Inside a capital-intensive modern art, the Brahmanical hegemony extracts the surplus-value of the representation of Dalits by portraying them as inferior intermittently. The presence of a Dalit body itself becomes the surplus of Brahmanical notion of Dalit inferiority which was more or less, naturalized both in the upper caste and in the lower caste psyche. The Rosy episode was a beginning point of this visibility/invisibility politics though it has got a long history in the 'non-filmic' world. The external violence in the first screening of Malayalam cinema was assimilated to discursive violence in a later period in cinema rendition.

C) Towards the Studio System

While *Vigathakumaran* narrated a social plot,⁴⁰ the second Malayalam movie, *Marthanda Varma* (1932) received a historical plot based on the historical novel of C V Raman Pillai with the same title. The movie was released in a time of political turmoil in Travancore and the narration centered around king Marthanda Varma, who inaugurated a new era of centralized administration after eliminating the agencies of political chaos. It might be

³⁹ Kunnukuzhi S.Mani, *P K Rosi*, Maithri, Tiruvanthapuram, 2014, pp. 12-22. *Danielinte Makkal*. Created by Munjinad Padmakumar, Asianet News, 28 June 2018.

⁴⁰ Interestingly, the movie provides a glimpse of an early phase of Malayali migration. Sri Lanka got a significant position in the narrative trajectory.

coincidental that the political icon of unity in Travancore was cinematically remembered at a time of political disturbances. During the period, Travancore had gone through agitations for political and civil rights, leading to an internal schism among the communities. Movements like *Nivarthana Prakshobham* (Abstention Movement) seeking proportionate representation in the legislative assemblies for the Ezhava, the Muslims, and a section of Christians vis-i- vis the allegedly unproportionate representation given to the Nairs in the constitutional reforms, precipitated political tension. A hypothesis can be postulated that evoking the historical icon of political unity at a period of deep schism and political turmoil can be the reason for such a cinematic endeavour like *Marthanda Varma*. As Bindu Menon rightly argues, the cinema also inaugurated an era of the visual regime in the historical consciousness of the region.⁴¹ Like *Vigathakumaran*, *Marthanda Varma* was a financial failure, but due to a different reason this time. The issues of copyright violation decided its fate and the court ordered to confiscate the print.⁴² The copyright infringement of *Marthanda Varma* paved the way for the entry of legal-judicial practice into the cinema industry.⁴³ The legal sanctity might have placed cinema narratives a more ‘serious’ form of art.

Though the number of films produced in Malayalam had been significantly low in the pre-independence era, the released movies had, in one way or other, contributed to the development of Malayalam cinema as a separate entity in industrial and aesthetic domains. *Balan* (1938) was the first talkie in Malayalam that also initiated a commercial system of film

⁴¹ Bindu M Menon, ‘Romancing history and historicizing romance’, *Seminar*, 598,2009, p. 30.

⁴² Due to the judicial procedure, the print of the movie was protected and it remains the only South Indian silent film with non-perished print. See, Vijayakrishanan, ‘Vigathakumarante Charitram Vykhyavanum’, *Celluloid: Charitathilillatha Jeevithavum Cinemayum*, G.P Ramachandran and Radhakrishnan Cheruvalli, (ed.), Chintha, Tiruvanathapuram,2013, p. 39.

⁴³ Op.Cit, p. 30.

distribution. The producer could systematically propagate the release of the film and the effective propaganda made the film a matter of discussion among the public even before its release. The movie had a wide release and the media reported it extensively⁴⁴ which provided ample material evidence for the historians of Malayalam cinema and based on that *Balan* has gone down in historians as the first Malayalam movie until the lost history of *Vigathakumaran* was retrieved. What is more relevant, along with the status of being the first Malayalam talkie, for *Balan* is the development of a distribution system and marketing strategy to sell the ‘product’ on which its predecessors failed. It made the film an industrial landmark of Malayalam cinema. Malayalam cinema, by the 1940s, became a new visual regime after negotiations over exhibition centers, legality, and aesthetic location.⁴⁵

The publication of cinema literature marked a specific stage of the industrial development of Malayalam cinema. The pages of these film magazines were filled with the news of the production of movies, reviews of released movies, gossips related to film actors, and reader's responses. The cinema publications could develop the emergence of a particular literary genre, film literature. Early critics like Kozhikodan, Cinic, Nadirsha, etc., elevated the status of writing on film to the level of a serious literary activity although their writings had been focused on the review of the plot. The film review received its own modalities and theories in the later decades alone. ‘The document’ part of moving images extends to songbooks, notices, and cinema posters. The songbooks and cinema notices became a part of the private collection of individuals. They were not only the propaganda materials but also the literary appendix of visual language. Film songs could evolve a

⁴⁴ M Jayaraj, *Malayala Cinema Pinnitta Vazhikal*, Mathruboomi Books, Kozhikodu, 2018, p. 43.

⁴⁵ Bindu M Menon, ‘Romancing history and historicizing romance’, *Seminar*, 598, 2009, p. 30.

piece of ‘secular’ music in Kerala and the songbooks are printed documents of such secular music. Ironically, even when the plot of the movie was forgotten, the movie would exist through its well-received songs. The movie could also be propagated through the repeated singing of these songs. The cinema notice, on the other hand, represents the literature used before the watching of the movie. The use of such propaganda materials implies another facet that there is a prevailing community of literate. While it comes to cinema posters, a ‘galaxy of signifiers’ is employed to invite attention to the central narrative. It shows the details of the film including the actors. Generally, the faces of actors are used in such posters which indicates the star value of the actors. Based on the content of the narrative the posters changed. That is, the posters were no longer material for propagating the film but a frame to perceive the narrative world of the movie.⁴⁶ The changes in the arrangement of the posters denote corresponding changes in the narratives of cinema.

The next movie *Gnambika* (1940) further strengthened film literature in Malayalam. Reviewing the film in *Mathrubhumi weekly*, the famous Malayalam writer Sanjayan marked the film as ‘a Malayalam speaking Tamil film’ and criticized the lack of ‘Malayaliness’ in the film.⁴⁷ During the period the titles of the movies used to have an additional phrase like *oru samudhayika katha*⁴⁸-a social story- indicating the nature of movie content and the content of the likely spectator community. *Nirmala* (1948) brought about another significant break by employing playback singing for the first time in the Malayalam cine industry that expanded the horizon of cinema

⁴⁶ Rajarajeshwari Ashok, ‘In retrospect: the spatial shift of the film publicity industry in Kerala during the 1980s’, *South Asian History and Culture*, DOI: 10.1080/19472498.2020.1755125. To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19472498.2020.1755125>.

⁴⁷ *Danielinte Makkal*. Created by Munjinad Padmakumar, Asianet News, 2 August 2018.

⁴⁸ M Jayaraj, *Malayala Cinema Pinnitta Vazhikal*, Mathruboomi Books, Kozhikodu, 2018, p. 61.

aesthetic and subsumed more dramatic elements in the narrative course. Through this movie, artist P J Cherian became the first Malayali producer of a Malayalam talkie which registered the trend of the influx of regional capital to a linguistics cine market. It implies two historical processes; a) identification of cinema as a potential product by the regional bourgeoisie, b) cinematic representation of a distinct linguistic identity in the wake of state formation. Such an industrial and cultural self-affirmation culminated in the establishment of a regional studio system.

It may be a coincidence that Malayalam cinema entered into the era of the studio system at the time when the nation entered into the post-colonial phase.⁴⁹ Although the primary studio in Kerala was the Travancore National Pictures, the establishment of Udaya studio is singular as it could have set forth a novel industrial and aesthetic culture for Malayalam cinema which governed -generally- the fabric of Malayalam movies for at least two decades.⁵⁰ Building up the studio became possible while the media know-how, organizational skills, and capital pooling were combined in the right proportion.⁵¹ The transformation from individual capital - as in the case of J C Daniel - to collective industrial capital with its modern ethos can be marked in

⁴⁹ The Foundation stone for Udaya studio was laid down on 25 December 1947.

⁵⁰ The industrial base of Malayalam cinema was firmly established after the grand box office success of *Jeevitha Nauka* (1951), the first Malayalam movie exhibited in a hundred consecutive days and adapted to many other languages.

⁵¹ The setting up of Udaya had been complex as movie production. It was a result of the realization of the market potential of movies by four persons who had been otherwise unrelated in their views and professions. Kunchaco, a coir factory owner, K.V Koshy a film distributor, A Vincent a film Production associate, and T.V Thomas a working class political leader put their efforts judiciously to build up the studio. When the media know -now of K V Koshy and A Vincent the organizational skill of T.V Thomas and the marketing strategy of Kunchaco had melted at a point, Udaya emerged. It was K V Koshy who started the publication of the first Malayalam magazine on cinema in 1940 from Ernakulum. He also set up a company, named *Filmco* to distribute films and got the distribution right of films like Balan, Baiz, a German movie director who became a part of Udaya through the intervention of Vincent. The organizational skills and political acquiescence of T V Thomas had been an asset for Udaya in its budding days.

the setting up of a studio like Udaya.⁵² Considering the well-established culture of cooperative societies in the production sector, the fact that Kerala had film studios run by the cooperative sector has not been odd.⁵³ Private capital alone had not been at play. However, the competition that existed between Udaya and Merryland⁵⁴ promoted the producers to search for technological advancement, aesthetic nuances, and generic varieties. While Udaya mainly produced historical romance, North ballad legends, and family stories, Merryland's focus was on mythological, and romantic plots. The experimental and parallel cinemas were shot at Chitrlekha and Ajantha. Studios like Uma and Navodhya have also bestowed to the generic variety and the expansion of the industrial base of Malayalam cinema. The increase in the number of studios signifies the correspondent expansion of the distribution system, exhibition centers, and spectator community. Thus, the studio era in Malayalam cinema manifests not only the self-reliance on production but also the mutation of cinema's economic and cultural genes.

D) Cinematic Cartography of Post-Colonial (Sub) Nationalism: Early Glimpses

The nationalist imagination can be visual as well. Owing to the subtle interactions with the state/power and arts, the visual arts delineate the contours of the nation imagined photographically. Analyzing the role of pictorial representation in the making of the princely state Travancore, Bindu Menon argues that those images were highly instrumental in the imagination of Thiruvithamkoor as a 'beauty spot', which marks its geographical distinctiveness from other regions of the Indian subcontinent. “[...] in such

⁵² It was the K & K production that made the plan for a permanent studio. The venture was joint and share-bas(ed.) However, Kunchacko could appropriate the studio in due course of time.

⁵³ Ajantha Studio in 1957-58, Chitrlekha Studio in 1975.

⁵⁴ Founded by P Subrahmaniyam in 1951 at Nemam near Tiruvanathapuram.

visual representations like postcards and compilation of photographs which were widely circulated and in the various exhibition held in Thiruvithamkoor starting in the 1930s. These were mainly reproductions of photographs of important temples, monuments, 'beauty spots' like backwaters and beaches, modern architecting achievements, new public spaces like parks and markets, indigenous crafts and art products, houseboats, waterways, railways, motor vehicles, and so on."⁵⁵

Here, what is evident has been the making of a given imagination through the selected images. These pictorial representations acted as the political tool to propagate the state symbols, to register the physical landscape upon where the state power symbolized in the images are unfolding, and to impose a self-image of the spectator. *Nalla Thanka* (1949) shows Indian flags in one scene by which the visual narrates the icons of state power in the novel context of Indian independence.⁵⁶ These symbolic regimes unravel the power in the formation of subjectivity either through direct visuals or through the narrative structure.

The first box-office hit in the Malayalam cinema industry was *Jeevitha Nauka* (1951) starred by Thikkurissi Sukumaran Nair and Pankajavalli. The success of *Jeevitha Nauka* was not confined to the box-office world. As we would see in the later decades, the glimpse of cinema-related consumerism is registered with the box-office triumph of *Jeevitha Nauka*. It could even create a fashion market though the scope was limited due to the structural constraints of the time.⁵⁷ The movie made the first 'super star' of Malayalam cinema; Thikkurissi. The star image of Thikkurissi implies a general aesthetics unfurled in the consumption of the film. The movie

⁵⁵ Bindu M Menon, 'Romancing history and historicizing romance', *Seminar*, 598,2009, p. 35.

⁵⁶ *Dainelinte Makkal*. Created by Munjinad Padmakumar, Asianet News, 30 August 2018.

⁵⁷ P K Rajasekharan, *Cinema Sandarbhangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2019.p.149.

became a canvas of imaging a novel cultural and aesthetic landscape that culminated in the political embodiment- The state of Kerala. The stardom of Tikkurissi might have functioned as a cementing factor of three former political units into one single state grounded on the 'common' linguistics, cultural and aesthetic context. That is to say, cinema and its modalities provided a 'visual' imagination of the subnational identity of the Malayalee community and its political manifestation, the Kerala state. The 'linguistic' reorganization had only been a legal-technical explanation of statehood. The formation and naturalization of Malayalee identity in post-colonial history had been more of a cultural process that preceded the official date of declaration of statehood and it continued even in the later phase as we shall see.

As mentioned earlier, the establishment of an industry-based film production studio had taken place in the wake of Indian independence. Setting aside the coincidental elements of the fact, it gets evident that imagination of/in cinema cannot be dispensed from the narrative of the post-colonial state. As some cinema got identified as 'national cinema', the moving images from the regions really chronicled the federalism and sub-national imagination of Indian nationalism. These regional variants had been a tool for the post-colonial critique of nationalism.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Ratheesh Radhakrishnan has problematized the very term regional using as an adjective before the nomenclature regional cinema.⁵⁹ The all-encompassing nature of the word region negates the internal contradictions and subjective fluidity within the socio-political realities of the region. To elucidate, he employs the distinct cinematic experience of regions like Thiruvithamkoor and Malabar inside the

⁵⁸ T Muraleedharan, 'National Interests, Regional Concerns: Historicizing Malayalam Cinema', *Deep Focus*, Jan-May 2003, p. 86.

⁵⁹ Ratheesh Radhakrishnan, 'Thiruvithamkoor, Malabar, Kerala: Speculations on the Regions in "Regional Cinema",' *Bioscope*, Sage, 6 (2), 2015, p. 127.

larger term Malayalam Regional Cinema. While the production of Malayalam cinema was concentrated in Thiruvithamkoor, Malabar province had been bestowed to cinema largely as the community of spectators. Such micro nuances of cinematic imaginations within a region and attempts to overcome it make the unconditional use of regional cinema vis-i-vis or complementary to the republic of cinema problematic. In the 1950s, Travancore was the hub of cinema production in Kerala whereas Malabar was positioned as the premier consumer of the same.⁶⁰ Historically, the internal contradictions were tried to overcome initially through Malayalam language and subjectivity built upon the same and alter through the rhetoric of developmentalism in the later phase.⁶¹

The concept of developmentalism goes hand in glove with the nationalist hegemony of Nehruvian Socialism, the promise of nation-building in an equitable manner. The political left championed this cause in Kerala which envisaged the socio-economic development of the region with the assistance of modern, scientific, and technological dispositions. The mythical utopia of *Mavelinadu* (The land of Mahabali) was evoked, not as a tradition of the land upon which the modern state seeks continuity, but as a future possibility of social formation that would bring about by the progressive politics and policies of equitable redistribution of resources. The teleological composition of national imagination built on the promises of development served the 'secular' content of unity which was a hegemonic and state-sponsored ideology of the time. The idea of developmentalism, therefore, a modern ethos by which the citizens of a sub-national political entity can transcend 'the parochial' ethnic affiliations of statehood. In the 1950s, the

⁶⁰ T Muraleedharan, 'National Interests, Regional Concerns: Historicizing Malayalam Cinema', *Deep Focus*, Jan-May 2003, p. 89.

⁶¹ J Devika, 'A people United in Development': Developmentalism in Modern Malayalee Identity', *Working Paper 386*, CDS, 2007, pp. 1-56.

political discourses of various political persuasions amalgamated at a point where the distinctiveness and thereby definition of Malayalee people would be 'a people united in development'. Nevertheless, the celebration of a modern category like development had misrepresented or non-represented the ground realities of social life. The intrusion of elitist culture in the 'secular' imagination of a post-colonial sub-nationalism like Kerala has been interrogated by scholars and some of them would argue that developmentalism became a new form of elitism in itself by the merging of elitist culture and developmental economics.⁶²

Indeed, the role of cinema in the making of a unified Kerala has to be analyzed in depth. As a visual art form, it carries the potential to be alluring to different sections of society and converges them in a physical and narrative space though reception has hardly been unidimensional. People like a given movie because of various reasons, depending on the historical context in which she/he is located. Nevertheless, the process of stardom can be reckoned as a unifying field of negotiation of myriad interests and aspirations. Stardom has been an iconographic image within the visual narrative that is produced and consumed in a particular historical conjuncture. Interestingly, starting from Thikkurissi and develop to Sathyan and Prem Nazir in the 1950s, the emergence of stardom in Malayalam cinema can be historically contextualized in the formative period of Kerala as a linguistic state. The shift from women-centered characters to male-oriented narratives by this time also implies the changing gravity of gender relations in society and explains the nation as a gendered imagination.

Such a well-established cine network functions in the capacity of the line through which the star spectacle and visual narrative be transmitted. Nor were the narrative-social (regional) interactions hegemonic in favour of the

⁶² Ibid, p. 22.

former. As Ratheesh Radhakrishnan eloquently portrayed, the film *Tiramala* (1953) had got two climaxes; one tragic ending for the Thiruvithamkoor audience and one happy ending for the Malabar,⁶³ indicating the internal contradictions of regions which are often masked in the catch-all category of region. However, the two climaxes are not only marking the regional influence of cinema narrative but also encouraging to critically look at the nexus between the narrative world and nationalism/regional imagination. Such narrative flexibility of cinema would allure more audience to the frames of moving images and this adaptability gives cinema the potentiality of being a discursive instrument of unity that the national imagination seeks for. While the narrative adjustment points towards the aesthetic difference of regions within the region, the medium, that is the cinema in itself, was acted as a connecting point between the regions. These industrial, narrative, aesthetic, and visual content of cinema can definitely be seen as another strong element of a unified sub-national imagination of Kerala.

For instance, the narrative geography of *Neelakuyil* (1954) is situated in central Kerala which exhibits the first scene of the movies when the cinema contextualizes the narrative terrain through the textual form. “The film effectively invents a new geography in the invocation of “Central Kerala”, avoiding reference to Thiruvithamkoor, Kochi or Malabar”.⁶⁴ The title card itself represents the ideal amalgamation of regional differences to a single, coherent, 'unproblematic' sub-national narrative of the state. Inside the cinematic narrative of *Neelakuyil*, various communities and the chronicles of their engagement with modernity have been inscribed. Sreedharan Nair (reformed upper caste), Sankaran Nair (champion of modern values), Mohan (the new citizen), Neeli (the abandoned subalternity), etc., personified the

⁶³ Ratheesh Radhakrishnan, ‘Thiruvithamkoor, Malabar, Kerala: Speculations on the Regions in “Regional Cinema”,’ *Bioscope*, Sage, 6 (2), 2015, pp. 127-130.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 138

internal divisions of sub-national narrative in Kerala which Ratheesh Radhakrishnan observes as not integration but an assemblage of unified Kerala.⁶⁵ The textual reading of this cinema explains the emergence of new citizenship, universal humanism as its value base- an uncompleted project of modernity particularly in Dalit matters- and the question of what is the ideological crux of these novel political experiences. The narrative and visual content of the film, it is argued, constitutes 'the Malayaliness' of the film along with the 'inward-looking' production process in which most of the crew members were Malayalees. The detailed visuals of the landscape such as paddy fields, coconut trees, water bodies, etc., and the character appearance of different communities open up the window to observe the geographical and ethnographical survey of what constitutes the idea of Kerala in natural and demographic resource cartography. It delineates the 'otherness' of being Malayalee and its political embodiment, Kerala.

Describing the context in which Neelakuyil happened, P Bhaskaran writes, “ a new story was needed. I too, discussed it with Uroob. Women should like the story and it should have a moral to say”.⁶⁶ The two pillars of narrative are revealed here. The cultural production of this decade, more or less, was directed towards the sensibilities of women. The main consumers of the so-called ‘palkili sahithyam’ (Pulp Fiction) initiated with the writing of Muttathu Varkey had been the literate women largely confined into the walls of the household. Such literature served the function of a window for these women to experience the world through language and imagination. As a capitalist industry, cinema had also been concentrating on the ‘fixed market’ of consumers. As we shall see in the forthcoming chapters, family, by this time, ensuring such a stable market. Therefore, melodramas were used in

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 139.

⁶⁶ P Bhaskaran, ‘Vasanthathinte Idimuzhakam’, *India Today*, Literary Annual edition, 2000. p.109.

plenty to attract women spectators (read family spectators). The narrative requirements were not confined there. The moral ingredient that the plot should uphold is vividly highlighted in P Bhaskaran's statement. This 'moral obligation' can be traced back to the political climate of the period. 'The moral/ideal' discourses of national politics, followed by the Left politics, created such a narrative condition that necessitates moral lessons in the end. The moral text of political discourses was transcribed over to the cultural text of cinema narrative, indicating the exchanges that exist between the two realms of social life.

The widely acclaimed and accepted movies of this decade generally manifest some of the patterns of social life in Kerala. As discussed earlier, the idea of development through industrialization was promoted through these cinema renditions. *Newspaper Boy* (1955) explicitly indicates the mechanization in the field of production through a series of visuals of a printing machine although the narrative problematizes the life of alienated labour. It is pertinent to note that a movie like *Newspaper Boy* which has got acceptance as the premier cinematic representation of the genre, neo-realism emphatically stands for the images of machines and urban landscape in its visual language. The visual content of this neo-realism had been the images of the need for new and equitable development. The intra-state migration also receives a due share in narratives. *Newspaper Boy* (1955), and *Rarichan Enna Pouran* (1958) signify the emigrational trajectories of Malayalees at that time and the emergence of a new Malayalee identity of those who are coming from 'outside'. The migration constitutes Malayalee identity more deeply in the following decades. However, those visuals in the movies of the 1950s, teleologically represent one of the possible characteristics of Malayalees as a community of emigrants. The urge to migrate implies the structural constraints of the economy to generate sufficient economic opportunity and the percolation of economic development as an idea into the individual realm,

complementing the developmentalism in the public discourse. The yet-to-come *Mavelinadu* is symbolized in the narrative edifices of these movies and new hope of citizenship, development, prosperity, and humanity was shared.⁶⁷ This version of utopia promoted by movie narratives goes hand in glove with the hegemonic discourse of developmentalism and 'distinct' Malayalee identity.

E) Narrative Diversifications as Social Representations

The building of (sub) nationalism and the definition of identities within the new practices of democratic polity had continued through the cinematic discourse in the 1960s as well, though the form and content had been more nuanced and diverse. The state mission of regional integration within the region got new momentum by this decade through the rendition of historical, mythical, and legendary narrative, unlike the previous decades in which 'the progressive modern values' were placed more or less in the centre of the narrative structure. These 'traditional and historical' renditions, largely produced from studios like Udaya and Merryland attempted to imagine prehistory for the newly constituted state of Malayalee sub-nationalism. Nevertheless, the historical narrative had been too contemporaneous than historical. The stories of 'political stability' in the past were invoked at a conjuncture as Kerala had faced a severe political crisis after the turbulent days of *Vimochana samaram* (liberation struggle) in 1957.⁶⁸ It is evident from

⁶⁷ The Climax scenes of *Neelakuyil* and *Newspaper Boy* evidently register this hope. While *Neelakuyil* ends with the hope for a new dawn of humanity, *Newspaper Boy*'s end card says 'the beginning' which implies the new hope of equality and well-being. *Neelakuyil*. Directed by P Bhaskaran and Ramu Karyat, T K Pareekutty, 1954. *You Tube*, uploaded by Movie world Cinemas, April 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QAudmWoK8pU>. 2:10-2:12 min. *Newspaper Boy*. Directed by P Ramdas, Adarsh Kalamandir, 1955. *You Tube*, uploaded by Movie Mania, October 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ix5QYfLxzM>. 2:08-2:10 min.

⁶⁸ P S Radhakrishnan, *Samskara Desheeyathayude Chalachitra Padangal*, Chintha Publications, Tiruvanathapuram, 2016, p. 106. Cherian Philip, *Kal Nootandu*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2010.

the way in which the story is told that the narrative has been addressing the present by exclusively selecting from the past. These were not only a response to the political ambiguity of the present where the narrative is placed but also an ideological instrument for the justification of the Malayalee sub-nationalism by unearthing its genealogies from the 'common past and shared myths'. By celebrating the local heroes of folklore and ballads, cultural icons for the new states were formulated.⁶⁹ It is interesting to note that the anti-feudal monarch Marthanda Varma was criticized in the narrative which indicates the departure from the heydays of monarchical states and the narrative centrality incline towards the upper caste in the newly crystalized sub-nationalism. The heroes of bygone days are replaced and the 'historical facts' get new interpretations cinematically. As implies earlier, the unfurling of a localized legend of northern ballads onto the political/cultural landscape of united Kerala intentionally serves the need for common past and cultural integration of the regions within the region.⁷⁰ These narratives were portrayed and received as common cultural treasures of the land.⁷¹ The discursive landscape of these visuals shape, represent and distribute cultural cartography for the linguistic state of Kerala.

Another stream of cinema narrative in this decade is referred to as the movies of social realism, represents the historical and ideological struggle of the political Left in the previous decades. Successful dramas and literary adaptations of progressive writers had been employed due to three major factors; a) the popular reception of the story in other modes would ensure the minimum success of the cinema rendition, b) the constraints of cinema at that

⁶⁹ Some stories celebrate women heroes of the past stretching up to the heydays of matrilineality. Eg: *Unniyarcha* (1961).

⁷⁰ *Ummi Thanka*. Directed by G Viswanath, P K Sathyapal, 1961. *You Tube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, August 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9OEMQCs-LY>.

⁷¹ P S Radhakrishnan, *Samskara Desheeyathayude Chalachitra Padangal*, Chintha Publications, Tiruvanathapuram, 2016, p. 104.

time as a medium. The studio-centered process of production reduced the possibility of new experiments in the form and content of the narrative. Such technological and industrial limitations were transcended by adapting familiar plots., c) the ongoing cultural hegemony of the Left though in a dwindling wave. The existence of class, feudal oppression, the class struggle of the peasants and workers, and so on had been the crux of social realist cinematic narratives. By the mid of 1960s, the stories of Communists led political struggles, and the once celebrated literary and theatrical plots exposing the left ideas made regular releases. It may be a nostalgic commemoration of the communist party or a self-critical introspection in the wake of the split in the Communist movement of India in 1964 and the subsequent resonance in the political and cultural realm of Kerala.

Nor does it mean that the literary adaptation was confined to Social Realism. Popular novels like *Padatha Painkili* had also found their way to be filmed. Many such narratives had been aiming the family audience which initiated a generic variety called ‘family movies’. By this time, the nuclear family got standardized yet there were joint families at some corner in a debilitating manner. Every day of the nuclear family began to be determined by modern standards. Cinema, then, became a part of the modern nuclear family as an easily available form of entertainment. The rapid urbanization, as shall see in the subsequent chapters, promoted the cinema industry to be firmly established. The widening of the cine network ensured the accessibility and availability of movies. Cine going was even rendered as the practice of a ‘good family’.⁷² The social changes in the family structure constituted a fixed community of spectators to whom certain narrative patterns were set. Recent controversial events that received popular attractions were also incorporated

⁷² *Bharya*. Directed by Kunchaco, Kunchaco, 1962. *YouTube*, uploaded by Film Library HD Movies, March 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qpLiQxB3ZWE>.31 min.

into the cinema narrative.⁷³ In the distributive justice of representation, Malayalam cinema in the period under discussion allocated much space for stories of different religious communities, strikingly with less stereotyping as happened in the subsequent decades. Muslim/Christian social⁷⁴ was a predominant generic variety of the time, owing to the more 'secular' content of the story being adapted. The diversification of generic variety implies the industrial expansion of cinema by incorporating the stories of different social sections.

The increase in generic variety is also related to the hike in the films produced. The monotonous narrative style would negatively affect market success. Expanding the industrial base of production and consumption of cinema facilitated 'product diversification'. Different social groups and social practices were begun to be portrayed as narratives. The survey of narrative variety, therefore, becomes the cue of social life in the period. Attempts were made to liberate cinema from these drawbacks by the 1970s. The influx of Gulf remittance to the Kerala economy resolved the capital crunch and the 'new wave' and new creative writers and directors revolutionized the language of cinema. Cinema became a language of visuals, keeping itself from the frameworks of literature and theatre. These industrial and aesthetic changes transformed Malayalam cinema in the following decades and made cinema a powerful cultural artifact that engages with society dialectically.

Conclusion

The advent of cinema in the cultural realm of Kerala's social life ought to be registered in the larger fabric of its engagement with modernity. It had been one of the many streams of 'modern invention of life in Kerala'. As an

⁷³ *Mynatharuvi Kolacase*. Directed by Kunchacko, Kunchacko, 1967.

⁷⁴ Jenson Joseph, *Industry, Aesthetics, Spectorial Subjectivities: A Study on Malayalam Cinema of the 1950s*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hyderabad, 2012, pp. 155-156.

industrial art form, cinema could create a physical and cultural space for itself, new practices, and a social fraction of spectators in 'its own image'. The cinematic public in the history of modernity in Kerala society manifests the subtle dynamics of social forces at play and problematizes the internal contradictions of such experiences. The industrial and aesthetic shifts in cinema emphatically imply the potential alteration through which the actual space-time had been undergoing. Even before the consolidation of the sub-national identity of Malayalee into a state form, Malayalam cinema had extended its industrial modalities by the increased number of exhibition centres, production experiments though were minimal, cinema journalism, and a community of moviegoers.

Nevertheless, in the early decades of the post-colonial Indian state, Malayalam cinema has functioned as a trustful ally of the process of nation-building, using the narrative structure and industrial networks. It was carried out largely by the feudal imagination which precipitated the process of integration to the metanarrative of Indian nationalism while upholding the regional character on the one hand and problematized the all-encompassing nature of the national self hegemonically hovering over the regional entity, on the other. Such a dialectical relation cinema is having with the official nationalist discourse, reveals the potentiality of cinematic image as an instrument of either assertion or negation, determine based on the context it unfolds. The major narrative of Malayalam cinema in the 1950s present a testimonial to the complex process of integration/affirmation of regional imagination with Indian nationalism. The immediate decade witnessed the narrative proliferation in Malayalam cinema which bestowed to the generic varieties. The cues from popular drama, literature, historical and mythological, legacies, and contemporary events enriched the discursive genealogy of Malayalam cinema in the 1960s. Such generic varieties express the fact that the various social groups began to be found representational

space in the cine narrative. 'The progressive' hegemony might have contributed to the representational redistribution of narrative in Malayalam cinema. Nor does it imply that representational justice had done to the diverse social experience of the period. The socio-economic and cultural change which received added momentum by the early 1970s brought about a new cinema with more of the language of cinema. Owing to the expansion of the artistic and industrial base, the Malayalam cinema since the 1970s initiated a multi-layered portrait of Malayalee social life through narrative images. The historical dynamics that led to the formation of such narratives and the way in which cine discourse influenced the identity and social relations will be examined in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 3

FRAMES OF GENDER

Introduction

This chapter surveys the modalities of the film representation of gender in Malayalam cinema. The diverse cinematic frames have presented the foundational questions on gender relations such as how gender relations got crystalized culturally, what are the internal contradictions of the structures upon which the existing gender relations are built, and how different social structures interact with each other in the reconfiguration of the notion and practice of gender. Attempts have been made to explore how the cinema frames through its discourses substantiate the gender practices and register the more nuanced changes that come about in gender relations.

The chapter is divided into four parts. The first part is a short survey of the historical forces which formulated gender identities in the wake of colonial modernity and explores the role of those historical factors to discern the more contemporary practices of gender. The second part examines the film representation of gender relations in the context of family. The conceptual and practical terrains of marriage, romance, and the system of dowry are examined as represented in the cinema narratives. Though the process of idealizing the nuclear family had begun in the previous decades, the cinema narratives of the 1970s and 1980s culturally ensured the heterosexual nuclear family as the ideal one. The subsequent section evaluates the cultural composition of spatial practices within the confinements of domestic space. Such a division of labor and space would have ramifications upon the constitutive disposition of the nation-state as well.

Nevertheless, the cinematic frames in the 1980s mark the changing dynamics of family life. This section surveys the interrelation between economic changes and familial constitution. As mentioned earlier, Malayalam cinema in its discursive framework registers the internal contradictions in the nuclear family system. The latter half of the 1980s in cinema representations address the question of women's creativity, awakened consciousness of freedom, and power dynamics in gender relations within the dominant discursive pattern of family frames. The section examines such changing equilibrium of gender relations through the narrative frames of Malayalam cinema.

The third part is dealt with the idea of gender as performance. The gendered body is being constituted by the performative actions designed by the society for each form of gender. The negation of woman agency and the commodification of the body are discussed in this context. The analysis is also extended to the domestication of women's sexuality discursively. The fourth part tries to locate the significant changes in the concept and practice of masculinity in this period. It is evaluated within the theoretical framework of stardom. How the star duo system of each epoch is resolved the masculinity crisis has been surveyed in some detail. The stardom of Mammooty and Mohanlal in the 1980s has been contextualized in the economic and cultural changes through which Kerala society had been undergoing during the period. Thus, the chapter is an attempt to delineate the gender relations framed in/by the cinematic narratives of the 1970s and 1980s.

1) Framing of Modern Gender Relations in Kerala

The second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century had been the significant milestones in the social development of Kerala since the period witnessed a paradigm shift from a caste-based society with landlords and princely rulers as the 'natural leaders' of the people to a society

with modern ways of life. The agency, process, and changes of that shift are labeled as modernity in the social science lexicon. The complex process of Kerala's encounter with modernity, ranging from the educational activities of the missionaries, progressive governmental initiatives of the princely states, introduction of monetary economy and capitalist agriculture, development of transportation and communication systems, social reform movements, national movement, and communist activities have already been historicized in great detail.¹ Reflecting on the ever-changing social dynamics of the time, the reform movement began to spring up in different parts of the region and was institutionalized by the second decade of the 20th century. The reform of gender relations had been one of the decisive agendas of these movements because gender was a key principle of social ordering in modernity.² J. Devika postulates the project of modernity in Kerala as en-gendering of individuals. The actual transformation took place in the locus of the social unit. The caste-based community as the fundamental unit of society had been changed in favor of gendered individuals in the community. Modernity, thus, invented modern individuals with gender identities and values.³

The modern ethos of gender had been formulated through distinct socio-political structures. The education system inspired by Victorian England, Colonial legislation, social reform movements, and so on made the acculturation process of gendered values of modernity. Rather than being

¹ Robin Jeffrey, *Nayar Medhavithathinte Pathanam*, Trans. Puthupally Raghavan and M S Chandrasekhara Warier, D C Books, Kottayam, 2013. K N Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalekal*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Tiruvanathapuram, 2015. Koji Kawashima, *Missionaries and a Hindu State: Travancore 1858-1936*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998. Sanal P Mohan, *Modernity of Slavery: Struggles Against Caste Inequality in Colonial Kerala*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2015.

² J Devika, *En-gendering Individuals: The Language of Reforming in the Early Twentieth Century Keralam*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 2007, p. 35.

³ See, K N Pannikar's analysis of the early Malayalam novel *Indulekha*. K N Pannikar, *Samsakaravum Desheeyathayum*, Trans. P.N Gopikrishnan and P S Manoj Kumar, Current Books, Thrissur, 2010, pp. 114-136.

liberative, these social forces concentrated on reformative actions. The content had been 'social' than 'political'. It had not only been a matter of reconstituting self but also a process of gendering the spaces. Binaries, the crux of the modern system of thinking, were employed in spatial definitions, and space was categorized as private and public. The private sphere/inner world got feminized whereas the public domain had been reckoned with the space for men of action.⁴ Such a gendered space can be traced out in the modernity project of Kerala society as well. The self was gendered and gender got domesticated in the broader modernity discourse. As a result, new concepts of womanhood and manhood, domesticity, marriage, and conjugal relations, motherhood, division of labor, the gendering of work, etc., were put in place. The heterosexual monogamous nuclear family had seen idealized and standardized in the sanctum of bourgeois patriarchy. Men were reformed (He was the reformer too) and women were domesticated for the reformed men.

The reformist agenda reached its zenith by the 1930s. The national movement followed by the left politics turned the attention to national and class questions. The political movements had women leaders with considerable women participation during the period.⁵ The intense political mobilization had demanded the participation of women on a large scale. Hence, women's participation in political and public life was welcomed. They were invited 'from the kitchen to stage'. The left politics idealized women comradeship in working class movements.⁶ It does not mean that society

⁴ Partha Chatterjee, 'The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question', Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, (ed.), *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History*, Kali for Women, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 233-253.

⁵ Robin Jeffery, *Politics, Women and Well-being: How Kerala became a Model*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 1992.

⁶ *Mooladhanam*. Directed by P Bhaskaran, M Casam, 1969, *YouTube*, Uploaded by Universal Entertainers Malayalam, November 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vy1b_rtip1U. *Ningal Enne Communistaki*, Directed

accepted women as a political subject in its comprehensive meaning. Rather women were seen as a subject in politics. That subjective part with political content can be seen in the Malayalam movies of the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s. The movies of K S Sethumadavan are worthy enough to be mentioned in this context. *Oru Penninte Katha* (1971) shows the revenge of a highly successful woman. The actress proudly states her status of being a woman.⁷ Gayatri Devi (Shela's character) manipulated the political situation of the region to win over her opponent, Madavan Tampi (Sathyan's character). The plot narrates the return of a woman who conquered the land in her second coming.⁸ *Mindapenu* (1970), another movie from K.S Sethumadavan is distinct from the stereotype of women. Though the central plot is revolved around family and men-women relationships in the modern value system, Kunhilakshmi, the character of Sarada shows integrity and boldness in the making of decisions. She has had a rational decision on romance and marriage.⁹ She overcomes her relational turbulence by equipping herself.¹⁰ She wants to be herself.¹¹ The character of Sarada in *Thulabharam* (1968) has also been seen as a woman with agency. Unlike the popular romantic scene,

by Thoppil Bhasi, Kunchaco,1970, *YouTube*, Uploaded by Amrita Online Movies, June 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b2cQUQJaeXQ>. *Anubhavangal Palichakal*, Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, M O Joseph,1971, *YouTube*, Uploaded by Musiczonemovies April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b84gqVQ3Nik>.

⁷ *Oru Penninte Kadha*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, KSR Moorthy,1971, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQOQXuGKhaU&t=315s.1::55> min.

⁸ *Oru Penninte Kadha*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, KSR Moorthy,1971, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQOQXuGKhaU&t=315s.39> min.

⁹ *Mindapenu*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, V M Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RU8RVBLqNV0>. 1:05 min.

¹⁰ *Mindapenu*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, V M Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RU8RVBLqNV0>. 1:16 min.

¹¹ *Mindapenu*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, V M Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RU8RVBLqNV0>. 1:38 min.

Vijaya (Sarada's character) proposed a trade union leader (Ramu- Prem Nazir's character in *Thulabharam*).¹² She also criticizes the status of women in 'big houses'. "They are treated like animals. They are allowed to appear in elegant etiquette. The freedom is given by someone else. She becomes arrogant as she expresses her opinion".¹³ These kinds of characters and statements are occasionally deployed in Malayalam cinema during the period. The title characters of some movies were women.¹⁴ Vijayakrishnan writes about the diminishing importance of women's character in Malayalam cinema. Since the inception to the 1950s, most of the film narrations were women-centered. It went on in the 1960s and 1970s with fluctuating rhythm. By the 1980s the importance of women characters faced a decisive decline.¹⁵ It is not to argue that there had been representational justice in the early decades of Malayalam cinema. As P.K Nair writes, the 1950s and 1960s had been more representational in women's stories than the following decades.¹⁶ Women in this period are owed to the political participation of women in the previous decades. The working class women were active participants of labour movements or were sympathizers of them.¹⁷ The working class had been

¹² *Thulabharam*. Directed by A Vincent, Hari Pothen, 1968, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrQrHkrs1C4>. 1:15 min.

¹³ *Thulabharam*. Directed by A Vincent, Hari Pothen, 1968, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrQrHkrs1C4>. 1:17-1:18 min.

¹⁴ For instance, *Unniyarcha (1961)*, *Kallichellamma (1969)*

¹⁵ Vijayakrishnan. *Chitrasala*, Chintha Publication, Tiruvanathapuram, 2012, p. 67.

¹⁶ Meena T Pillai, (ed.), *Women in Malayalam Cinema: Naturalising Gender Hierarchies*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2010, p. 37. For instance, *Anubhavangal, Palichakal (1971)* questioned the dominant notions of men-women relationship in family. The lead female character in the film had got agency to choose her life partner.

¹⁷ *Thulabharam*. Directed by A Vincent, Hari Pothen, 1968, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrQrHkrs1C4>. 1:40 min. *Mindapennu*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, V M Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RU8RVBLqNV0>. 4 min.

constituted by a significant number of women as well.¹⁸ The cultural hegemony of the left was instrumental in the class-based fiction and politically aligned women characters in the narrative frames. The idealized womanhood in this stream has been the women of progressive class politics.¹⁹ Conversely, the reformed notions of gender had been rendering in other mainstream melodramas.

2) Domesticating Gender: Family as a ‘Genre’

a) Marriage, Romance and Dowry

J. Devika writes; “[...] In the 1930s when the ideals of modern domesticity had received considerable circulation and support, the ideal modern home was far from being actualized as a general feature of modern life.”²⁰ This actualization happened in the succeeding decades. The melodramatic repetitions had been focused on romance, marriage, and nuclear family on par with the ideals of modernity. Even the politically progressive plots are hardly free from the naturalization of modern gender relations. It reminds the women that the future is marriage; a job can only ensure survival.²¹ Marriage is delineated (movies had been instrumental in the naturalization of modern marriage and family system) as an inevitable and eventual destiny of a woman which was introduced after the advent of the

¹⁸ *Akkarepacha*. Directed by M N Nesan, M M Nesan/Sukumaran, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, November 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wbNLEgAQZeU>. 14 min.

Panimudakkam. Directed by P N Menon, P. N. Menon and M. B. Pisharadi, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8iEL8tz-riQ>. 7-8 min.

¹⁹ *Mindapennu*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, V M Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RU8RVBLqNV0>. 1:57 min.

²⁰ J Devika, *En-gendering Individuals: The Language of Reforming in the Early Twentieth Century Keralam*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 2007, p. 107.

²¹ *Mindapennu*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, V M Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RU8RVBLqNV0>. 1:53 min.

modern system of marriage and Malayalam movies act as the ideological servant of this notion. Marriage is perceived in the legal concepts of modernity as well and two words become the core of this paradigm; contract and adjustment.²² The contract is often made in favor of men. The entire system of marriage is meant for the easy life of men. Men get into a matrimonial alliance in order to get a housewife.²³ The conjugal relation has also been held to be a companionship in the loneliness of men. Beyond that, women being idealized as the fortune of the patriarchal family.²⁴ However, the adjustment part is often left for women. Submissiveness and surrender have been expected from a wife.²⁵ “The freedom of a married woman has limitations. The most important matter is the stability of the family. The women who forget it could not be a good woman”.²⁶ The expected adjustment in the modern family is the adjustment of freedom of women to pursue their own will. Ironically, women have to be chained to get freedom.²⁷ *Ladies Hostel*, a 1973 released movie narrates the attempt of a group of women hostellers to force Lalli (Jayabharati's character) who is a men hater, to get married (She is a Singapore Malayali girl). The plot successfully explains the

²² *Idavazhiyile Poocha Minda Poocha*. Directed by Hariharan, K C Joy, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, April 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YGOH5DTXL_o. 38-39 min. *Poomughapadiyil Ninneym Kathu*. Directed by Bhadran, Jose Padinjarekara and K B Peethambaran, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fXzmLbvj9P0&t=65s>. 1 min.

²³ *Achani*. Directed by A Vincent, Raveendran Nair, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aVtUbQdsKng>. 13 min.

²⁴ *Makan Ente Makan*. Directed by Sasikumar, Joy Thomas, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uzqr70FDIKc>. 1:26 min.

²⁵ *Vivahitha*. Directed by M Krishnan Nair, A L Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, May 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oL9BmftDUP0.1>:24 min.

²⁶ *Vivahitha*. Directed by M Krishnan Nair, A L Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, May 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oL9BmftDUP0.1>:19 min.

²⁷ *Koodevide*. Directed by Padmarajan, Prakash Movietone, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3YwQJIp2XT4>. 1:18 min.

reason for Lalli's anti-men stand. She was born and brought up in a 'foreign culture'. Once she falls in love with the hero, she becomes an Indian girl wearing a saree and changing the name to Lalitha. The 'outsider' Lalli is ideologically domesticated through the Indian version of romance and marriage.

But this had not been a uni-dimensional process. Certain narrative glimpses are showing the awareness of women regarding the predatory nature of marriage. One woman character liberates a caged bird before her marriage.²⁸ She empathizes with the sorrow of a bird caged. Though the scene problematizes the fettering nature of marriage for women, it is supporting and arguing for the stability and continuity of the system by educating the women to be adjustable and accommodative. For being accommodative, she gets the reward in the form of a loveable husband.²⁹ Malayalam movies repeatedly rendered marriage as the eventual and indispensable destiny of a woman's life in which she is supposed to be 'adjustable' to the hidden norms of patriarchy. The frames reveal this structural problem as an emotional and personal predicament. The solution sought is also confined to the emotive-individualistic realm. Patriarchy, patrilineal, and patrilocal- the three pillars of the modern bourgeois family³⁰ are left undiscussed.

Romance is quintessential for such a melodramatic purpose. In the engendering process of modernity, Love, *premam* was used as 'internal force'.

²⁸ *Ishtamanu Pakshhe*. Directed by Balachnadra Menon, E J Peter, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Bravo Malayalam, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Vn8nD1XvXU>. 57 min.

²⁹ *Thulabharam*. Directed by A Vincent, Hari Pothen, 1968, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrQrHkrs1C4>. 1:49 min.

³⁰ Nivedita Menon, *Akame Pottiya Kettukalkkapuram Indian Feminisathinte Varthamanagal*, Trans.J Devika, Spcs, Kottayam, 2017, p. 49.

It is argued as the sole criterion for modern conjugal relationships.³¹ Yet the Malayali individuality is forced to negotiate with 'reformed' traditions, community, religion, caste, region, class, and social status, and other socio-cultural determinants are interplaying in the functioning of individuality. However, the modern lifestyle including education and urbanization opened up new chances of romance. The communal forces are anxious and doubtful about the modern avenues of romantic relations. It argues that if girls get higher education, the chance of romantic and 'unfavorable' marriage would be high.³² Yet, the changing social scenario compelled the 'reformed agencies' to acknowledge the individual spaces to some extent. "They are the youth of today. In matrimonial matters, their opinion has to be acknowledged to some extent".³³ The individuality of a person is compromised in the context where other social factors get involved 'for the well-being of individual'.

The idealized romance has been changing in these decades. Owing to the left romanticism, the movies of early 1970s depicted romantic relation which moved beyond the class barriers.³⁴ The mixed marriage plot had not been unwelcoming. It is argued that the new custom has been the marriage of the men and women in love.³⁵ However, the intersectional marriages became unfavorable in the representation of later movies. The ideal marriage and

³¹ J Devika, *En-gendering Individuals: The Language of Reforming in the Early Twentieth Century Keralam*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 2007, pp. 68-69.

³² *Rathimanmadhan*. Directed by Sasikumar, MA Rahman, Naseema Kabeer, 1977, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, May 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X8w8gAWG1Mg>. 44 min.

³³ *Ayalathe Sundari*. Directed by Hariharan, G P Balan, 1974, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=42ENiKiY9KI&t=4537s.2>: 39 min.

³⁴ For Instance, *Marunattil Oru Malayali*. Directed by A B Raj, Jayamathuri Productions, 1971, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, December 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nJ_edT5k8qI.

³⁵ *Jeevikkan Marannu Poya Sthree*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S R Moorthy, 1974, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Super Hit Movies, March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R1fLJzeqM6I.1> :31 min.

family being rendered have been built on endogamy. The criteria for marriage and romance were firmly established around social similarities. Clan, tribe, wealth, and intellectual stature became the foundation of an acceptable matrimonial alliance,³⁶ especially among the upper caste /middle class social sections. Nevertheless, the melodramatic plots had not been antithetical to romance. But the preferential romance became endogamous in the narrative logic of Malayalam movies in the 1980s. It suggests the audience to fall in love with the person from the same community if someone wants to be in a romantic relationship at all.³⁷ Movies like *Oru Kudakeezhil* (1985) reiterates the image of ‘romantic mistake’ done by the upper caste, educated woman and its consequence in her family life. ‘The mistake’ of Vijayalakshmi (Madhavi’s character) was her romance with a lower caste man, Unni, who was her childhood friend. Marriage, therefore, seemed to be a corrective step to restore the status and dignity of family embedded in the upper caste legacy.³⁸ If not, the consequence would be tragic. The inter-caste marriages end up in tragedy by this time unlike the movies of the early 1970s.³⁹ It is to argue that mixed marriage and individual romance had been acknowledged with tolerance at least in the narrative social world of the early Malayalam movies. Nor does it mean that same was the condition in the social narrative of everyday life. Endogamous marriage and romance have always been

³⁶ *Kattile Pattu*. Directed by K P Kumaran, Prakruthi films, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Ent, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DOEhABqYiI0.31> min.

³⁷ *Koodum Thedi*. Directed by Paul Babu, Siyad Kocker 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=62tbSZuZFIU&t=3518s>. 58 min.

³⁸ *Oru Kudakeezhil*. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHV-8A73vAM.2:03-2:08> min.

³⁹ *Madhanolsavam*. Directed by N Sankaran Nair, R M Subyaya, 1977, *YouTube*, uploaded by McMovies Malayalam, March 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mzn4RB_3TDI. *Koodum Thedi*. Directed by Paul Babu, Siyad Kocker 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=62tbSZuZFIU&t=3518s>.

preferable and idealistic in Brahmanic patriarchy.⁴⁰ By the 1980s, the discourse of Brahmanical patriarchy got hegemony in the narrative economy of Malayalam films which indicates the recession of progressive social narrative from the field of culture.

Malayalam movies are attesting to the naturalization and changing trajectories of the dowry system in the modern marriage economy along with the compromised individualistic romance. Dowry has also been the inner part of matrimonial alliances. Nivedita Menon argues that dowry is the Asian form of patriarchy. It is a form of wealth exchange between men and it relates to the compulsory nature of marriage. In a consumerist society, the value in the marriage market is decided by the dowry price tag.⁴¹ The changing dynamics of patriarchy exacerbated the universalization of the dowry system in Kerala. As the smallest unit of production, nuclear families are economic units in modern capitalist economies. Dowry, therefore, facilitates capital accumulation in the family where men are the bourgeoisie. It is the capital that is transferred through women and accumulated in the patrilineal line. Hence, dowry gets the status of capital accumulation in the bourgeois patriarchy of South Asia. By the hegemonizing of the bourgeois nuclear family in Kerala, dowry got universalized. As marriage is happened to be a compulsory social practice so was dowry.⁴² The repeated discussion on dowry implies the internal dynamics of the system and how it is practiced in Kerala society. The list of dowry in Malayalam movies is going roughly like this:

⁴⁰ Uma Chakravarti, *Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens*, Sage, New Delhi, 2018, p. 62.

⁴¹ Nivedita Menon, *Akame Pottiya Kettukalkkapuram Indian Feminisathinte Varthamanagal*, Trans.J Devika, SPCS, Kottayam, 2017, p. 57.

⁴² *Akkarepacha*. Directed by M N Nesan, M M Nesan/Sukumaran, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, November 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wbNLEgAQZeU>. 18 min.

Year	Film	Rate of Dowry
1970	<i>Dathuputran</i> (10min)	Rs 20000 and 5 Pavan of Gold
1970	<i>Vazhvemayam</i> (1:33min)	Rs 7000
1971	<i>Marunattil Oru Malayali</i> (34min)	Rs 2000
1975	<i>Love Marriage</i> (27min)	Rs one lakh and Imbala Car
1979	<i>Itha Oru Theeram</i> (25min)	Rs 40000
1982	<i>Innallenkil Nale</i> (12 min)	Rs 8000 and 5 Pavan of gold
1984	<i>Uyarangali</i> (3min)	Rs 10,000 and 10 Pavan gold
1985	<i>Koodum Thedi</i> (1.29 min)	2 lakh and 100 Pavan gold
1986	<i>T P Balagoplan MA</i> (55 min)	Rs 10000 and 10 Pavan gold
1991	<i>Kottayam Kunjachan</i> (1.25 min)	Rs, 75000
1991	<i>Apoorvam Chilar</i> (1:15 min)	Rs, 2 lakh, Maruthi car, 101 pavan gold, and others

Dowry is practiced through money and valuables and the tag would change according to the social capital men possess. When a dowry is accepted as a universal and inevitable custom, the practice, in reality, is mediated by different social structures. The structural position of the participants in society decides the nature of dowry. For Singapore returned parents, it would be one lakh and Impala car whereas common middle class family is negotiated with Rs 10,000 and 10 Pavan (80g) of gold. The Gulf migration radically altered the marriage market where ‘*Dubaikaran*’ (The person from Dubai) became the well-received bridegroom in the marriage economy of cinematic

narrative.⁴³ The Gulf money, like other socio-economic sectors, promoted the boom of dowry exchanges. It moved close to one lakh by 1990 even in lower-class families. Rapid hikes in dowry became a grave concern for low-income families and became the major stumbling block for marriage in such families. Dowry-related predicaments had not been rare in the nuclear family system of Kerala society.⁴⁴ Dowry, as a 'price tag' in the consumerist society, became a statement of social status like two-storied houses and privately owned automobiles. Ironically, men who rejected dowry are celebrated as progressive.⁴⁵ The 'generosity' of the 'progressive' husband demanded more loyalty from the woman. Nevertheless, the underlying current is the same. The exploitative aspect of the dowry system has been concealed and it is perceived as customary practice and social liability of women.

b) *Pani Teeratha Veedu: Fixing the Nuclear Family*

The forces of modernity including colonial legislations, education, organized reform activities, etc., could suggest the model of the modern nuclear family by the 1930s. However, the process had been continuing for the naturalization of the bourgeois nuclear family. It gets the locus of social/film narration. The transition from joint family to nuclear family was historicized in films like *Koottukudumbam* (1969). A joint family is reckoned

⁴³ *Akkare Ninnoru Maran*. Directed by Priyadarshan, Suresh Kumar and Sanal Kuamr, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Vinod Kumar G, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0mfY23QifhY>. *Malayogam*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, N Krishnakumar, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Full Movies, June 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H8Gqr9NpYiQ>.

⁴⁴ *Innalenkil Nale*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1IKt8oS5WQ>. 1:09 min.

⁴⁵ *Ezhuthapurangal*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, Mathew George, 1987, *You Tube*, uploaded by Kiprajod225, December 2009. Part III 4min.

as a deterrent to successful marriage life.⁴⁶ When the two familial systems are in a confrontation, movies always stand for the nuclear family. Thus, the movie narratives become the natural ally of the modern nuclear family system in the process of naturalization of the same.⁴⁷

The first lesson in this ideological mission is the standardization of the size of the family. In the novel climate of small size family, those who are having more than two children being ridiculed systematically.⁴⁸ In this way, the movies are used to promote the state policy of family planning.⁴⁹ Some

⁴⁶ *Vadakkunokki Yantram*. Directed by Sreenivasan, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movies, October 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xONg3Zt0_9A.37 min.

⁴⁷ There are references for the *Karanavar*, head of the matrilineal joint family shouted to his son that the father should take care of his children which denote the altering relationship between father and son or patrilineality. Watch, *Bhandhanam*. Directed by M T Vasudevan Nair, V B K Menon and P K Bhaskaran Nair, 1978, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M5Z3ypqr8DA>.1:17 min.

⁴⁸ *Koottukudumbam*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, Excel Production,1969, 14 min. *Interview*. Directed by Sasikumar, Tirupathi Chettiyar, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pZhJ07hDQBQ>. 14 min. *Panitheeratha Veedu*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S R Moorthy, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, October 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tpgJxy8pe44>. 43 min. *Kavalmadam*. Directed by P Chandrakumar, Augustine Prakash, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mollywood Movies, December 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FkWG-H_h3Y. 27 min.

⁴⁹ *Bharya*. Directed by Kunchaco, Kunchaco, 1962, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film Library HD Movies, March 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qpLiQxB3ZWE>. 33 min. *Panimudakkam*. Directed by P N Menon, P. N. Menon and M. B. Pisharadi,1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8iEL8tz-riQ>. 50 min. *Ladies Hostel*. Directed by Hariharan, Dr.Balakrishnan, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dNDcF2skOTY>.40 min. *Madhanolsavam*. Directed by N Sankaran Nair,R M Subyaya, 1977, *YouTube*, uploaded by McMovies Malayalam, March 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mzn4RB_3TDI.55 min. *Lisa*. Directed by Baby, Dhanya Productions, 1978, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World ent February 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nFWcGTf3QWo>.2 min. *Yatra*. Directed by Balu Mahendra, Joseph Abraham1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie T V, October 2014,17 min. *Muhoortham 11.30*. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt,January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nmcwSCLPOBM>.48 min. *Makan Ente Makan*. Directed by Sasikumar, Joy Thomas, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uzqr70FDIKc>.1 min..

movies have functioned as the ideological collaborator of the state's slogan 'we are two, we have two'.⁵⁰ The state policy becomes the new norm for constituting ideal family size. The urban couples even decided not to have children since it would curtail their freedom.⁵¹ Two phenomena have accompanied this social change. The child became the center of the nuclear family and the old people became a burden and addition that do not synchronize with the rhythm of the modern family. *Thinkalazcha Nalla Divasam* (1985) problematizes this trend. The limited space in the nuclear family and Gulf migration forced the 'additional' elements to be expelled. Aged mother has been shifted to an old age home. It also implies that such social institutions had already been established by that time since the new family structure is insufficient for accommodating the aging part of social demography. Old age homes are the new support system for elder people. The services given by the previous family structure have been changed. It began to be focused on the future (children) rather than the past (old people). The gradual expulsion of aged people brought about new agencies to the family system. Knowledge on cooking, delivery, child care, etc., has been imparted through magazines.⁵² For counseling and psychological support, the nuclear family has to rely on psychiatrists and magazines on those topics.⁵³ It

⁵⁰ *Swantham Enna Padham*. Directed by Sreekumaran Thabmi, P K Kaimal, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aDFf8-y2zDQ>. 5 min. . *Idanilangal*. Directed by I V Sasi, K Balachandar, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film library hdmovies, March 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YV-UwnZgrrA>. 54 min.

⁵¹ *Aviduthe Pole Ivideyum*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, Raju Mathew, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, June 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V8ReurUlyeQ>. 1:15 min.

⁵² *Ishtamanu Pakshe*. Directed by Balachnadra Menon, E J Peter, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Bravo Malayalam, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Vn8nD1XvXU>. 1:24 min. *Idanilangal*. Directed by I V Sasi, K Balachandar, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film library hdmovies, March 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YV-UwnZgrrA>. 26 min.

⁵³ *Poomughapadiyil Ninneym Kathu*. Directed by Bhadrans, Jose Padinjarekara and K B Peethambaran, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fXzmLbvj9P0&t=65s>. 31 min. *Vadakkunokki*

is evident from these narratives that the truncated nuclear family should have developed a support system outside its boundary walls.

The altered structure of the nuclear family can also be traced in the family picture fixed on the wall of a living room or bedroom. It is inevitable for a nuclear family household.⁵⁴ The family photo symbolizes the unity and stability of the family and is framed through modernity (by using modern technology). A family photo symbolizes a heterosexual patriarchal nuclear family as a normative system of gender relations. *Alolam* (1982) narrates the internal tensions of a monogamous family system and male anxieties. After the days of turbulence, the normative relationship is restored. The unity and stability of the modern patriarchal family are rendered with a shot of a family photo.⁵⁵ The blurred family picture in *Vadakkunokiyanthram* (1989) implies the blurred vision of Thalathil Dineshan (Sreenivasan's character) and the asymmetry inside the frames of the family. Through these images, a woman is supposed to imbibe the male-centered narrative of the nuclear family.⁵⁶ It is the framed ideology of the bourgeois nuclear family.

Yantram. Directed by Sreenivasan, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movies, October 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xONg3Zt0_9A.1-5 min.

⁵⁴ *Arayannam*. Directed by P Gopakumar, K Mohan Kumar, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, December 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I66pmMuJjm8.8> min. *Vadakkunokki Yantram*. Directed by Sreenivasan, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movies, October 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xONg3Zt0_9A.37 min.

⁵⁵ *Aalolam*. Directed by Mohan, O M John and Mohan, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Evergreen Movie, October 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f-CO_BVLCOc.2:02 min.

⁵⁶ *Vadakkunokki Yantram*. Directed by Sreenivasan, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movies, October 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xONg3Zt0_9A.38 min.

c) From Frame to Kitchen: Domestication of the Household

One of the salient features of modernity is dualism. In the formation of modern social space, the forces of modern ideology created a public/private dichotomy and later this division of social space got gendered. The private spaces of the family became feminized and the public sphere is largely considered as the space for men of action. The feminization of family and household works has been so pertinent for the functioning of the modern capitalist system. Family serves as a space for economic production and biological-social reproductions.⁵⁷ Through biological reproduction, it ensures the supply of the labour force. The social system favorable for the existing mode of production has been naturalized through different familial interventions. As the basic unit of consumption, the modern family system interferes in the production of value as well. The household works remain as hidden labor in the market visibility of capitalism. One of the foundations of marriage is the gendered division of labor.⁵⁸

House, the nuclear family's adobe, is seemed to be the natural space for the women. Though the woman is working outside, she is supposed to be at home early.⁵⁹ In the houses, the kitchen is the kingdom of women where she can execute her will without any consent.⁶⁰ Even marriage is meant to get

⁵⁷ J Devika, *En-gendering Individuals: The Language of Reforming in the Early Twentieth Century Keralam*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 2007, pp. 80-83.

⁵⁸ Nivedita Menon, *Akame Pottiya Kettukalkkapuram Indian Feminisathinte Varthamanagal*, Trans.J Devika, SPCS, Kottayam, 2017, p. 29.

⁵⁹ *Mindapennu*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, V M Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RU8RVBLqNV0.1:30-31> min.

⁶⁰ *Vazhvemayam*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, M O Joseph, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A3-xrvV438I.9> min.

a homemaker.⁶¹ The terminology used to point out this is a dictatorship; rule over the kitchen. In every marriage, a kitchen is waiting for the bride.⁶² The ideal ruler of the kingdom is the one who knows cooking. Nandhini (Ambika's character in *Ishtamanu Pakshe*) cannot be a good homemaker as she does not even know how to cut vegetables.⁶³ On the other hand, the cooking experiments of a Home Science graduate being ridiculed by her husband.⁶⁴ "A woman has to learn cooking. No learning other than cooking is needed".⁶⁵ The kitchen as a space had become a matter of pride for the women (or it is represented so).

Nevertheless, the household works cannot be confined to a single woman alone. The middle class family often employs another woman as a housemaid. Being an employer of a housemaid indicates the changing economic condition of middle class families.⁶⁶ Unlike the joint family, there is hardly any other woman to share the household works in the modern nuclear family. The servant job is associated with lower castes as it has been manual labour. Therefore, the house servant became a necessary employee of

⁶¹ *Achani*. Directed by A Vincent, Raveendran Nair, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aVtUbQdsKng>.13 min.

⁶² *Ishtamanu Pakshe*. Directed by Balachnadra Menon, E J Peter, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Bravo Malayalam, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Vn8nD1XvXU>.57 min.

⁶³ *Ishtamanu Pakshe*. Directed by Balachnadra Menon, E J Peter, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Bravo Malayalam, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Vn8nD1XvXU>.1:10 min.

⁶⁴ *Ishtamanu Pakshe*. Directed by Balachnadra Menon, E J Peter, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Bravo Malayalam, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Vn8nD1XvXU>.1:35 min.

⁶⁵ *Ayalvasi Oru Daridravasi*. Directed by Priyadarshan, Suresh Kumar and Sanal Kumar, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mollywood Movies, January 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rNKZeoVAcn>.4.9 min.

⁶⁶ *Udayam*. Directed by P Bhaskaran, Suchithramanjari,1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_WuWbjTwXD.29 min.

the middle class household.⁶⁷ Husbands do not share household works and it creates tensions in middle class families.⁶⁸ The housemaids are presented from the perspectives of the employers. Their demanding nature is often ridiculed (over-consuming, over-demanding, over-speaking, the arrogant housemaid is a stereotype in Malayalam movies).⁶⁹ The housemaids became ‘necessary liability’ of a nuclear middle class family by this time.

The subaltern position of homemaker and the home maid is evident. “There are only two sections in Kerala who wash cloths; wife and servant”.⁷⁰ Both are the victims of multi-layered exploitations of caste, class, and patriarchy. Housemaid is only extended labor of women at home. They are visible in the capitalist labor market since they are being paid. In the narrative structure, the housemaids get the upper hand over the middle class wife because they are more visible and independent than them. The unpaid labor of women in the bourgeois nuclear family made them a self-less object; a museum piece.⁷¹

d) *Kudumbam Namukoru Sreekovil: The Cultural Inner Self*

⁶⁷ *Anupallavi*. Directed by Baby,Dheera, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Ent, February 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q_yHafF2iV0.37 min.

⁶⁸ *Aksharathettu*. Directed by I V Sasi, Babu, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, March 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h-YuachvbJw>.3 min.

⁶⁹ *Kattathe Kilikoodu*. Directed by Bharthan, P V Gangadaran, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Scube Films, November 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AyPZF1z-nGA>. 14 min. *Kudumbapuranam*. Directed by Sathyan Anthikadu, Mathew George, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_EW3cocra3c.1:32 min. *Aksharathettu*. Directed by I V Sasi, Babu, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, March 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h-YuachvbJw>.5-6 min.

⁷⁰ *Gayathridevi Ente Amma*. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, Prathap S Pavamani and Leela Reghunath, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZysP9IkOVZw>.48 min.

⁷¹ *Mattoral*. Directed by K G George, Swapnachitra, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yazlee2rqnl>.19 min. *Nayam Vyakthamakunnu*. Directed by Balachandra Menon, R Mohan, 1991, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium cinemas, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OrHSQA76oaY>.5 min.

“[.....] The modern woman was [.....] imagined to be a combination of the “reproducer” and the ‘vessel of culture’ with the latter subordinated to the former and the former relying upon the latter for strength”.⁷² The woman at home has been the cultural icon of the patriarchal state on which the nation finds its inner self. ‘The reproducer- vessel of culture’ missions are merged in the celebration of motherhood. The Mother is rendered as an asexual woman in mainstream cinema. Thus, Malayalam cinema has given birth to a stereotypical category of *amma nadimar* (mother actresses).⁷³ It is not welcoming to cast actresses like Jayabharathi in ideal mother roles because the chastity of characters is pertinent in narrative social as it is in the social narrative. Chaste women and asexual mothers have been equated with the purity of the patriarchal state and civil society. “The mother body is [.....] celebrated, re-evaluated, reconstructed as the source of originality”.⁷⁴ This motherhood becomes the ideal womanhood and carries the originality of the culture of the nation. Becoming a mother would ensure the stability of the family.⁷⁵ Accommodating an infertile woman in the family is shown as the greatness and generosity of the man.⁷⁶ The woman without children should be apologetic in a patriarchal society. Interestingly, the impotent hero has been rare in our filmic imagination.⁷⁷ Only reproducing women (both biological

⁷² J Devika, *En-gendering Individuals: The Language of Reforming in the Early Twentieth Century Keralam*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 2007, p. 283.

⁷³ Geetha. ‘Bhayakunna Purushan: Cinemayile Penkazhachal’, *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 86, no 14, 2008, p. 61.

⁷⁴ J Devika, *En-gendering Individuals: The Language of Reforming in the Early Twentieth Century Keralam*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 2007, p. 24. *Ammayenna Sthree*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S R Moorthi, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone, November 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SnVneJofVMo>. 1:02 min.

⁷⁵ *Eeran Sandhya*. Directed by Jeassy, Prem Prakash 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A8nmRS_vcto. 1:40 min.

⁷⁶ *Makan Ente Makan*. Directed by Sasikumar, Joy Thomas, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uzqr70FDIKc>.

⁷⁷ Ethiran Kathiravan, ‘ ‘Aanatha’thinu Marayidunna Malayali’, *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 94, no 9, 2016, pp. 50-59.

and ideological) would be idealized in a patriarchal discourse for such womanhood can ensure the status quo of the system. The ideological function of a mother as a woman and a woman as a mother is evident in this context.

The focus of motherhood should be on the caring and nurturing of the child (preferably the son). The difference between mother nurtured son and the orphan is picturized in movies like *Theekanal* (1976). Whatever happens in life, a woman should live for her children.⁷⁸ The lack of care and attention from the mothers' side would destroy the future of children.⁷⁹ In a patrilineal society, women's responsibility is to deliver a baby boy.⁸⁰ The failure of it has been seen as the failure of women. Another mistake alleged on women is the lack of care for their son. The lost or abandoned son-mother relation has been a recurring theme of Malayalam cinema.⁸¹ Fixing up mother-son relations is an ideological necessity of a patrilineal society. Patriarchy can prevail only through the mother-nurtured son. Therefore, motherhood is rendered even beyond the biological aspects.⁸²

⁷⁸ *Ente Upasana*. Directed by Bharathan, Joy Thomas, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movie, August 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7AFmM>.6-8 min. *Muhoortham 11.30*. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nmcwSCLPOBM>.2:08 min.

⁷⁹ *Sunil Vayasu 20*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan,1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NK-cG9uc9-o>.

⁸⁰ *Kalachakram*. Directed by K Narayan,Raghunath, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FgLg-LYAH0Y>.1:10 min. *Interview*. Directed by Sasikumar, Tirupathi Chettiyar, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pZhJ07hDQBQ>.1:19 min.

⁸¹ *Gayathridevi Ente Amma*. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, Prathap S Pavamani and Leela Reghunath, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZysP9lkOVZw>. *Idanazhiyil Oru Kalocha*. Directed by Bhadrans, Bhadrans, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, May 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qPi6O9MurQY&t=1415s>. *January Oru Orma*. Directed by Joshy, Tharangani Films, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FMWVUOEfj2Y>.

⁸² *Ente Mammattukuttiyammaku*. Directed by Fasil, Navodaya Appachan 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Club Cinema-Malayalam, December 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FMWVUOEfj2Y>.

When the motherly women are celebrated in the cultural psyche, the reverse has been the reality in the sanctum of family. The idol of the ideal woman in the family is her husband.⁸³ Husband is bestowed with the status of God. What have been appropriate are complete devotion, submission, and purity. The wife has to be obedient and behave as her husband wishes.⁸⁴ The stability of family and society resides with the woman. “Another name for a woman is *kudumbini* (housewife). If the woman gets degenerated the community and society would completely perish”.⁸⁵ The pride of the husband and the stability of the family are given to the woman. Those who satisfy these requirements would be celebrated as a good woman. The movies are firmly establishing these kinds of stereotypes by presenting the “other women”. The westernized, liberal, urban women are the other of the ‘ideal women’. The wife attending club meetings is not an ideal woman in cinema discourses and the urban wives are being ridiculed for their club party

com/watch?v=ZLYbR45rITQ. *Dasharatham*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, Saga Appachan, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mohanlal Movies, February 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k5wFJr5UJuU>.

⁸³ *Kudumbam Namukoru Sreekovil*. Directed by Hariharan, T E Vasudevan, 1978, 30 min. *Ishtamanu Pakshe*. Directed by Balachnadra Menon, E J Peter, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Bravo Malayalam, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Vn8nD1XvXU>. 1:02 min.

⁸⁴ *Vivahitha*. Directed by M Krishnan Nair, A L Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, May 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oL9BmftDUP0>. 39 min. *Mindapennu*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, V M Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RU8RVBLqNV0>. 1:30-31 min. *Kudumbam Namukoru Sreekovil*. Directed by Hariharan, T E Vasudevan, 1978, 30 min. 1:03 min. *Ee Thanalil Ithiri Neram*. Director P G Viswambharan, Hameed and K T Kunjumon, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, December 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qXmpWi6yFfk>. 1:41 min. *Gayathridevi Ente Amma*. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, Prathap S Pavamani and Leela Reghunath, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZysP9lkOVZw> 2:10-11 min. *Kayethum Doorathu*. Directed by K Ramachandran, K Ramachandran, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, September 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fuxt8Q3ymWQ&t=2108s>. 15 min.

⁸⁵ *Vivahitha*. Directed by M Krishnan Nair, A L Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, May 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oL9BmftDUP0>. 1:50 min.

culture.⁸⁶ The ‘Society Ladies’ are antithetical to the cultural ladies. It is argued that urban wives do not obey their husbands. Therefore, they are considered as the idolators of culture. Thus, the highly educated, urbanized women are the real liabilities of culture.⁸⁷ The arrogance, women’s misunderstanding of men, and indiscipline of women seem to be the main reason for the disintegration and disturbances of the family.⁸⁸ If a woman violates the protocol and seniority of family life, no one can restore the integrity of such a family.⁸⁹ ‘The other woman’ is the woman who is undomesticated in the hegemonic patriarchy.

⁸⁶ *Vida Parayum Munpe*. Directed by Mohan, David Kachappally, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q-cGpZEUxZY>. 51 min. *Innalenkil Nale*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1IKt8oS5WQ>. 41 min. *Sunil Vayasu 20*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NK-cG9uc9-o.6> min.

⁸⁷ *Sindhu*. Directed by P Bhaskaran, R Somanath, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4LzX17oOw5M>. 1:22 min. *Prayanam*. Directed by Bhrathan, Bharathan, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Entertainment, October 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hRUt6lKB6Qo>. 36 min.

⁸⁸ *Vazhveyam*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, M O Joseph, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A3-xrvV438I>. *Akkarepacha*. Directed by M N Nesan, M M Nesan/Sukumaran, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, November 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wbNLEgAQZeU>. *Prayanam*. Directed by Bhrathan, Bharathan, 1975. *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Entertainment, October 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hRUt6lKB6Qo>. *Idavazhiyile Poocha Minda Poocha*. Directed by Hariharan, K C Joy, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, April 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YGOH5DTXL_o. *Mattoral*. Directed by K G George, Swapnachitra, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yazlee2rqnl>. *Aksharathettu*. Directed by I V Sasi, Babu, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, March 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h-YuachvbJw>.

⁸⁹ *Lal Salam*. Directed by Venu Nagavalli, K R G, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, June 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MeVb5EOiCPo>. 1:36, 1:40, 2:10 min.

e) Family in the Market

The 1980s register a critical juncture in Kerala's engagement with modernity. The influx of Gulf money, the development of the service sector, and the emergence of a middle class led the society to a distinct mode of consumption. The capital influx had been invested in houses, land, and consumer goods. The basic unit of consumption in the neoliberal economy has been the nuclear family. The family genre movies of the 1980s imparted the economic lesson for the middle class family on how to arrange an ideal home. Mammooty films promoted this consumer culture through family scenes.⁹⁰ His family genre movies delineate the routines of the middle class family. The detailed shots of interiors have provided a model for arranging middle class houses. The two-storied houses with a big surrounding wall and a gate are the typical opening scenes of these movies. Garden and car porch come next. The front yard is paved with an interlock. The living space is well furnished and it has a showcase with photos and toys. TV, tape recorder, telephone, flower vase, etc., decorate the interior. The camera, for most of the narrative time, moves through the interiors of middle class houses. It peeps into the dining hall, kitchen, bedrooms with attached toilets, etc. These scenes register the increasing role of electronic and automobile goods in the functioning of the bourgeois nuclear family.⁹¹ These images could have

⁹⁰ Jenny Rowena, "'Evan Puliyanu ketta" Mammoottyum Anathangalum', Bipin Chandran, (ed.), *Mammootty : Kazhchayum Vayanayum*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2014, p. 54.

⁹¹ *Arayannam*. Directed by P Gopakumar, K Mohan Kumar, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, December 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I66pmMuJjm8.6> min. *Nidra*. Directed by Bharathan, K J Joseph, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, April 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jJOeG_SR9dk.38 min. *AA Rathri*. Directed by Joshi, Joy Thomas, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I-ITOBtutwA.8> min. *Aalkoottathil Thaniye*. Directed by I V Sasi, Century, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7AFmM.14> min. *Idavelakku Shesham*. Directed by Joshi, Evershine Productions, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/>

constructed the middle class dream of having a house with a car, fridge AC, VCR, TV, and so on.⁹²

The prominence of the services sector has changed the life pattern and time arrangement of the family. To maintain health, morning walks, exercises jogging, or any other sports activities became a part of the routine.⁹³ The morning became a time of hurry-burry for the family. Men should go to the offices and children to the schools. They return together in the evening. Leisure and privacy have also been commodified in the neo-liberal regime. The busy schedule of working days being compensated by a family outing at weekends. Theater, shopping centers, family restaurants, etc., had already

watch?v=aGLHmIMMrQU.5 min. *Vannu Kandu Keezhadakki*, Joshy, Sajan, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bWQkKbGf0LQ>.6 min. *Ente Kanakuyil*. Directed by Sasikumar, Prem Prakash, 1985. *YouTube*, Uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam Movies, November 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZbOgxRIQadwaithamr0>. 3 min. *Muhoortham 11.30*. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nmcwSCLPOBM>.37 min. *Ee Thanalil Ithiri Neram*. Director P G Viswambharan, Hameed and K T Kunjumon, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, December 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qXmpWi6yFfk>.33 min. *Makan Ente Makan*. Directed by Sasikumar, Joy Thomas, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uzqr70FDIKc>.20 min. *Ee Lokam Ivide Kure Manushyar*. Directed by P G Viswambharan, Sajan, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fqCpww9_6zM.5 min. *Mattoral*. Directed by K G George, Swapnachitra, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yazlee2rqnl>.1-3 min.

⁹² *T P Balagopalan M A*. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, T K Balachandran, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5zyfb8vEks0>.1:30 min. *Nadodikattu*. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, Casino, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Hungama Malayalam, December 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ftMfLhro3E>.23 min.

⁹³ *AA Rathri*. Directed Joshi, Joy Thomas,1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I-ITOBtutwA>.6-7 min. *Ente Kanakuyil*. Directed by Sasikumar, Prem Prakash, 1985. *YouTube*, Uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam Movies, November 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZbOgxRIQadwaithamr0>. 3 min. *Ee Thanalil Ithiri Neram*. Director P G Viswambharan, Hameed and K T Kunjumon, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, December 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qXmpWi6yFfk>.33 min.

been developed to accommodate leisure consumption.⁹⁴ Primetime has been demarcated for watching television and video cassettes.⁹⁵ Movies, be that in theatre or television, became a primary leisure commodity of the nuclear family by that time. The family genre films mainly targeted such as leisure consumers.

These movies historicize the changing pivot of nuclear families as well. A child-centered narrative got prominence in the movies of the 1980s.⁹⁶ Baby Salini and baby Shamili had played the major child character roles in the 1980s. *Ente Mammatty Kuttiyamaku* (1984), *My Dear Kuttichatan* (1984), *Makan Ente Makan* (1985), *Onnu Muthal Poojyam Vare* (1986) *Manivathoorile Ayiram Sivarathirikal* (1987), *Poovinu Puthiya Poothennal* (1986), *Kakothikavile Appoppanthadi* (1989), etc., are some of the successful 'children' movies of the time. The nuclear family is gravely concerned about the education and security of children. The English medium school children have been the ingredient of the family genre. Missing children is a repetitive theme of the time which indicates the growing anxiety of the child-centered nuclear family. These families are built on the next generation in terms of emotions and economics. The toys and the flourishing toy markets imply the centrality of children in the social and familial imagination. Toys became the synonym for the child. The memory of a child is evoked through the toys

⁹⁴ *Kattathe Kilikoodu*. Directed by Bharthan, P V Gangadaran, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Scube Films, November 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AyPZF1z-nGA> 24-25 min. *AA Rathri*. Directed Joshi, Joy Thomas, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I-ITOBtutwA>. 16 min.

⁹⁵ *Aalkoottathil Thaniye*. Directed by I V Sasi, Century, 1984. *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7AFmM>. 14 min. *Eeran Sandhya*. Directed by Jeassy, Prem Prakash 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A8nmRS_vcto. 19 min. *Ee Lokam Ivide Kure Manushyar*. Directed by P G Visvambharan, Sajan, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fqCpww9_6zM. 5 min.

⁹⁶ Meena T Pillai, (ed.), *Women in Malayalam Cinema: Naturalising Gender Hierarchies*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2010, p. 78.

she/he used. The abandoned toy symbolizes a missing child. This is how the commodity market represents the emotional history of a given time. That is to say that a child is imagined with toys purchased from the market.

The preference for a boy child of a nuclear family can also be traced out from the movies of the 1970s and 1980s. The birth of a girl child is unwelcoming.⁹⁷ On the other hand, the boy child represents the hope of the family.⁹⁸ The modern family would go to any extent to get a boy child.⁹⁹ Movies like *Innallenkil Nale* (1982) problematize the boy preference in the family. It is argued that the girl child would come with a series of problems.¹⁰⁰ When the children grow, the boys receive good treatment than their sisters. The girl child grows like servants, uninvited guests, without proper attention even from the parents.¹⁰¹ The film *Innalenkil Nale* (1982) vehemently criticizes the boy preference of the Malayalee nuclear family. The reason is quite evident that one cannot expect anything else from a patrilineal, patriarchal society. In the modern nuclear family, the children demand protracted economic investment.¹⁰² Hence, the economic rationale

⁹⁷ *Ammayenna Sthree*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S R Moorthi, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone, November 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SnVneJofVMo>. 9 min. *Interview*. Directed by Sasikumar, Tirupathi Chettiyar, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pZhJ07hDQBQ>. 1:19 min.

⁹⁸ *Kalachakram*. Directed by K Narayan, Raghunath, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FgLg-LYAH0Y>. 1:00 min, 1:10 min.

⁹⁹ *Thadakam*. Directed by I V Sasi, Arifa Hassan, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Hungama Malayalam, April 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l-sWz94X_xU&pbjreload=10.2 min.

¹⁰⁰ *Innalenkil Nale*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1IKt8oS5WQ>. 1 min.

¹⁰¹ *Innalenkil Nale*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1IKt8oS5WQ>. 1:29-31 min.

¹⁰² *Adhipan*. Directed by K Madhu, Geethika, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TDFhrD7FGqc>. 17 min.

would always prefer boy as the spending of money would directly beneficial for the asset of the father. The investment could remain inside the patrilineal lines unlike the investment on a girl child for it would merge with an external line of inheritance.

f) *Kattathe Kilikoodu: The Crisis in the Nuclear Family*

Despite the ideological mission of stabilizing the nuclear family, the crisis of the model can also be delineated from the movies. The plots of the family genre always discuss the problems of the nuclear family and its relationships. However, the narrative rationale resolves the crisis at any cost and restores the unity of the family at the end. The ordering of a disordered family system has not always been ideological. Therefore, physical violence becomes justifiable in the patriarchal family structure. The husband represents the state in this paradigm (the only agency to use force to put things in place). The ideological apparatus naturalizes the right of the husband to punish his wife. Domestic violence gets decriminalized in these narratives.¹⁰³ The violence against the wife is reckoned a natural trait of masculinity. A man becomes masculine when he beats his undisciplined wife and puts her on a disciplined track of patriarchy. The right to normalize the

¹⁰³ *Avalude Ravukal*. Directed by I V Sasi, K Ramachandran, 1978, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1mGCKU2Bk9Q>.16 min. *Innalenkil Nale*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1IKt8oS5WQ>. 1 min.2:02 min. *Itha Oru Theeram*. Directed by P G Viswambharan, O M John, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GMKh-pTG0Rc>.2:09 min. *Aviduthe Pole Ivideyum*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, Raju Mathew, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, June 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V8ReurUlyeQ>.1:48 min. *Oru Kudakeezhil*. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHV-8A73vAM>.1:20 min. *Sreedharante Onnam Thirumurivu*. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, Century, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, February 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WflalJH8Lmg>.1:29 min.

arrogant heroine by slapping her is bestowed to the hero of the movie.¹⁰⁴ The ordering of women through physical violence has been picturized as a quiet natural act. It also includes domestic rape. Rape within the marriage is seen as the right of the husband.¹⁰⁵ The single legality of marriage nullifies every act of violence within the domestic walls. Along with the use of ordering the women, domestic violence can also be practiced to cover up the sexual impotency of men.¹⁰⁶

Psychiatrist enters into the middle class family narration by this time. It happens through psychiatric magazines or correspondence or the psychiatric practitioner in person. Poor mental health implies the dehumanized structures of society. Both women and men are the victims of it. For women, “the main reason for mental stress is subscribing to patriarchal ideology by women.”¹⁰⁷ The high level of literacy among the women and contradictory demands of patriarchy put them in creative and identity crisis. Kerala women are having education and employment without autonomy.¹⁰⁸ The lack of proper social life for women is also contributing to their confinement within the house.¹⁰⁹ The patriarchal pressure and the hindrance in creativity eventually lead a woman to psychological distress. To illustrate, Vasanti (Suhasini’s character in *Adaminte Variyellu*, 1983) does not have a space in her life except office

¹⁰⁴ *Peruvannapurathe Visheshangal*. Directed by Kamal, Castle, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, December 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CHgSJp_raMM.59 min.

¹⁰⁵ *Venal*. Directed by Lenin Rajendran, K N Ansari, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie House, July 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ycsv9Z_CA2c&t=5379s. 1:11 min, 1:29 min. *Oru Kudakeezhil*. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHV-8A73vAM>.1:54 min.

¹⁰⁶ *Kathirunna Divasam*. Directed by P K Joseph, Paulson, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mollywood Movies, December 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GoLCUFsMYEE>.1:07 min.

¹⁰⁷ Swapna Mukhopadhyay, (ed.), *The Enigma of the Kerala Women: A Failed Promise of Literacy*, Social Science Press, New Delhi, 2007, p. 13.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p. 110.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p. 120.

and home. She lacks any social or personal supporting systems. The accumulated stress put her in a psychiatric hospital. The confinement of a learned woman inside the walls of the family would end up in mental chaos.¹¹⁰ However, the narrative successfully diverted the attention from the real cause of women's stress. The allegation is pointed towards the consumption of cheap novels and psychology magazines by women.¹¹¹ The truncated academic life of Nandini (in *Ishtamanu Pakshe*) and the spatial confinement of the family system have concealed in the end. Such narrations would naturalize the state of affairs and divert attention from the real issues. "Women are disadvantaged by the strong social compulsion to address domestic issues as moral or social pathological to be resolved through psychological and spiritual therapy rather than political ones".¹¹² A nuclear family is lacking the mechanism of internal counseling or an emotional support system since the structure itself prefers atomized individuals. Hence, the outside agency such as psychiatrists enters into the family life. The movies in the 1980s are evidently showing the role of psychiatrists or psychological magazines in middle class family life.¹¹³ The psychological tips

¹¹⁰ *Ishtamanu Pakshe*. Directed by Balachnadra Menon, E J Peter, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Bravo Malayalam, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Vn8nD1XvXU>.

¹¹¹ *Ishtamanu Pakshe*. Directed by Balachnadra Menon, E J Peter, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Bravo Malayalam, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Vn8nD1XvXU>. 1:43 min.

¹¹² Swapna Mukhopadhyay, (ed.), *The Enigma of the Kerala Women: A Failed Promise of Literacy*, Social Science Press, New Delhi, 2007, p. 122.

¹¹³ *Swapnadanam*. Directed by K G George, P A Latheef, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HricOjiD-dE>. *Ishtamanu Pakshe*. Directed by Balachnadra Menon, E J Peter, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Bravo Malayalam, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Vn8nD1XvXU>. *Adaminte Variyellu*. Directed by K G George, Vincent Chittilappally, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fYbVnQVstZE>. *Sandhyamayanaagum Neram*. Directed by Bharathan, Boban Kunchaco, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie Mania, September 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N8mYserAvXg>. *Poomughapadiyil Ninneym Kathu*. Directed by Bhadrans, Jose Padinjarekara and K B Peethambaran, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2015,

help to restore the stability of the patriarchal family system by suggesting 'corrective measures' for proper behavior. The main psychological solution has been 'adjustment'.¹¹⁴ The failure of the family system to provide emotional and intellectual assistance has got another outcome as well; extramarital affairs.¹¹⁵ Women are the convicts in all these narratives and they suffered as the natural consequence of what they have done. The blame is put on the woman and the loveless, careless husband gets acquitted in the narrative frame. It teaches women that the permanent residence is family. The narrative is framed with the ideology of the nuclear family although the plot may be of the crisis of the nuclear family. No solution outside the existing family structure is encouraged. The imagined problems are being resolved in imaginary ways. The narration sometimes raises the actual social problem with a distorted focus and resolves it discursively. This is the way of restoring the status quo.

Divorce becomes a necessary way out of this context. Around 3000 divorce cases were filed, the movie states,¹¹⁶ which implies the fragility and crisis of the modern nuclear family. Getting a divorce becomes a good

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fXzmLbvj9P0&t=65s>. *Vadakkunokki Yantram*. Directed by Sreenivasan, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movies, October 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xONg3Zt0_9A.

¹¹⁴ *Poomughapadiyil Ninneym Kathu*. Directed by Bhadrán, Jose Padinjarekara and K B Peethambaran, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fXzmLbvj9P0&t=65s>. 1 min.

¹¹⁵ *Idavazhiyile Poocha Minda Poocha*. Directed by Hariharan, K C Joy, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, April 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YGOH5DTXL_o. *Venal*. Directed by Lenin Rajendran, K N Ansari, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie House, July 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ycsv9Z_CA2c&t=5379s. *Adaminte Variyellu*. Directed by K G George, Vincent Chittilappally, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fYbVnQVstZE>. *Mattoral*. Directed by K G George, Swapnachitra, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yazlee2rqnl>.

¹¹⁶ *Archana Teacher*. Directed by P N Menon, Madhu, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, February 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nc_Y28Qfjk.1:51 min.

thing.¹¹⁷ The patriarchal family structure with its modern value system is facing menace by the changing social topography. The mechanism is failed to be accommodative for educated and employed women. The educated woman appears to be a threat to an ideal family (the male-dominated family). Hence, the submissive and less educated woman being sought for the formation of the middle class family.¹¹⁸ The employment of women is also dealt with intolerance.¹¹⁹ The patriarchal nuclear family is built on the negation of woman agency and the forceful integration of such a woman to this system would outburst in the form of mental illness, extramarital affairs, divorce, etc. Therefore, an educated and employed woman always raises menace to the nuclear family system.

g) The Question on Creativity and Freedom

The women had not been the passive objects receiving the patriarchal subjugation without resistance. However, the glimpses of resistance have to be *deframed* since the narrative structure has always been constructed on the patriarchal rationale. It has been relevant to note that Malayalam cinema had encountered the issues politicized by the emerging women movements in the civil society of Kerala in the post-1975.¹²⁰ The narrative structure had been vigilant to castrate ‘Phallic’ women.¹²¹ In the 1960s, the Northern ballad

¹¹⁷ *Sreeman Sreemathi*. Directed by Hariharan, Gopi, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Ent, February 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CQSkMG77fDE>.52-54 min.

¹¹⁸ *Ezhuthapurangal*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, Mathew George, 1987, *You Tube*, uploaded by Kiprajod225, December 2009. Part II, 2 min.

¹¹⁹ *Ezhuthapurangal*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, Mathew George, 1987, *You Tube*, uploaded by Kiprajod225, December 2009. Part III, 4 min. *Aavanazhi*. Directed by I V Sasi, Saj Productions, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movieworld Ent, June 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8896pgGqrtY>.22 min.

¹²⁰ For detailed discussion on women movement in Kerala, See, C S Chandrika, *Keralathinte Sthree Charitrangal, Sthree Munnettangal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2017. Ajitha. *Ormayile Theenalangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2019.

¹²¹ Meena T Pillai, (ed.), *Women in Malayalam Cinema: Naturalising Gender Hierarchies*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2010, p. 78.

legends like *Unniarcha* (1961) represented the courage of Malayali women. It was received as the icon of a unique Malayali past in the context of the building of a sub national identity. However, by the end of 1980, the dynamics had been changed. The phallic feminine hero of matriarchal tradition was castrated discursively in *Oru Vadakkan Veera Gatha* (1989). The women's anger, arguments, and resistance are rendered as resultant of their misunderstanding of men and the narrative is sympathetic to the misunderstood men.¹²²

Germain Greer argues that the traditional social structure, consumerism, and nuclear family suppress women's sexuality and make them eunuch.¹²³ The creativity of women has been taken as a threat to the nuclear family structure. Women's creativity and patriarchal family are often in a confrontation because the existing family structure is based on the negation of women's agency. It functions ideally when the women are submissive. Yet, the creative intervention of women in Kerala's public sphere posed a serious challenge to the patriarchal family. The male narrative apparatus of the time had encountered the voice of women in public in the form of autobiography. *Ente Katha*, (My Story) the autobiography of well-known writer Kamala Surayya which was published in 1973 shook the male-oriented cultural fabric of Kerala society. Some of the film narratives can be seen as responses and critiques of women's writings, especially the autobiography. Through the women's movement and renditions, women's utterances began to be heard. Speaking up is a rebellious activity. When the submissive, obedient women

¹²² *Vazhveyam*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, M O Joseph, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A3-xrvV438I>. *Oru Vadakkan Veera Gatha*. Directed by Hariharan, P V Gangadharan, 1989, *Ee Thanalil Ithiri Neram*. Director P G Viswambharan, Hameed and K T Kunjumon, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, December 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qXmpWi6yFfk>. *Oru Kudakeezhil*. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHV-8A73vAM>.

¹²³ German Greer, *The Female Eunuch*, HarperCollins, e book, 2008.

began to speak up about her personal life, the very foundation of the patriarchal socio-family structure has crumbled. Hence, it is evident that the move to politicize personal life, especially, women's lives in the family have to counter with all weapons of the cultural apparatus of patriarchy.

It appears that two Malayalam movies in the latter half of the 1980s discussed the contradictory nature of woman creativity in the patriarchal family structure. *Oru Kudakeezhil* (1985) narrates the nuances of women writing and family structure. It indicates the growing demand for woman's autobiography.¹²⁴ The creative expression of the woman affects the future of the family and the pride of the husband. Vjyalakshmi (Madhavi's character – A woman writer should have thick specs and a big red dot worn on the center of the forehead) being expelled by Adv Viswanathan Nair on the allegation that she writes autobiography against her husband.¹²⁵ Adv Viswanathan Nair signifies the revengeful patriarchy against women's expression. One male character in the movie demands her to write the story of an unloving woman as well. The narrative culminates with an argument that a woman's autobiography is a product of her misunderstanding of man. Truth always lies with the man; imagination with the woman. The film concludes with a proclamation of Vijayalakshmi. "I wish to be an ideal woman who loves husband. I stop my writing for that".¹²⁶ The narratives re-domesticate women by eliminating their creative potentials. It evidently registers the contradiction between the creativity of women and the ideals of the patriarchal family. The woman is supposed to choose either family or creative life.

¹²⁴ *Oru Kudakeezhil*. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHV-8A73vAM>.53 min.

¹²⁵ *Oru Kudakeezhil*. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHV-8A73vAM>.1:20 min.

¹²⁶ *Oru Kudakeezhil*. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHV-8A73vAM>.2:11-12 min.

Ezhuthapurangal (1989) appears to be a women-centered story. The central narration is based on the life of three women; Vimala Jacob (a divorced mother), Seetha (a struggling wife), and Rajalakshmi (a creative writer). Though the narrative justice seems to be in favour of women, it concludes with an edge of apolitical woman subjectivity. The movie problematizes the notion of chastity, victimization of raped women, confrontation of patriarchal demands and women's creative life, single parenting, and professional life, and so on. However, *Ezhuthapurangal*, advises the audiences that the woman is a mother in her totality. It disclaims woman's liberation through the rhetoric of Rajalakshmi, the creative writer. "I am not the spokesperson of woman liberation. From whom does the woman want liberation? Woman has to be merged as Siva and Shakti. Woman should achieve the dignity of motherhood, not liberation".¹²⁷ Women's political question of freedom is overcome by evoking the patriarchal sentiments of motherhood. Womanhood being merged in motherhood would help patriarchy to channelize the creative energy of a woman in a more favorable way of child-caring.

Movies like *Rachana* (1983) and *Venal* (1981) are also discussing the issues of woman's creativity in the nuclear family. The highly educated and well-employed¹²⁸ women are raising these questions. Therefore, higher education of women has not encouraged always.¹²⁹ In the *deframing* of

¹²⁷ *Ezhuthapurangal*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, Mathew George, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Kiprajod225, December 2009. Part XII, 2-3 min.

¹²⁸ Vijyalakshmi in *Oru Kudakeezhil* and Rajalakshmi in *Ezhthapurangal* are college lecturers.

¹²⁹ *Prayanam*. Directed by Bhrathan, Bharathan, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Entertainment, October 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hRUt6lKB6Qo>. 36 min. *Oru Kudakeezhil*. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHV-8A73vAM>. 40 min. *Ente Kanakuyil*. Directed by Sasikumar, Prem Prakash, 1985. *YouTube*, Uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam Movies, November 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZbOgxRI> Qadwaith amr0. 33

movies, it is evident that the narrative hegemony being challenged from within at some moments. In *Mindapennu* (1970) the heroine states that she wants to move to a world where love is a rule, envy is absent and self-respect is ensured.¹³⁰ The yoke of patriarchy is recognized by the woman in these narratives. The life of woman moves with heavy burdens imposed on her by somebody.¹³¹ The pattern of domestic labor is also challenged in some narratives.¹³² However, these statements are coming out of real-life experiences. Those are experience-based criticism of the system. The lack of coherent political analysis and way out ensure the stability of the system even when injustice and violence have been registered. Indeed, it is fixed inside the patriarchal narrative frame. Putting oneself out of the frame is a political act.

This political act can be seen in *Adaminte Variyellu* (1983). Ammini, a Dalit working class woman achieved the out of frame status by the end of the narrative. Her escape has two reciprocal dimensions. It has been an escape from the social narrative (discourses) and narrative social (representations). Both are indispensable for the liberation politics of gender relations. But it happens rarely. The politics of gender have been discussed in detail in I V Sasi's *Innalenkil Nale* (1982) which problematize the practice of dowry,¹³³

min. *Aavanazhi*. Directed by I V Sasi, Saj Productions, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movieworld Ent, June 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8896pgGqrtY>.22 min.

¹³⁰ *Mindapennu*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, V M Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RU8RVBLqNV0>.1:26 min.

¹³¹ *Prayanam*. Directed by Bhrathan, Bharathan, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Entertainment, October 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hRUt6lKB6Qo>.1:08 min.

¹³² *Aa Neram Alpa Dooram*. Directed by Thampi Kannamthnam, T Balamurukan and T Kalayan Kumar, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZxlcInm5pZM>.50 min. *Aksharathettu*. Directed by I V Sasi, Babu, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, March 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h-YuachvbJw>.3 min.

¹³³ *Innalenkil Nale*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1IKt8oS5WQ>.1:09 min.

where preference is given to boys since childhood, and the imposition of the nation of chastity on the woman alone.¹³⁴ In one of the vehement argument scenes on marriage, the woman destroys the romantic overtone of bourgeois platonic love. She says, “I remain unmarried because I could not find a man of equal character, profession, and status”.¹³⁵ Such a woman with agency has not been common in the narrative structure of Malayalam cinema. In the final scenes, the movie predicts the changing focus on political struggle. If the judicial system is standing with a structure that makes women slaves, the future politics would not be the class struggle between the capitalist and the working class, but that would be a great revolutionary struggle of women by breaking the chains and blocks of their enslavement.¹³⁶ The movie ends with a voice-over that asks the audience to do justice to the next generation of women at least. The movie attempts to discuss the current debates initiated by the women's movement of the time in a rhetorical manner. However, Malayalam cinema did not do gender justice in its narrative and industrial edifices, rather it served the function of naturalizing the patriarchal ideology through repetitive discourses.

3) Performing Gender: Men Act, Women Appears¹³⁷

a) Woman as body and body as spectacle commodity

The movies of 1970s imply the gradual erosion of women as an individual with the agency. Through the narrative techniques, the movies

¹³⁴ *Innalenkil Nale*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1IKt8oS5WQ>.1:32 min.

¹³⁵ *Innalenkil Nale*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1IKt8oS5WQ>.1:35-36 min.

¹³⁶ *Innalenkil Nale*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1IKt8oS5WQ>.2:15-16 min.

¹³⁷ The title is received from John Berger's *Ways of Seeing*.

represented “woman as object, as a set of functions, as a body, as a passive object of the desire of the other”.¹³⁸ Since 1975, the filmic discourses in Malayalam began to serve the ideological function of objectification of women. *Julie* (1974) can be deemed as the first movie of this kind. The woman characters with agency and will in the previous decades-though the narrative lenience was to patriarchal norms-had shrunk onto the commodification of women's bodies. Women have been perceived as a body of sexual stimulation. In the soft porn category of this period, the sexualized body of women became a spectacle commodity of male consumers of cinematic images.¹³⁹ When the ‘parallel films’ were trapped in the discussion of male identity crisis and existential problems, the commercial film largely drew upon sexualized female bodies as a potential source of capital in the context of the rapid development of Malayalam cinema as an industry. The woman's characteristics were changed from A-F (ability, beauty, culture, deposit, education, fashion, and family)¹⁴⁰ to a sexual object of voyeuristic pleasure. The sexualized body of a woman is a commodity for spectacle consumption. The sexualization of women's bodies and the reduction of women's agency to the sexualized body can be seen as a cultural strategy of masculinity crisis in a patriarchal society.

J. Devika writes, “[...]how may one understand "sex wave " in Malayalam cinema of the 1970s? What implication does this have for the organization of the female's body as a beautiful sight? What 'event' does this point to? Such questions and others will certainly be of central importance in

¹³⁸ Meena T Pillai, (ed.), *Women in Malayalam Cinema: Naturalising Gender Hierarchies*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2010, p. 9.

¹³⁹ Geeta. ‘Bhayakunna Purushan: Cinemayile Penkazchakal’, *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 86, no 14, 2008, p. 61. G P Ramachandran, *Cinemayum Malayaliyude Jeevithavum*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2010, pp. 44-45.

¹⁴⁰ *Love Marriage*. Directed by Hariharan, G P Balan, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ais0aPFKRRE&t=1682s.6min>.

the writing of the history of gender in Keralam in the post-1950s.”¹⁴¹ The ‘sex wave’ in Malayalam cinema represents a critical conjuncture in the gender relationships of modern Kerala. The negation of agency has been integral to the cultural project of hegemonizing the ruling ideology. Negating women of their existence other than sexualized bodies indicates the urgent and violent necessity of patriarchal society to reinforce the subaltern position of the women in the changing socio-economic landscape. Hypermasculinization can be another part of the same concern which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Sex and violence, which evidently show masculine interests, become inevitable for the success of movies.¹⁴² In the early years of the 1970s, cabaret dancer symbolizes the sex content in the movies and those characters are lying outside the ambit of the main narrative. They were 'sexual additions' to the central plot which was supposed to make movies total entertainment. In the post-1975 movies, such sexual idols came into the center of the narrative. Nudity opened up new vistas for reimagining the body for both men and women. It was an integral part of the movies at that time. By examining the book "The Nude" by Kenneth Clark, John Berger gives valuable insights into nudity as a process of the commodification of gendered bodies. “ [...] to be naked is simply to be without clothes, whereas nude is a form of art. To be naked is to be oneself - to be nude is to be seen naked by and yet not recognized for oneself. A naked body is to be seen as an object in order to become nude.”¹⁴³ The gendered bodies are portrayed in nudity, the commodified version of the same. It provides immense voyeuristic pleasure

¹⁴¹ J Devika, *En-gendering Individuals: The Language of Reforming in the Early Twentieth Century Keralam*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 2007, p. 291.

¹⁴² *Kattile Pattu*. Directed by K P Kumaran, Prakruthi films, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Ent, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DOEhABqYiI0>. 38 min.

¹⁴³ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, New Delhi, 1972, p. 54.

and a condition in which women may recognize themselves as primarily sexual bodies. “[...] with the arrival of I.V Sasi, Bharatan and Pathmarajan, a voyeuristic intention of the hero, the villain and the viewer began to coincide [...] and a new group of heroine actresses like Seema and Shuba entered the scene as central characters”.¹⁴⁴

The sexualization and aestheticization of the female body lead to the internalization of appearance in a patriarchal society. “Cinema teaches women about how to appear in a patriarchal society. By viewing a film, the woman became a viewer and the object being viewed.”¹⁴⁵. The commodified spectacle is getting a potential source for the transformation of the subject to an object it watches. The commodification and reduction of women body as an object of sexual pleasure and the male construction of feminine aesthetics can be internalized by the women through these images. “[...] Men act, women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines not only most relations between men and women but also the relation of women themselves. The surveyor of women in herself is male. Thus, she turns herself into an object -an object of vision a sight.”¹⁴⁶ The gendered spectator of soft porn films was male. The theatres where these movies were released had been considered as men's space. The screen (or mirror) which women look at is framed by the notions of patriarchy and those movies rendered the heterosexualization of sexuality and feminization of aesthetics.¹⁴⁷

Along with the internalization of the male gaze, rape being used as a patriarchal weapon to control and ordered women's sexuality and bodily

¹⁴⁴ Meena T Pillai, (ed.), *Women in Malayalam Cinema: Naturalising Gender Hierarchies*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2010, p. 48.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 7.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 47.

¹⁴⁷ Nivedita Menon, *Akame Pottiya Kettukalkkapuram Indian Feminisathinte Varthamanagal*, Trans.J Devika, SPCS, Kottayam, 2017, p. 107.

integrity. Rape was being used as a natural ingredient of narrative in the movies of post-1975. It is relevant since women being considered as mere bodies; rape is an act of ordering of women through showing the vulnerability of her body and it is a way to silence women.¹⁴⁸ The imagery of the crushing of a flower, broken glass vase, etc., were used to represent rape which ensures the idea of female vulnerability.¹⁴⁹ The woman has to be raped for the hero to exhibit his masculinity. Since the body of a woman being taken as an object which is possessed by a man, the violation of a woman's bodily integrity is portrayed only as of the loss of men who owned it.¹⁵⁰ A rape survivor would have five choices in Malayalam cinema narrative; (a) commit suicide¹⁵¹ (b) get murder and became a vampire¹⁵² (c) get married by the rapist¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ Geeta. 'Bhayakunna Purushan: Cinemayile Penkazchakal', Mathrubhumi Weekly, vol 86, no 14, 2008, p. 64.

¹⁴⁹ Meena T Pillai, (ed.), *Women in Malayalam Cinema: Naturalising Gender Hierarchies*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2010, p. 185.

¹⁵⁰ *Itha Ivide Vare*. Directed by I V Sasi, Supriya Creations, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c5-SsDW93Vw>. *Kariyilakattu Pole*. Directed by Padmarajan, Thankachan, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pr22wV7ZWVM>. *Vandhanam*. Directed by Priyadarshan, P K R Pillai, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Choice Network, November 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uhu-7eV5cPs>.

¹⁵¹ *Olavum Theeravum*. Directed by PN Menon, P A Backer, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Amritha Online Movies, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LPAbkB663xc>. *AA Rathri*. Directed Joshi, Joy Thomas, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I-ITOBtutwA>. *Iniyum Katha Thudarum*. Directed by Joshy, Poorna Chandra Rao, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by memoviesmalayalam, December 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CVU_I73y-uw&t=2772s.

¹⁵² *Chembarathi*. Directed by P N Menon, S Krishanan Nair, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam Movies, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nv8CkGGBMyw>. *Lisa*. Directed by Baby, Dhanya Productions, 1978, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World ent February 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nFWcGTf3QWo>. *Veendum Lisa*. Directed by Baby, Baby and London Mohan, 198, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, June 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jD4o86_u-wc.

¹⁵³ *Ente Upasana*. Directed by Bharathan, Joy Thomas, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movie, August 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7AFmM>.

(d) become a whore,¹⁵⁴ and (e) unmarried single mother.¹⁵⁵ It has always been narrated from the male perspective. The multidimensional violence faced by the rape survivor went untouched for the view is structured in the patriarchal notions of sexuality. Physical violence is picturized as an event to fall in love with the perpetrator. Movies like *Mahayanam* (1989) visualize the Stockholm Syndrome that explains the patriarchal desire of submissive womankind. The rejection from family and anti-woman legal system are problematized in *Ezhuthupurangal* (1989). It also renders the social narration towards a rape survivor. Justice might be done only when the victim becomes a vampire.

The control over the body is carried out through presenting the ideal model of dress code too. The patriarchy is always disturbed by cross-dressing.¹⁵⁶ The dress becomes a means of sexual control and aestheticizing the body as a pleasure object historically.¹⁵⁷ By the 1970s, Kerala patriarchy had idealized saree as the proper dress code for dignified women. Cinema repeats the same logic of saree being perceived as the dress of the ideal Indian woman. Singapore returned Lally returned to saree as she fell in love with the hero.¹⁵⁸ Panchami and Malla (name of the characters) wore saree as they became modern from their tribal background.¹⁵⁹ In *Babumon* (1975), the

¹⁵⁴ *Aavanazhi*. Directed by I V Sasi, Saj Productions, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movieworld Ent, June 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8896pgGqrtY>.

¹⁵⁵ *Kariyilakattu Pole*. Directed by Padmarajan, Thankachan, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pr22wV7ZWVM>.

¹⁵⁶ *Thettu*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, C C Baby, 1971, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone, May 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F0S_JvIhwHU.36 min.

¹⁵⁷ J Devika, *Kulasthreekalum Chanthapennum Undayathengane?*, 2nd Edition, Kerala Sastra Sahithya Parishad, Trissur, 2018, p. 278.

¹⁵⁸ *Ladies Hostel*. Directed by Hariharan, Dr. Balakrishnan, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dNDcF2skOTY>.2:08 min.

¹⁵⁹ *Picnic*. Directed by Sasikumar, C C Baby and V M Chandy, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Hot and Sour Movie Channel, March 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5pVZI6jSF-Q&t=3838s.1:54> min *Panchami*. Directed by Hariharan,

movie directly states that saree is a dignified dress for women.¹⁶⁰ The patron of the patriarchy gets agitated while he sees a woman wearing Jeans and a T-shirt. His advice goes like this; "wearing men's dress shows your inferiority complex and attempt to be like a man. You may look beautiful in a saree".¹⁶¹ Thus, the aestheticization of the saree continued.¹⁶² It gets the status of a disciplined and ordered dress. However, churidar enters into movie description by the 1980s. It had been the dress of 'smart girls'.¹⁶³ Women appearing in saree can be taken as a typical patriarchal notion of ideal aesthetic sense and 'Indianness'.

Analyzing these phenomena, it is evident that the 'sex wave' of the late 1970s had been a cultural response of patriarchy at the moment of its crisis. The highly educated and employed women (Gulf migration and expansion of the service sector are the economic forces behind it) threatened the fabric of modern patriarchy. It became the grave need of the patriarchal system to repeatedly negate the agency of women at least in cultural discourse and rejecting their subjectivity by reducing them to the body, an object of sexual pleasure. The sexualized woman's body is a spectacle commodity. The growth of Malayalam cinema as an industry also contributed to it. The number of theatres and movies released was rocketed up in these years. The onetime producer who invested Gulf remittance in movie production had been another trend of the time. Such a cultural and capital network made the woman a

Supriya Enterprises 1976, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QB7zQHqQBo0.2:01> min.

¹⁶⁰ *Babumon*. Directed by Hariharan, G P Balan, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, June 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y4CC3ZH9dPE.1:42> min.

¹⁶¹ *Naanayam*. Directed by I V Sasi, C S Productions, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Lallu Movie World, July 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXbA7lJJ1MM.1:14> min.

¹⁶² *Manivathoorile Ayiram Sivarathrikal*. Directed by Fasil, Appachan, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mollywoodmovies, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-pmyUVSn4bU.1:19-20> min.

¹⁶³ For instance, Nadia Moidu's Characters in *Nokketha Doorathu Kannumnattu* (1984), *Vannu Kandu Keezhadaki* (1985), *Koodum Thedi* (1985).

spectacle commodity for its own gain. The crisis of masculinity tried to overcome its predicament through the nudity of women's bodies. As John Berger says, "The nudity of female body remembers men of his masculine traits".¹⁶⁴ The sexual voyeurism and treating exclusive space for men (C class theaters or softporn movies were largely used or consumed by men) show the symptoms of the male predicament in multidimensionality which shall be discussed in the forthcoming section of this chapter. Only in such a complex socio-cultural and economic matrix, the sex wave 'movies' can be analyzed and discerned.

b) Domesticating Sexuality

According to Keith Jenkins, "atomization of the family as a private sphere within the nascent public sphere of bourgeois society and as the "Specialization" by which childhood and the family situation are only features of a far more general process of social development, which also includes the atomization of sexuality".¹⁶⁵ The atomization of sexuality and normalization of heterosexuality had been carried out through the family genre films of the 1980s. Hence, the conjugal relation is cemented on woman chastity and subordination. Discipline and meekness (*Adakavum othukkavum*) are highly recommended for women in /of family. P Geetha is of the opinion that the disappearance of sexual bodies of the 1970s relates to the confidence of patriarchy that it could confine female sexuality within the structure of family.¹⁶⁶ Malayalam cinema repeatedly advises the woman to become a woman of discipline and humbleness.¹⁶⁷ It teaches the desirable mode of

¹⁶⁴ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, New Delhi, 1972, p. 56.

¹⁶⁵ Keith Jenkins, *Re-Thinking History*, Routledge, New York, 2003, p. 47.

¹⁶⁶ Geeta. 'Bhayakunna Purushan: Cinemayile Penkazchakal', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 86, no 14, 2008, p. 65.

¹⁶⁷ *Panimudakkam*. Directed by P N Menon, P. N. Menon and M. B. Pisharadi, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com>

behavior for a grown-up girl which reminds them that they start with the body and end with the same. Nothing more. Every relation, especially relations with the opposite sex has to be cautious. A girl should be grown up to keep up the patriarchal desires of female virginity and chastity.¹⁶⁸ "To save the chastity is more important than to save the life".¹⁶⁹ The movie picturized a woman who lost her chastity as a broken mirror.¹⁷⁰ Such imageries can be seen in plenty in Malayalam cinema. The 'uncontrolled' sexuality of a woman is registered as a neurotic disorder.¹⁷¹ A woman can find satisfaction when she negates the desires of life. The most important thing for a woman is discipline and meekness, the film *Chandrabimbam*(1980) states.¹⁷² The ideal woman would always keep up her charity.¹⁷³

The discursive punishment is waiting for the women who break the normative sexual behavior assigned to them. Extra-marital affairs are considered as irreparable flaws of women.¹⁷⁴Such arrogant behavior is to be

/watch?v=8iEL8tz-riQ.15 min. *Oru Kochu Swapnam*. Directed by Vipin Das, A M Shereef, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1NXeRprNFFQ>.19-21 min.

¹⁶⁸ *Innalenkil Nale*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1IKt8oS5WQ>.1:32 min.

¹⁶⁹ *Chandrasaham*. Directed by Baby,Padmasree, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ua-SjHiHnwc>.59 min.

¹⁷⁰ *Chandrabimbam*. Directed by N Sankaran Nair, P Govinda Menon, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2AQRnhjWxq8>.1:26 min.

¹⁷¹ *Chandrabimbam*. Directed by N Sankaran Nair, P Govinda Menon, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2AQRnhjWxq8>. 1:29 min.

¹⁷² *Chandrabimbam*. Directed by N Sankaran Nair, P Govinda Menon, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2AQRnhjWxq8>.47 min.

¹⁷³ *Vilkanundu Swapangal*. Directed by M Azad,V B K Menon, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, June 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ayCyx9Chu4>.57 min.

¹⁷⁴ *Idavazhiyile Poocha Minda Poocha*. Directed by Hariharan, K C Joy, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, April 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?>

punished as a lesson for the gendered family audience. The same is the case with pre-marital affairs.¹⁷⁵ Through these discursive tactics, Malayalam cinema could successfully domesticate female sexuality inside the frames of the nuclear family. It reflects in the entry of asexual, adolescent actresses of the mid- 1980s like Shobana, Jalaja, Karthika, Urvashi, etc.¹⁷⁶ Even the adolescent heroine, the characters of Nadia Moidu, and Shoba's character in *Salini Ente Kottukariari* worthy enough to be mentioned. The smartness of the girl in the first part of the narration which is evidently against the normative behavior is justified and sympathized in the second part of it by showing her illness or perishable condition. Smart beginning-sad demise formula discursively castrates the phallic woman¹⁷⁷ and restores the stability of the system. The deviants are expelled from the frames of discourse implies the disciplining practices of cinema narratives.

4) The Trajectories of the Crisis of Masculinity

a) Masculinity in the Making of Stardom: Lessons from Early Decades

The modernity project aimed at the transformation of *Pennarasunadu* (women ruled the land) to a male-dominated society where men would have control over resources. “In the 19th century, nearly 50 percent of the Malayalee population of different castes and communities were

v=YGOH5DTXL_o. *Mattoral*. Directed by K G George, Swapnachitra, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yazlee2rqnl>.

¹⁷⁵ *Venal*. Directed by Lenin Rajendran, K N Ansari, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie House, July 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ycsv9Z_CA2c&t=5379s. *Oru Kudakeezhil*. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHV-8A73vAM>.

¹⁷⁶ Meena T Pillai, (ed.), *Women in Malayalam Cinema: Naturalising Gender Hierarchies*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2010, p. 48.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 78.

matrilineal".¹⁷⁸ During the dawn of the 20th-century modern patriarchy began to be established owing to the colonial legislation and the initiatives taken by the princely states, English education, social reform movements, etc. Nevertheless, the reformed masculinity had to put itself in a hegemonic position by sidelining the 'non-man' elements of society including women and the 'lesser' form of masculinities. The historical trajectory of the hegemonizing process and the internal crisis of being a man is complex and multidimensional. The narrative frames and cinematic phenomenon like the star system shed light on the making and remaking of man in Kerala society.

Among the multiple forms of masculinity entities, one would be hegemonic that defines the way of 'being a man' in a society at a given point in time.¹⁷⁹ As Judith Butler's theorization of gender as performance,¹⁸⁰ masculinity cannot be conceived as a state of being, but as an act of doing. The action would decide the characteristics of the dominant version of masculinities in society. During the linguistic state formation decades of Kerala, narrative hegemony was bestowed with romantic idealism and idealistic romance. The leftist political-cultural hangover had been embodied in Sathyan's characters. He represents courage, steadfastness, and stubbornness through the characters he played which are analyzed as the Communist virtues of the time.¹⁸¹ The counterpart is the characters of Prem Nazir. He acted within the 'reformed' notions of a romantic relationship and represented what is ideal man-woman relations in the modern social system. Both the heroes had been working inside the matrix of class politics largely.

¹⁷⁸ G Arunima, *There Comes Papa: Colonialism and The Transformation of Matriliney in Kerala, Malabar C 1850-1940*, Orient Longman, 2003, p. 217.

¹⁷⁹ R W Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd edition, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2005.

¹⁸⁰ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and Subversion of Identity*, Routledge Classic, New York, 2010.

¹⁸¹ Ratheesh Radhakrishnan, *Masculinity and The Structuring of the Public Domain in Kerala: A History of the Contemporary*, Centre for the Study of Culture and Society, MAHE-Deemed University, 2006, pp. 135-156.

Through the narrative frames, they challenged the class division and proposed inter-class relations to overcome the class barriers and establish idealistic human relations.

But the cinematic apparatus had rendered masculinity crisis in the 1970s in the discursive frames. One trend showed the intellectual ambiguity and identity crisis in the wake of complete integration with modernity. On the basis of narrative style, it is called a new wave in cinema and modernism in literature. Interestingly, the 'internal crisis' depicted in these narrative structures was the internal uncertainty of one form of masculinity in its way to becoming hegemonic. The upper caste men had been the crux of the narrative edifices. Ratheesh Radhakrishnan writes, "It was only by the late 1970s that the integration of Nair men into modernity and the new economic fields like the emerging service sector was complete."¹⁸² The Nair self-crisis can be related to the changing familial and marriage system. The transformation from the joint family to the nuclear family and the changes in female sexuality and conjugal models perplexed the previous armchair communities. The debris of obsolete relational patterns continued. Due to the multiple forces of modernity like education, urbanization, the growth of the service sector, and so on, the upper caste men were forced to adapt themselves into the frames of modernity. The identity crisis and isolation of Vishwam (*Swayamvaram*-1972) have been caused by his encounter with urban life and unemployment. The other side of the encounter is feudal nostalgia. It is magnificently portrayed in Adoor Gopala Krishnan's *Elipathayam* (1984). The new wave movies and MT Vasudevan Nair's movies have been largely drawn upon the upper caste male crisis and represent it as a genre. Indeed, those were the apprehensions of hegemonic masculinity in the wake of rapid modernization taking place in society.

¹⁸² Ibid, p. 221.

The popular films, however, approach the question with their own form and content. Those cinematic discourses attempted to counter the 'threat' of the woman by remasculinization of body and violence. The educated woman began to be deployed in the service sector both domestic and international. The main breadwinner of many Malayalee families became women. It is an irony that woman is assigned to be the pivot of economic production in a rigidly patriarchal society. Such a social history cannot be seen elsewhere in the world.¹⁸³ By then the two powerful weapons are with the woman; education and employment. In this context, patriarchy can only discipline woman and female sexuality through cultural devices like cinema. The body becomes a site for remasculinization in cinematic narrative. The body is never outside history, and history is never free of bodily presence.¹⁸⁴ The repeated screen presence of the male body by the end of the 1970s implies the strive of men to overcome the two potential sources of threat; women and the state. Unlike the rendition of the female body as a pleasure-seeking sexual object, the masculinized body had not been a mere sight. It involves and changes the course of the narrative/history. The male body, therefore, has not been to appear, but to actively intervene in history through the structures of narratives.

According to the analysis of T. Muraleedharan, the aestheticization and sexualization of the male body in Malayalam cinema began with the movie, *Kanyakumari* (1974). The white male body of young actor Kamalahasan initiated the bodily presence of men on the screen.¹⁸⁵ However, it became an inevitable ingredient of popular films in the late 1970s. Jayan had been

¹⁸³ Ethiran Kathiravan, 'Aanatha' thinu Marayidunna Malayali', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 94, no 9, 2016, p. 52.

¹⁸⁴ R W Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd edition, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2005, p. 54. See also. Chandrima Chackraborty, *Masculinity, Asceticism, Hinduism: Past and Present Imaginings of India*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2011, p. 222

¹⁸⁵ T Muraleedharan, 'Anshareerangalum Aduppangalum Malayala Cinemayil', *Pachakuthira*, vol 1, no 2, 2004, p. 7.

presented as an iconic male figure/body by this time. The hegemonic masculinity being defined by the characters and the bodily presence of Jayan. The duo of the I V Sasi-Jayan combination could ensure massive box office success in the latter half of the 1970s and early years of the 1980s. I.V Sasi as a director and Jayan as an actor cannot be set aside in the exercise of a cinematic historicization of gendered bodies. The bare chested, half-naked Jayan's characters can be seen repeatedly in the popular films of the late 1970s. It is interesting to note that the rendition of the male body is not static, but it is in action. That is, unlike the female body, the male body has not been a mere site of spectacle. An active agency is inscribed on it. Hence, the representations of the male body have been in movement or action rather than a passive object of sight. As the female body is used to make othering-the existence of a non-male entity-male body is perceived as the location of identification for men. The wide reception of Jayan's movies has been shedding light on the grave need of a patriarchal society to be re-masculinized in the context of growing female agency and space. Soft porn movies of this time also helped them to carve out a male cinematic public in civil society. Constructing homosocial space in the narrative and the public is a way to overcome the inferiority caused by the presence of women.¹⁸⁶

Jayan became the crowd puller and rose to stardom due to the bodily presence and bodily action. Even in the limitations of acting skill, the historical necessity of Malayalee masculinity upheld him to the successful recipe of Malayalam cinema in the late 1970s. The hypermasculinity of Jayan's characters is represented in myriad ways. The fight with animals and getting control over them can be taken as one form of the celebration of

¹⁸⁶ Ethiran Kathiravan, "Aanatha'thinu Marayidunna Malayali", *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 94, no 9,2016, p. 55.

masculinity. Horse,¹⁸⁷ elephant¹⁸⁸ wild bear¹⁸⁹, and leopard¹⁹⁰ are controlled and defeated by the characters of Jayan. Such a magnitude of hyper-masculine rendition reflects the inner crisis of the male psyche. Through the consumption of these images, the male society had been filling the lacuna of anxiety associated with performance that patriarchy envisages.

There has been another historical stimulus for performing anxiety of men. It has been the presence of a state as a castrating father. The disillusionment with the political praxis especially left politics and the emergency declared by the Indian state fundamentally challenged the status of men as a performer. The cinematic resolution of the problem was of the creation of an icon- 'the angry young men'. It had been at the same time, the Bollywood witnessed the emergence of such a hero through Amitab Bachan.¹⁹¹ Jayan, Sukumaran, and Soman were the Mollywood counterpart. They marked the protest against the inefficiency of the system to provide security, job, and welfare. The system negating the image of Jayan's characters enabled him to rise to stardom. He challenged the existing system

¹⁸⁷ *Sharapancharam*. Directed by Hariharan, G P Balan, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E90ulN2Z0Bc>. *Deepam*. Directed P Chandrakumar, Renji Mathew, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, October 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uCnYeSyjpxg>. *Chandrasaham*. Directed by Baby, Padmasree, 1980. *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ua-SjHiHnwc>. *Thadavara*. Directed by P Chandrakumar, Augustine Praksh, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Universal Malayalam Movies, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mfG7lzHrzTI>.

¹⁸⁸ *Ariyappedatha Rahsayam*. Directed by Dr. Venu, Raji Philip, Koshy Philip, Koshy Ninan and John Mathew, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Universal Malayalam Movies, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qdYKNMM34pQ>.

¹⁸⁹ *Moorkhan*. Directed by Joshi, Hassan, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, October 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ESxLo5VakAY>.

¹⁹⁰ *Aavesham*. Directed by Vijayand, C V Hariharan and R S Prabhu, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ynRLgg-dCZI>.

¹⁹¹ Ziya US Salam, 'Opiate of the Masses', *Frontline Special Issue*, vol 30, no 20, 2013, pp. 20-21.

and its accepted moral codes.¹⁹² Conversely, another set of characters had been pro-establishment. Even after the personal heroism, they surrendered before the law.¹⁹³ It is more evident in the famous English-speaking scene in *Angadi* (1980).¹⁹⁴ Though Jayan's character has replayed in equal status to the son of the owner, he feels sorry about the words he used and expressed them to the policeman standing near to him. The scene indicates a politics of compromise with the state even in the radical tinge of trade union politics. The masculinity's fear of a castrating father (here, the state) is overcome through individualistic heroism and the construction of a morally good citizen. Jayan, paradoxically, embodied both.

The violent methods of getting things done also imply the performance anxiety of man. In terms of sexuality, the violent form of sexuality relates to sexual impotency. Rape being deployed as a tool to manifest the violent form of sexuality in post-1970s movies. Rape has been picturized in order to express masculine revenge or the domination of the male over the female body. The naturalization of rape, by removing it from the multiforms of violence involved served the patriarchal function to order women of self-agency and proclaim the sexual authority of men over women. Sexual performance anxiety can also be overcome through sports events like *Gusthi* (wrestling).¹⁹⁵ As a local sport of prominence, *Gusthi* (wrestling) and *Phayalvaans* (wrestlers) are celebrated as icons of invincible masculinity.

¹⁹² *Chandrasahasam*. Directed by Baby, Padmasree, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ua-SjHiHnwc>. 16 min. *Moorkhan*. Directed by Joshi, Hassan, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, October 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ESxLo5VakAY>. 1:28 min.

¹⁹³ *Ankkakuri*. Directed by Vijayand, C V Hariharan, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SM3eCG-Bs54>.

¹⁹⁴ *Angadi*. Directed by I V Sasi, P V Gangadhharan, 1980, Millenium Video Vision, Kozhikodu. 38-39min.

¹⁹⁵ *Oridathoru Phayalvaan*. Directed by Padmarajan, Suresh Babu, 1981, *Mutharamkunnu P O*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, G Subrahmanyam 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HbK-JQQnDt8>.

As it comes to family, sexual impotency stimulated familial rift. Patriarchal discourse cannot tolerate its hero becoming impotent. Such plots are rare in Malayalam movies.¹⁹⁶ Infertility has often been alleged on the woman. Yet, the male impotency is depicted in a moral and psychological framework.¹⁹⁷ *Kaathirunna Divasam* (1983) has visualized the sexual impotency of men as a reason for domestic violence.¹⁹⁸ Masculinity has been defined to transcend these internal schisms. It is equated with the consumption of alcohol¹⁹⁹ and with courage and adventure.²⁰⁰ Keeping distance from a woman can be celebrated as an iconic trait of being men. The lonely heroes who respect women but maintain a 'romantic' distance from them have been idealized. Hiding the constructive nature of masculinity traits, cinema fixes it ontologically as it says "one cannot purchase masculinity".²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ Ethiran Kathiravan, ‘‘Aanatha’thinu Marayidunna Malayali’’, *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 94, no 9, 2016, p. 57.

¹⁹⁷ *Sandhyamayanagum Neram*. Directed by Bharathan, Boban Kunchaco, 1983, *Vadakkunokki Yantram*. Directed by Sreenivasan, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movies, October 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xONg3Zt0_9A.

¹⁹⁸ *Kathirunna Divasam*. Directed by P K Joseph, Paulson, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mollywood Movies, December 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GoLCUFsMYEE>. 1:07 min.

¹⁹⁹ *Eeran Sandhya*. Directed by Jeassy, Prem Prakash 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A8nmRS_vcto. 1:32 min. . *Vadakkunokki Yantram*. Directed by Sreenivasan, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movies, October 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xONg3Zt0_9A. 55 min.

²⁰⁰ *Madhanolsavam*. Directed by N Sankaran Nair, R M Subyaya, 1977, *YouTube*, uploaded by McMovies Malayalam, March 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mzn4RB_3TDI. 2 min. *Koodevide*. Directed by Padmarajan, Prakash Movietone, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3YwQJIp2XT4>. 1:14 min. *Mahayanam*. Directed by Joshi, C T Rajan, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GFP7dzbcvI>. 1:04 min.

²⁰¹ *Ente Kanakuyil*. Directed by Sasikumar, Prem Prakash, 1985. *YouTube*, Uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam Movies, November 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZbOgxRIQadwaithamr0>. 10 min..

b) Men in Family - Men in Market: The Stardom of Mammooty

Superstar is a phenomenon constructed and sustained by popular film through variegated modes. The emergence of a star is rooted in the social structure and historical time of a given society. The making of a star is an end product of the interaction between multi-layers of social relationships. That is to say that the 'star text' is a sophisticated phenomenon. The existence of a star lays beyond the narrative frames. The vast pieces of literature of star studies elaborate on the fact that star, in the due course of time, becomes the crystalized time of a society in a given historical conjuncture. The star text contains economic, cultural, political, and social texts of hegemony and provides a cinematic solution to the attempt to make the system intact. Stars raise social issues and resolve them through individual heroism. Therefore, the emergence of Mammooty and Mohanlal as superstars delineate a particular conjuncture in the social formation of Kerala. Previously, as mentioned above, the duo of Sathyan and Nazir rose to the star value. By the end of the 1970s, Jayan became a point of cinematic imagination and attraction. Nevertheless, the clout of these star texts is largely confined to the cinema industry itself. Their presence could ensure the box office success of a movie. They were the stars of the cinema industry. It has to be noted that these 'star texts' (rather star images) could not have grown to the icon of culture and to the formal economy of the time. A Star economy had not been developed in the period. Their star values are significantly confined in the cinematic text and cinematic industry. The social formation favorable for the firm establishment of a star economy had only developed in the 1980s. That phenomenon could capitalise on the acting skills of Mammooty and Mohanlal and vice versa. The dialectical relation with stars image established through Mammooty and Mohanlal enables us to register the trajectories of the hegemonic masculinity at that time.

The stardom of Mammooty has not been come out of the superhuman characters he played. It can be seen as an outcome of the family genre films that was the dominant form in the first part of the 1980s. Mammooty was rendered as the ideal man of authority in the family. The making of Mammooty as the star is greatly indebted to the family films of the 1980s rather than the hyper-masculine performance. Through these characters, the Mammooty film instructed the audience on how to build a middle class nuclear family. After the Gulf boom in 1973 and the expansion of the service sector in Kerala, the changing economic trends are reflected largely through the market. In this context, it is interesting to note that, Mammooty characters are living in big mansions.²⁰² The period had been relevant for Kerala society was moving to neoliberal modernity. The neo-liberal modernity has been communicated through commodities. The family genre of Mammooty movies arranged the visual space for a commodified modernity. The star value of Mammooty, therefore, is interconnected to a commercialized economy. It opened up new avenues of spectacles and lifestyle to the audience. Along with the spatial representation of the commodity world, Mammooty himself became a commodified image in the cine industry, the reciprocity which was lacked in the case of previous stars.²⁰³

While analyzing the stardom of Mammooty, Oscellas argues that Mammooty through his characters symbolizes the notion of perfect manhood.

²⁰² *Ente Upasana*. Directed by Bharathan, Joy Thomas, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movie, August 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7AFmM>. *Ente Kanakuyil*. Directed by Sasikumar, Prem Prakash, 1985, *YouTube*, Uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam Movies, November 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZbOgxRIQr0>, *Muhoortham 11.30*. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nmcwSCLPOBM>,

²⁰³ Thus, Mammooty became the crux of the first fan club in Kerala. See Bipin Chandran, (ed.), *Mammooty : Kazhchayum Vayanayam*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2014, p. 216.

He is the phallic hero with a bourgeois self.²⁰⁴ C S Venikteswaran, on the other hand, emphasizes the isolated power-oriented entity of Mammooty characters.²⁰⁵ Jenny Rowena and G P Ramachandran are also emphasizing the hegemonizing of masculinity through Mammooty.²⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the social structure in which masculinity is represented by Mammooty has not been evaluated in-depth. Mammooty's characters are the family man in a market economy/society. Family, in the new economic paradigm, is seen as the primary unit of consumption. Therefore, the stability of it becomes an economic need as well. By imposing the patriarchal norms, Mammooty's characters safeguarded the standard pattern of the nuclear family/consumption unit. His characters in the narratives regulate women, save children, protect and support the family members. This is the way in which patriarchy functions in South Asian societies.²⁰⁷ However, as a man, his characters reflected the isolated and responsible shades of men/masculinity in the market. He does not want a binary to be perfect.²⁰⁸ The distance from a woman makes him more masculine.²⁰⁹ He fails to express his emotions in a natural way.²¹⁰ The masculinity portrayed in these characters is functional only when they use power (represent state) or attain success (represents market). Mammooty's characters define masculinity in this way; a successful man with authority. It implies the changing dynamics of socio-economic

²⁰⁴ Caroline Osella and Fillippo Osella, 'Malayali Young Men and Their Movie Heroes', *South Asian Masculinities*, Caroline Osella and Fillippo Osella, (ed.), Kali for Women/Women Unlimited, New Delhi, 2002, p. 7.

²⁰⁵ Bipin Chandran, (ed.), *Mammooty: Kazhchayum Vayanayum*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2014, p. 69.

²⁰⁶ Ibid, pp. 49-62 and 76-88.

²⁰⁷ Nivedita Menon, *Akame Pottiya Kettukalkkapuram Indian Feminisathinte Varthamanagal*, Trans.J Devika, SPCS, Kottayam, 2017, p. 83.

²⁰⁸ Bipin Chandran, (ed.), Op. Cit, p. 73.

²⁰⁹ *Adiyozhukkukal*. Directed by I V Sasi, Casino Films 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2AXGORwvprQ>. 1:01 min.

²¹⁰ *Eeran Sandhya*. Directed by Jeassy, Prem Prakash 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A8nmRS_vcto. 1:43 min.

contexts. Mammooty's characters represent the neoliberal man which boosted his growth to stardom. Cinema itself witness the growing popularity of Mammooty as a star.²¹¹ The style and masculine dialogues of these characters are rendered in these films. The consumption pattern of Mammooty's family films was widened with the home delivery system of videocassettes. Thus, along with the status of the star economy, Mammooty could develop an economy of a star. The fan club constituted in the name of Mammooty had contributed homosociality of men and the gendered split in the public. To culminate, the male predicament and responsibilities at a conjuncture in Malayalam modernity are symbolized in the stardom of Mammooty. The character traits are unfolded in this larger canvas.

c) Men in Fantasy - Men in Tradition: The Stardom of Mohanlal

While Mammooty represents the institutionalized masculinity of Malayalee society, the stardom of Mohanlal came out of familiarity and fantasy of male life. Osellas argue that Mohanlal represents pre-marriage romantic fantasy.²¹² 'The boy next to the door image' also helped Mohanlal to build up his stardom. The movies of Padmarajan are worthy enough to be mentioned in this context. His artistic brilliance like *Namukku Parkan Munthiri Thopukal* (1986) and *Thuvanathumbikal* (1987) rose Mohanlal to an icon of Romeo. While analyzing the female character of Sumalatha in *Thoovanathumbikal* (Clara), K P Jayakumar argues, "Clara is a fantasy. The outlawed journey of male fantasy".²¹³ Mohanlal had been the hero of that fantasy. Mammooty films sell out modern commodities and ethos in their

²¹¹ *Mutharamkunnu P O*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, G Subrahmanyam 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HbK-JQQnDt8>.12-13min &37-38 min. *Vannu Kandu Keezhadakki*, Joshy, Sajan, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bWQkKbGf0LQ>.7-8 min.

²¹² Caroline Osella and Fillippo Osella, 'Malayali Young Men and Their Movie Heroes', *South Asian Masculinities*, Carolina Osella and Fillippo Osella, (ed.), Kali for Women/Women Unlimited, New Delhi, 2002, p. 7.

²¹³ K P Jayakumar, 'Udalnilayum Nilapadum: Keezhadangalinte Drishya Charitram', *Madhyamam Weekly*, 23 June 2014.no 17. 2014, p. 23.

concrete forms whereas Mohanlal films fill the 'spiritual inner' of masculinity in a market society. Following the nomenclature of 'dream factory', the second part of the Malayalam star duo sold out dreams and fantasies. That is a more subtle and sophisticated process of subjective formation. Compare to the Mammooty films of the 1980s, the star- audience relation is more focused on emotional affinity and self -identification in Mohanlal's movies.²¹⁴

Those fantasies had been sexually determined. It was the alter-ego of an average Malayalee.²¹⁵ Mohanlal's characters are sexually flexible and more active when in a relational circle of women. In the absence of women, those characters get agitated. The lack of woman presence defines masculinity in Mammooty's movies. When Mammooty's films visualize the actual functioning of patriarchal norms in society, Lal's movies attempt to transcend it cinematically. Such a world of fantasy is inevitable for the real functioning of the socially dominant ideology. It can be used as a safety valve in an otherwise pressurized social system. The chances of rebellious behavior being truncated ideologically /cinematically by rendering the same source of fantasy which may destabilize the system. The sexual relations outside the frames of the family should have rendered in fantasy to maintain the family structure in reality. The polygamous instinct of men being resolved through it.

The revivalist tendency in Kerala society can also be historicized through the post-1980 movies of Mohanlal. In the early years of his career, he dealt with villain and character roles. The fame of *Rajavinte Makan* (1986) upheld him to the status of superstar. However, the likeability and popularity increased through 'the image of the boy next to the door'.²¹⁶ The character of Mohanlal in the movies of Sathyan Antikkadu had immensely contributed to

²¹⁴ Richard Dyer, *Stars*, BFI Publishing, London, 1998, p. 17.

²¹⁵ Caroline Osella and Fillippo Osella, 'Malayali Young Men and Their Movie Heroes', *South Asian Masculinities*, Carolina Osella and Fillippo Osella, (ed.), Kali for Women/Women Unlimited, New Delhi, 2002, p. 15.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 13.

the building up of this image.²¹⁷ Lal presented the characters of poor and struggling upper caste / middle class young men. Through these narratives, the marginalization and suffering of the previous landholding communities in the post land reform era got universalized and became a matter of sympathy. Those frames had really been showing the setbacks faced by the upper caste in their engagement with modernity in the post-state formation era. When the philosophical and existential crisis of upper caste men were filmed in the so-called parallel cinema, Mohanlal movies rendered the material condition of them by universalizing poverty and marginalization of the upper castes. The economic and social advancement of backward caste and minorities after the Gulf boom era had precipitated this feeling in the narrative economy of Mohan Lal's movies.

The natural response to such a social unevenness is revivalism and nostalgia. The past is brought forth to counter the present social change. Mohan Lal's characters became the symbol of this revivalist trend. Interestingly, the time had also been a conjecture in contemporary Indian history as well. The politics of communalism had been gaining momentum in North India by the Ratha Yatra and Ayodhya movement. The minorities and the backward castes are systematically ridiculed and terrorized in the narrative frames of Lal movies.²¹⁸ The revivalist pattern is set by Mohanlal's movies of Priyadarshan and it got intensified by the first half of the 1990s. Mohanlal moved to the image of an 'angry Hindu male' in the late 1980s.²¹⁹ Even the

²¹⁷ *Sanmanasullavarku Samadam*(1986), *Gandhinagar IInd street*(1986), *T P Balagopalan MA*(1986), *Nadodikattu* (1987)

²¹⁸ For instance, *Abhimanyu*. Directed by Priyadarshan, V B K Menon, 1991, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, February 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U2xVozW3LRI>. *Aryan*. Directed by Priyadarshan, Cheers, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y9GzdD-37sw>.

²¹⁹ Chandrima Chackraborty, *Masculinity, Asceticism, Hinduism: Past and Present Imaginings of India*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2011, pp. 181-182.

rituals like *sati* were glorified in the film *Chitram* (1988).²²⁰ Thus, Lal rose to a princely ruler of medieval time to whom *sati* being devoted. A temple-oriented village life under the upper caste chieftaincy got idealized in the later period through the angry Hindu men image he built in the late 1980s. The character change of Lal from a deceptive suffering upper caste Hindu to an angry, retaliated, revival upper caste Hindu with the imageries of Hindu deities reflects the changing political equations of pre- 1990 Kerala society.

Such a revivalist tendency had been groomed in the context of a neoliberal economy. The neo-liberal economy, as mentioned earlier, had communicated through commodities in Kerala. It was a commodified modernity. The ideological framework of modern values had been diminishing by that time and modernity was confined to the possession of modern gadgets. It is argued that the upper caste dividend had been less comparing to other social sections. The stardom of Mohanlal in late 1980, therefore, was a response of revivalist young upper caste man. It is evident that the upper caste / middle class masculinity which is the dominant form of being male in Kerala society embraced neo-Brahminical patriarchy politically. Caste-based- religion-based masculinity is hegemonized through the characters of Mohanlal in the late 1980s. The ideological gimmick of Brahmanical patriarchy changed its course to a more open and direct political engagement through the star image of Mohanlal. The class question became a matter of the past and the communal question come to the fore of the narrative. By the beginning of the 1990s, the fantasy man got merged to actual revivalist masculine politics.

²²⁰ *Chitram*. Directed by Priyadarshan, P K R Pillai, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Choice Network, November 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=THew2hCgCDs&vI=en.2:21 min>.

Conclusion

The notion of gender and practices associated with it have not been static. It has been negotiating with various social structures of the time. Although the domesticity and modern nuclear family had theoretically established its hegemony over gender relations in Kerala, the universalization and standardization of the heterosexual nuclear family had been an ongoing process. The post-colonial Kerala society had tried to establish it through myriad forms of cultural representations. Malayalam cinema played a pivotal role in this process of naturalizing gender relations. By systematically ridiculing those who are having a large family, the narratives prove their ideological loyalty to the idea of the nuclear family. Government initiatives like family planning got their due share in the narratives. The spatial practices had also been represented as gendered. The family became the miniature state and the inside space/ spiritual core of the family/state presented with the image of the woman.

Nevertheless, the praise for the nuclear family in narratives was hardly unidimensional. The internal crisis of the family structure has also been discussed. The increase in the rate of divorce and the reasons for that were investigated discursively. The issue raised by the women movement of the 1980s and the agency and creativity of women were narrated although the ideological inclination was in favor of patriarchy. By this time, the family became a unit of consumption as well. The culture of consumption percolating to Kerala society is symbolized through the narratives of the nuclear family. In the process, the woman's body became a sight, a spectacle for consumption. The agency of women being truncated to body and body got commodified. Discursively, women's sexuality was domesticated by this time. It is interesting to note that such marginalization has come about in the narrative when women began to raise their issues politically. It reflects the patriarchal structure of narrative frames.

The changes in the composition of the star have been helpful in the analysis of masculinity. A new star duo was formed in the 1980s; Mammooty and Mohanlal. It represents two dimensions of being male in Kerala society. Mammooty personifies the pro system aspect of masculinity. His characters embody the two dominant social structures in which man is supposed to perform the leading role: family and state. On the other hand, Mohanlal's characters manifest the anti-system response of masculinity. Those characters are live and move in the outside ambit of structured social entities. By the end of the decade, however, these fantasies or anti-establishment core became angry upper caste men, dominating over the marginalized social classes. Mohan Lal's characters act as a signifier of this change. The political and economic changes behind these transformations will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

IMAGE OF THE NATION

Introduction

Nationalism has been understood as the political imagination of modernity by which the nation-states came into existence and function as the embodiment of this imaginative construct. Historically, a series of selection and omission have been come about in the process of defining the constitutive elements of nation, nationalism, and nation-state. In the deliberative political attempt to forge a national community, cultural representations acted as the confederate of the dominant version of nationalism, enabling the same to standardize and vindicate the existence per se. Nor does it mean the cultural representations do not incorporate any terrain of resistance. But, the intensity of modernity in the form of capital, technology, censorship, and so forth which are embedded in the formation of representations would rather make it a device of hegemonic discourse.

The present chapter examines the nexus between such a modernist cultural representation like cinema and the ethos of nationalism in the context of India in general and Kerala in particular (as a federal imagination of nation). It explores how the nation becomes a site of struggle for ideological dominance and the reason for Indian cinema's engagement with 'pre-capitalist' affinities like religion, caste, etc., even though the medium is highly modern. The intellectual underpinnings of the internal/external dichotomy of modern Indian bourgeois self which places itself in the crux of the dominant discourse of nationalism are analyzed. The equalization of Bollywood with Indian national cinema and the need for more federal imagination is another point of emphasis in this chapter.

It is in this context, the relation between the formation of Kerala state (the political embodiment of Malayali sub-nationalism) and the cinematic representation has been sought. Moreover, the formation of a new citizen and the ideological context of the newly constituted idea of the citizen in Kerala are examined. The historical premises of the notion of citizenship was a result of the social transformations through which Kerala society underwent in the bygone years. The recent past of this history is owed to the left political and cultural movements. The hegemony of left ideology in the cultural landscape, therefore, went on in the 'class' representations of Malayalam cinema in the 1950s and 1960s. The changes in the notion of class and the politics of class struggle have been described with special reference to trade unionism, Naxalism, slogans of class struggle, and universal humanist consciousness in cinema narratives. This chapter, then, delineates 'the degeneration' of politics in general and working class politics in particular as visualized in the framework of moving images in the post-Gulf boom era. The political representations in cinema had extended to the critic of the current political economy, Nehruvian socialism, and sought alternatives by the 1980s. The gradual transformation towards neo-liberal economic and political disposition is registered in the narrative economy of Malayalam cinema at this time. The rendition on the criminalization of politics and the revivalist resolution for rectifying the mistakes of the present democratic system has been placed in the centre of cinematic narrative by the latter half of the 1980s. The star system of cinema and its role in the personification of contemporary hegemonic notions of nation and ideal politics are contextualized in the cinematic representation of Malayalam cinema. The chapter makes an attempt to contextualize the revivalist tendencies in Kerala society in the broader canvas of communalization of the Indian political scenario as well. The point of emphasis would be on the dialectical relation of the cinematic image and nationalistic imagination.

1. Visual Imagination of Nationalism: Post-Colonial Trajectories

Nationalism, one of the 'spiritual' contents of the atomized individuals in modern society has been a concrete and materialized ideology encompassing variegated forms of human existence. As an ideological system of collective belongingness developed in the backdrop of the formation of the modern 'rational' self, nationalism filled 'the emotional void left by the retreat/disintegration/ the unavailability of 'real' human communities.¹ Ironically, the rationalization of the newly constituted system of a communitarian life-the nation- had been materialized by the faculty of imagination which is built upon the sense of shared myths, common history, sacred centres, national values, ceremonial rituals, the hierarchy of powers, new forms of devotion such as patriotism, etc. While locating the historical origin of modern national consciousness in Europe, Anderson delineates the process of print capitalism - the production and consumption of books in print got increased in magnitude by the 16th century- that facilitated the consumer/reader to swing through the 'homogenous empty time', an indispensable catalyst for enlarging the contours of the community imagined by relating oneself with the unknown.² This process of imagination is owed to the cultural domains largely and that cultural sphere has been a site of struggle and a locus of negotiation for the confronting ideological interests in the search for hegemony over the civil society.

As any imagined systems work, nationalism could extend itself to bigotry, fundamentalism, and exclusivism in the process of its self-reflexivity. The central ideological construct of the nation-state, the 'we-they dichotomy, relies upon the systematic and institutionalized process of othering both

¹ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (ed.), *Nationalism Since 1789; Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2 ed, Cambridge University Press, London, 2002,p. 54.

² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised edition, Rawat Publication, Jaipur, 2015, p. 25.

internally (to hegemonize the national consciousness over the centres of difference from within) and externally (to stabilize and crystallize the national consciousness against ‘them’). In this paradigm, the nation-state duo would shift its emphasis to state-nation in which the state becomes eventual embodiment and presented itself as the only competent authority of national consciousness. The overpowering of state ideology on the conscience of a nation, though it may be argued that the state is constituted on the basis of popular sovereignty in the democratic political systems, inherently anti-democratic by weakening the democratic values of tolerance, inclusiveness, freedom, associated life, etc. This official version of what constitutes a nation is hegemonic and in constant struggle with the ‘lesser’ form of national consciousness to sustain its dominant status. The ideology of the ruling class gets naturalized through the systems of consensus making of which the cultural modalities are indispensable. Representations in the terrains of culture, more or less, render the state of the dominant system of belief by deliberately projecting what is desirable (for the ruling class ethos) and undesirable forms of national existence. Representations in this context is a process of selection and therefore political at the core. It makes the terrain of the nation-state a site of struggle for hegemony in attempts to defining the constitutive elements of the nation.

Though the influence of print capitalism was singular in the development of nationalism in Europe, the historical trajectory of the evolution of modern national consciousness in the colonized society is greatly indebted to the visual narratives since the imagery was more ease to inculcate the frames of imagination to a populace of which majority were outside the field of letters.³ Through these visual imageries, the anti-colonial nationalism imagined the nation as a gendered and culturally constituted space. Nor does

³ Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, (ed.), *Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader*, OUP, New Delhi, 2009, p. xx.

it mean that the nationalist imagination in colonial India has been monolithic to which different minor existence of nationalism was immersed. Colonialism instigated the internal contradictions of Indian society and variegated imaginations on the nation could find space in the larger context of anti-colonial struggle. Though the 'primary contradiction' of the Indian national movement was more or less settled by independence and one form of religious imagination of nation could achieve its own state in the wake of independence, the 'secondary contradictions' seek the site of the Indian nation as a locus of negotiation for social justice and economic well-being that composes the historical development of post-colonial nation-building in India. These marginalized national forms -be that Dalits, minorities, regions, ethnicity- are in constant discourse with the hegemonic nationalist imagination of capitalist, Brahminic, and the patriarchal nation-state. These struggles determine the historical trajectories of the post-colonial Indian state and cultural artifacts like cinema have been the site of struggle for hegemony over the civil society.

The 'Imagined community', has not been homogenous especially in post-colonial societies in which various identities and social groups are in constant fuzz to define their identities or spaces within the larger matrix of the nation-state. The multiple existences of national consciousness or the 'uneven development of it' always determine the power struggle within the post-colonial nation-state that make attempt to 'homogeneous to hegemonize'⁴ the official nationalism (the imagination of nation by the ruling class) by demanding the subordination of identities and systematic intervention in the civil society through the diverse modes of ideological state apparatus. Spectacle has got an important role in this paradigm. Anderson writes: "The figuring of Imagined reality was overwhelmingly visual and

⁴ Amartya Sen, 'Secularism and its Discontents', Rajeev Bhargava, (ed.), *Secularism and Its Critics*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2004, p. 479.

aural”.⁵ Along with the institutionalized versions of national imagination unfolds through official maps, museums conservation of sites of national importance, and epistemological production centres of the imagined nation, the construction of large-scale infrastructure facilitates a grand visual narrative of nationalism in the post-colonial nation-state. Those constructions had been the embodiment of anti-colonial critique of economic exploitation and the spectacle assistance to the nationalist ideology of ‘promised land’. The category of national cinema serves the visual aspect of nationalist imagination more vividly and directly. Through the visual narrative, the cinema creates not an imagined community for the nation-state but a visual community for nation-building as per the standard of the class of hegemony. It is worthy to be noted that the spectator has not been a mere subject who passively receives the structured message as well. The spectator/citizen can be a filmocrat who engages with the dominant narrative with her/his own faculty of imagination. In the process of reading, the text is transformed into images in making an imagination. Unlike, the reading of ‘print capitalism’, the ‘image-capitalism’ rendered by cinema – and other forms of spectacle in the Debordian sense, for that matter has been closer to the domain of imagination.⁶ However, the inculcation of the image presented might not have been as it indicates. When a thousand people watch a single shot, the chances of spectacle would not be one, but a thousand. Even reorganising the fact of multiple imaginations of images, the wider reception and stereotyped images should be reckoned with the hegemonic gaze formulated by the accumulation of these diverse forms of spectatorship. The spectator-citizen in the republic of cinema goes in hand with the nature of the democratization of a given society. Thus, the cinema – in its ‘national’ content – becomes a reel

⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised edition, Rawat Publication, Jaipur, 2015, pp. 21-22.

⁶ Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, Black and Red, Detroit, 1983.

imagination/ visualization of the ongoing struggle for hegemony of national consciousness. Cinema acts as a site of struggle and a catalyst of constant ‘reinventing of the nation itself’.

However, while contextualizing the nature of bourgeoisie development in India, Ranajit Guha raises the argument that the national bourgeoisie failed to dominate the civil society in the process of harmonization over the civil society that he phrases as ‘hegemony without dominance’. He writes; “The weak structural position of the bourgeois class is evident in its lack of initiative and leadership in civil society. Because of its organic weakness in the civil society, the class failed to organize the bourgeois cultural and intellectual hegemony and leaves the ideological and cultural space to pre-capitalist ideologies”.⁷ It sounds that such a postulation takes the modernizing role of the bourgeoisie uncritically. Unlike the emergence of the bourgeois class in Europe, the Indian bourgeoisie’s emergence had not been endorsed by the ‘organic’ cultural revolution of modernity. The encounter with the forms of colonial modernity had only been extended to the reformation of the ‘outer world’, the world of materials whereas the ‘Inner world’ -the Indian bourgeois self- the space for spiritual resistance to materialist colonization had left to the traditional cultural practices.⁸ While othering the outsider, the Indian elitist national psyche inculcated itself the ethos of Brahmanism as the alternative for the colonial cultural suzerainty. The crux of the national consciousness was being formulated by the bifurcation of cultural space. ‘The failure of the bourgeois cultural and intellectual hegemony’ in the civil society in this sense, cannot be seen as a failure. Rather, the Indian bourgeoisie has been the natural collaborator of the pre-capitalist ideologies circulated in the

⁷ Quoted from K Srinivasulu, ‘Discourses on Nationalism and Question of Secular State’, Zaheer Ali, (ed.), *Secularism Under Siege: Revisiting the Indian Secular State*, Aakar, Delhi, 2016, p. 198.

⁸ Partha Chatterjee, ‘Whose Imagined Community?’, in Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, (ed.), *Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader*, OUP, New Delhi, 2009, p. 5.

ideological and cultural space of the civil society. The ‘pre-capitalist’ ideologies are the source of the hegemonic status of the bourgeoisie in the Indian graded society by which they accumulate social and economic capital alike. The ‘organic alliance’ of the Indian bourgeoisie with the pre-capitalist ethos of civil society hinders them to initiate bourgeois hegemony of modernity as happened in Europe historically. As a capital-intensive product with advanced technological supports, the cinema should have been modern in its constitution. However, it –popular films in particular – acts as a potential source of the naturalization of hegemonic ideologies –some of them are pre-capitalist for sure- circulated in the society owing to the collaborative nature of Indian capital with the traditional ethos of what constitutes a nation. In this context, Indian cinema can be seen as the reflection of national bourgeois self-characterized by the bifurcation of the material outer (technology, capital, etc in the realm of production) and the ‘spiritual’ inner (caste and religion-based narration in the domain of consumption). The ‘pre-capitalist’ ideology is narrated in the modern, capitalist framework. It has been in this context of cinema’s complex nexus with the economy (in the form of industry), the society (popularity and consumption of cinema), and the state (censorship regime), the ideological tussle for hegemony can be deciphered through the unfolding of frames.

2) Bollywood as the National Cinema of India

The ‘nationalist’ rhetoric by portraying the moral narratives from Hindu mythologies which criticized the unethical British regime indirectly, was ingrained even from the inception of Indian cinema. *Raja Hari Chandra* (1913) is taken as the first Indian cinema since it satisfies the requirements of swadeshi in multi terrains of rendition- be that men behind or before the camera or the ideological affinity- it unravels through the reel. Indian cinema shares a parallel, indeed, complimentary history with the mood of the national

movement. Such an affinity of the cinema produced in India provoked the British government to bring a legal framework to colonize spectatorship. The Indian Cinematograph Committee (1928) initiated the process although the Act being enacted only after the independence of India.⁹ The relationship of cinema with the process of nation-building in the post-colonial period evolved more organically.¹⁰ It acted as the visual justification for state ideology and natural/visual ally of state in the moment of crisis. Considering the volume of product, the size of the industry, the use of majority lingua franca in narration, and the long history of existence as an industry, Bollywood –The Bombay Cinema in common parlance – is considered as the National Cinema of India.

Analysing the potentiality of cinema as a solid source for social history, Jyothika Viridi further indicates the correlation between and cinema, society, and state. “Hindi films provide records of the barely perceptible changes in people’s daily experiences, rather than landmark, events, or “Manifest history”. A nonlinear discursive social history may be mapped through repetitive themes, narratives, conflicts, resolution, and evasions that at different moments reveal gradual social reconfiguration – or sharp break with what went before”.¹¹ The reel, without any doubt, unravels the constant fluctuations in the power dynamics of society, definitions of identity, fixation or reformulation of moral values, ideal roles, and performance associated with it that an individual supposed to play in the national contours as legitimate persons, citizens, spectator, etc. The fictional properties of nation/nation as fiction, are more evident in the narrative terrain of cinema as a whole and Bollywood in particular when some of the ‘Pan – Indian’ representation being reckoned with. By evoking the micro-narratives, these movies are, as

⁹ Indian Cinematic Act was enacted in 1951 based on the recommendations of the report of colonial government’s Indian Cinematograph Committee.

¹⁰ K Gopinathan, *Cinematoyude Nottangal*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2012, p. 14.

¹¹ Jyothika Viridi, *The Cinematic Imagination: Indian Popular Films as Social History*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2008, p.17.

coalesced together, create the grand narrative of nationalism on par with the hegemonic ideology that constitutes the rationale of the nation-state. As discussed in the previous chapter, the national cinema has got a project to portrayed the ideal gendered space inside the nationalist discourse. “As long as your women are traditional, virgins before marriage and make controlled and children gender cloned and as long as everyone faults theism with the tricolour in the hand you are an Indian. There is little room for margins and deviation here. Nationalism is truly moral, class conditioned, and gender defined value”.¹² The proposition leads to the contemplation of the query of who constitutes the nation, its ethos, and edifies. Enough is written on the bourgeois -Brahmanical patriarchy as the constituent factor of the Indian National self¹³. Such a national discourse of hegemonic value often finds its vindication by systematic othering of the marginalized communities – be that the working class or the Dalits, or the religious minorities like Muslims and Christians or the women, when the equilibrium of power changes. The repeated narratives, often naturalize the social division, kindles the process of what makes the ideal nationhood and what is the other of it (Both internally and externally).

It has been more evident in the construction/narration of ‘the medieval’ in Hindi cinema. The ‘medieval’ in the tripartite system of historical periodization has been a modern historiographical construct of Europe that largely served the purpose of the ‘Enlightened modernity’, distinguished the contemporary time of the historiography from the ‘dark medieval’ period. In the compartmentalization of Indian history on the lines of the religion of the ruler in a given time, the colonial historiography and the state apparatus

¹² Anirudh Deshpande, *Class, Power and Consciousness in Indian Cinema and Television*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2009, p. 40.

¹³ Uma Chakravathy, *Jathiye Lingavalkarikkumpol*, Trans. P S Manojkumar, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2008, pp. 158-190.

transcript the medieval to ‘the Muslim period’ in Indian history¹⁴ and the ‘medieval’, thus, became time ‘historical’ in Bollywood movies.¹⁵ “The cinematic recourse to Mughal greatness was a way of discovering a pre-colonial ‘secular’ pan-Indian nation-state”, Anirudh Deshpande argues.¹⁶ Even the British portrayed themselves as the natural successor of the Mughals in a land of oriental despotism, just another empire. The medieval stereotypes such as lavish grandeur of royal courts, romance cutting across social hierarchies, resisting central, imperial rule, etc., are compactable with the melodramatic spectacle of Bollywood cinema.¹⁷ However, the change in the equilibrium of political ideology in the post-colonial period transformed the emphasis of ‘medieval’ as historical cinema. Equating the medieval with Muslim rulers who are presented as barbaric, parochial and aggressive, and valueless often serve the purpose of ideological justification of the relevance of Hindu Nationalism. Medieval as a ‘black spot’ in the Indian Civilization has been part of a larger Hindutva project. The rendition of romance cutting across the religious boundaries elicits severe opposition as have seen in the political controversy of the Bollywood movie *Padmavat* (2018). The ‘medieval’ being systematically presented as the other in the imagination of Indian nationalism and any renditions which go beyond the theory of two nations has been taken as unacceptable in the hegemonic discourses of popular Hindi cinema. These changes in the delineation of medieval imply

¹⁴ Urvi Mukhopadhyay, *The ‘Medieval’ in Film: Representing a Contested Time on Indian Screen (1920s-1960s)*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2013, pp. 2-3.

¹⁵ Anirudh Deshpande, *Class, Power and Consciousness in Indian Cinema and Television*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2009, pp. 87-88.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 87.

¹⁷ Urvi Mukhopadhyay, *The ‘Medieval’ in Film: Representing a Contested Time on Indian Screen (1920s-1960s)*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2013, p. 12.

the inherent weakness of the ‘Amar, Akbar, Antony’ kind of secular discourse characterized as a ‘secular’ model while upholding community endogamy.¹⁸

The Bollywood movies could have reflected the various tempo of political economy at a historical conjuncture. *Mother India* (1957) signifies the Nehruvian model of economic development where large construction of the state capitalism offered liberation to the people. This state-sponsored development, even at the outset had been elaborated as if the fane of modern (independent) India. The economic stagnation of the Nehruvian model, by the 1970s, turned out to be a massive political crisis, mainly led by the students and unemployed youth of the country. The class contradictions were picturized and signified through the image of ‘angry young men’. The emotional and narrative economy of the stardom of Amitab Bachan relies on the crumbling of the Nehruvian economic model and the repercussions were widespread.¹⁹ Nor does it mean that critique of the status quo/establishment had been absent, However, the popular reach of those movies was limited and the critique it made was confined by the structural limitations of the censorship regime and the state which provided capital for such ‘good’ movies.

The stardom in Indian movies has been another aspect where the historical struggles take place and it ushers to the deeper scars of the political body. The star body gets the status of a site in which contradicting ideologies get embodied and negotiated. Analyzing the spectacle value of a star(celebrity), Guy Debord observes that, “The celebrity, the spectacular representation of a living human being, embodies this banality by embodying

¹⁸ Jyothika Viridi, *The Cinematic Imagination: Indian Popular Films as Social History*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2008, p.36.

¹⁹ Anirudh Deshpande, *Class, Power and Consciousness in Indian Cinema and Television*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2009.p 106. See also, Jyothika Viridi, *The Cinematic Imagination: Indian Popular Films as Social History*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2008, pp. 90-110.

the image of a possible role. Being a star means specializing in the *seemingly lived*; the star is the object of identification with shallow seeming life that has to compensate for the fragmented productive specializations which are lived. In one case state power personalizes itself as a pseudo–star; in another, a star of consumption gets elected as a pseudo–power over the lived”.²⁰

The stars in Indian cinema could have created an ambiance of a ‘seemingly lived’ experience when the actual life goes through severe fragments. It is ideologically allying with the power which helps the state to divert the popular resentment to some ‘seeming’ realities although the narrative rhetoric might be revolutionary. By transmitting the state rationale of power –the narrative has always been framed in its physical and ideological properties-what the star spectacle does is the process of an embodiment of promises the nation-state failed to deliver. The lacuna in the actual political life is filled by these pseudo-stars, which sometimes, a transcript from the narrative discourse to real political discourses. Madhav Prasad denotes this process with a neologism, cine-politics in the context of South Indian politics where the movie stars converted their image for political means and fan network to party cadets.²¹ The image becomes a trap, as M.S.S Pandian rightly titled his seminal work on the correlation between cinema frames and state politics in Tamil Nadu.²² It implies that the idea of a national cinema for India should incorporate the ‘Federal imagination’ upon which the Indian nation-state is built, rather than confined itself to majoritarian factors like the reach of the industry, mode of language, style of aesthetics, etc. The federal imagination – sub-nationalism –depicts the internal contradiction, conflux of identities, intensity of integration, the celebration of diversity in the making of

²⁰ Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, Black and Red, Detroit, 1983. 60

²¹ Madhava Prasad, *Cine- Politics: Film Stars and Political Existence in South India*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad,2014.

²² Pandian, M S S. *The Image Trap: M G Ramachandran in Film and Politics*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1992.

unity in the history of India as a modern republic. The national cinema, therefore, should be more inclusive by democratically acknowledge the right to the peaceful existence of minority forms of national imagination that coalesce to the cinematic Republic of India. Thus, the analysis of each federal imagination can throw light into the complex processes of nation-building in post-colonial India.

3) The State in/of Malayalam Cinema: The Imagining of Kerala

Based on the language, Kerala got the status of a state in 1956 by the integration of Travancore and Kochi states – the former princely state in the southern and middle part of present Kerala State- and Malabar-a province in the Madras Presidency of British India. The state reorganization in terms of language had been a political and administrative process of political, linguistic, and cultural remapping of colonial India that triggered the federal imaginations of the idea of India. Kerala society entered into new territory in the post-colonial history of the Indian Republic by the formation of a federal state unit. The political framework provided by the possibilities of state formation on a linguistic basis acted as a triggering force for the definition and redefinition of identity, resource distribution on rather equitable terms, and the nature of the future course of action for common good. The Kerala state had been the political embodiment of its political struggles in the previous decades and stimulated the formation of a ‘Malayalee’ identity in the comprehensive national imagination of India. The process of such an identity formation – a subnational identity – could not be done solely on a linguistic basis all of a sudden. The ‘Malayaliness’ and the social composition of it had to be systematically negotiated and constructed. The contemporary history of Kerala (since 1956) can be seen as a locus of debate in the definition of regional identity within the Republic of India. In this ideological tussle, Malayalam cinema had been the ‘cinematic’ collaborator in the process of

naturalization of certain forms of identity as Malayalee and the systematic negation of subjectivity that unsuits in the hegemonic ideological form of Malayaleeness. It can be considered as an ideology for the cinema does not reflect the social realities as such but presents them ideologically. Thus, “the category Malayalam cinema by its territorialization makes cinema stands for a subnational/regional identity”.²³ Who is a Malayalee and what constitutes the Malayalee society have been the questions that Malayalam cinema tries to answer rather cinematically.

‘The state affair’ had been direct and evident even at the outset of Malayalam cinema. The first film producing company was named the Travancore National Pictures, implying the national consciousness of a princely state which was later integrated into the meta-narrative of Indian nationalism. The title, therefore, had not only been an indication of the locality where the film production is situated but can also be extended to the sense of regional national identity. When the political turmoil unleashed in the state of Travancore in the 1930s, a cinematic response had rendered which claimed the status of the second film in the history of Malayalam cinema; *Marthanda Varma* (1932). The Joint Political Agitation and Temple Entry movement had initiated the changes in the texture of socio-political life in Travancore. The power struggle in the Royal court also fuelled the chaotic state of affairs. Marthanda Varma, the founder of the then Royal dynasty of Travancore, who can also be taken as the symbol of political stability and unity of Travancore had been remembered in reels when the reality had been filled with political disability and chaos. *Marthanda Varma* can be reckoned with the cinematic response to the time of its production.²⁴It is interesting to

²³ Meena T Pillai, (ed.), *Women in Malayalam Cinema: Naturalising Gender Hierarchies*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2010, p. 5.

²⁴ There is hardly any material available to substantiate the deliberate political attempt as mentioned above had worked out behind the production of *Marthanda Varma*. Why did Sundaraj take initiative for such as historical plot at that time? The reason aforesaid is

note that the princely state loyalty of Malayalam cinema in its early days got integrated into Indian nationalism after independence. The scene of a tricolour flag in *Vellinakshatram* released in 1949 implies the changes in the state of cinema in consonance with the changes in the nation-state.²⁵

4) The Liberal Human as the New Citizen

Indian cinema has achieved an organic nexus in the process of post-colonial nation-building. It acts as an agent to percolate the official state ideology of what is to be the nation and naturalizes the world view of the dominant class by making all-encompassing identities, like Indian, Malayalee, etc. All the deviant identities being domesticated in the margins of national narrative and the post-colonial societies like India, this procedure has been sophisticated and multifaceted. Theoretically, the decolonization process offered freedom to individuals and ironically that freedom was later reduced to the freedom of the state.²⁶ The liberal vision of the free individual as the basic unit of the bourgeois nation-state has always been compromised with different structures of society in everyday practices. Accepting the existence of communitarian and cultural affinities, the post-colonial Indian state in its early decades attempted to overcome the systems of division by invoking patriotism in the backdrop of the continuing legacy of national movements and the promises of nation-building/development.

However, the Malayalam cinema portrayed a liberal humanistic version of individuality/citizenship to veil the subtle differences and practices of everyday life and to cover up structural injustice, from the central narrative of sub/nationhood. As envisaged in the political paradigm of a liberal

hypothetical. However, the interaction of cinema with the affairs of state has not been unusual.

²⁵ *Danielinte Makkal*. Created by Munjinad Padmakumar, Asianet News, 30 August 2018.

²⁶ K Gopinathan, *Cinemayude Nottangal*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2012, p. 19.

democratic polity, the ideal citizen presented in Malayalam movies of the early years of statehood has been a liberal human who is capable enough to 'grow' beyond the 'parochial' social structures to get unto the universalized notions of what constitutes a human. Such a liberal humanistic perception of individuality/citizenship in post-colonial Kerala can be seen as the outcome of a prolonged history of struggles for social justice. Owing to the distinct historical conjectures that the Kerala society had encountered with as social reform movements, civil and political right movements, the left movements, and the predominant emphasis on social development indicators in socio-economic life, the idea of an individual/citizen in Kerala society would have 'humanistic' overtone. However, an all-encompassing notion of liberal humans had internal contradictions because of the natures of historical forces at play in the previous decades. The individuality/citizenship ethos which culminated in the formation of Kerala state is well depicted in the movie *Neelakuyil* released in 1954. It had been a cinematic 'text' of the social legacy that had been in formulation since Kerala's engagement with modernity.

The narrative space of the film is located in Central Kerala. Therefore, the narrative plot can be extended to two other extremes when the social space of the narration is considered. Sreedharan Nair (Sathyn'a character) has got an affair with Neeli, a Dalit agricultural laborer. When Neeli got pregnant, he abandoned her and married Nalini of the same caste. Neeli delivered a boy child nearby a railway track and died. Sankaran Nair (P. Bhaskaran's character), a local postman, adopted the child and named him Mohan. When Sreedharan Nair realizes the fate of Neeli, he broke out in despair and guilty feeling. Meanwhile, the conjugal relationship of Sreedharan Nair and Nalini went without any children. Eventually, Sreedharan Nair, with the consent of Nalini, adopted Mohan from Sankaran Nair. This is the nutshell of the plot of *Neelakuyil*.

Sreedharan Nair is a schoolmaster, personifies the progressive element of society, and serves as an organic intellectual of the working class movements.²⁷ No untouchability is evident in his behaviour with Neeli. However, he declined the marriage proposal of Neeli due to the ‘fear of society’ and married Nalini from the same caste. Sreedharan Nair represents the ‘progressive’ elements of Kerala society who indeed did ‘domesticate’ the caste system. Nalini, instead of Neeli, is appreciable for conjugal relationships and the family system. Family with the help of endogamy becomes the unit for the continuation of social structures and practices. Mohan, the new citizen, is being adopted into this system. Sankaran Nair, on the other hand, personifies the notions of universal human values. He shows sympathy towards Neeli and adopts her child. Such a sympathetic and adaptative humanistic rhetoric could not understand the structural violence of caste and patriarchy of which Neeli became a victim. He hands over Mohan to Sreedharan Nair whom he is supposed to belong. In the sub-national narrative, the idealized liberal humanism after a short period of adaption gives away the new citizen into the hands of domestic social structures and withdrew from the scene full of humanistic rhetoric.²⁸ It implies the fragility of liberal humanism which is even when sympathetic to the marginalized, unaware of the structural violence happening in the backdrop of marginalization.

Inside the liberal humanistic narrative of individuality/citizenship and sub-nationalism, the domesticated modernity and the idealized modernity deliberately or otherwise abandon the marginalized from the central narrative. There is hardly much reference to Neeli in the second half of the narration in

²⁷ C S Venkiteswaran, *Malayala Cinema Padangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2011, p. 125.

²⁸ *Neelakuyil*. Directed by P Bhaskaran and Ramu Karyat, T K Pareekutty, 1954, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie world Cinemas, April 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QAudmWoK8pU>. 2: 10 min.

Neelakuyil. When the upper caste/middle class man gave her up, the narrative abandoned Neeli too. The latter phase is revolved around the guilt feeling of the upper caste/middle class man. The narrative resolves the dilemma by domesticating the ‘new citizen’ into the frames of the upper caste/middle class/patriarchal paradigm. The historical role of the marginalized sections – be that women, working class, or Dalit – is left unnarrated when the nation finds its ‘destiny’. They are invisible in the visible narrative, often mis/non-represented. The progressive forces in the previous decades could place the marginalized into the narrative – as in the case of Neeli – but left them without agency inside the narrative structure. Even the progressive movies like *Neelakuyil* when depicts the victimhood of the subaltern classes, left the limitations of accommodative/sympathetic liberal humanism untouched. As narrated in the movies, the liberal humanist project in its domesticated or idealized manner had been selective in defining and nurturing the new citizen.

5) The ‘Class’ Question in Malayalam Cinema

Formed by the encounter with colonial modernity, the modern Malayalee selfhood being enriched or extended by the struggles for social and community reforms, civil liberty, and a democratic nation-state. As the culmination of the ethos of all these socio-political movements, the left movements made a drastic shift in the method and content of political praxis in Kerala even before the attainment of statehood. By bringing the subaltern classes into the centre of political narrative, the left movements politicized the modern self of Malayalee on class lines, especially in the case of the lower caste/class people. Though the intensity of such politicization had been multi-dimensional and region-specific, the focus on cultural politics in the form of letters and theatres enabled the political left to hegemonize the public sphere

with its ideals of humanism, secularism, equality, etc.²⁹ In the political process of the making of a ‘class for itself’, Malayalam cinema reveals the changing dynamics of class politics and the site of struggle for cultural hegemony in the politics of cultural values in Kerala society.

The narrative used in previous decades to hegemonies the public psyche with the ideals of modernity turned to visual terrain in the 1960s. Such ‘class’ movies which narrate the existence of class struggle more directly were mainly adaptation of the popular dramas of KPAC.³⁰ The presence of progressive writers as scriptwriters could ensure the left lenience in the social/narrative world of Malayalam cinema. These are immediate nostalgia of the left called upon in the historical conjecture of the crisis of the political left in terms of the schism in the communist party of India and the emergence of a left radical group like the Naxals.³¹ The class relations that existed in social practices had mentioned in individual dialogues, character formations, and the narrative.³² Generally, the narrative edifies stood in favour of the working class and the movies had been instrumental to portray

²⁹ In the previous decades, the association of progressive writers and organizations like KPAC were acted as the flagbearer of a new value system which were in progress since the encounter with colonial modernity.

³⁰ *Mooladhanam* (1969), *Surveykallu*(1976),*Mudiyanayaputran*(1961), *Puthiya Akasham Puthiya Bhoomi* (1962), *Ningal Enne Communistaki* (1970), *Aswamedham*(1967) *Thulabharam*(1968), *Sarasya* (1971), *Koottukudumbam*(1969) etc.

³¹ *Kabaninadhi Chuvannappol*(1975), *Utharayanam* (1975), *Ithiripoove Chuvannappove* (1984),*Panchagni* (1986),*Amma Ariyan* (1986), *Aaranyakam* (1988) etc.

³² *Chembarathi*. Directed by P N Menon, S Krishanan Nair, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscot Malayalam Movies, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nv8CkGGBMyw>.33 min, *Achani*. Directed by A Vincent, Raveendran Nair, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aVtUbQdsKng>.1:19 min, *Udayam*. Directed by P Bhaskaran, Suchithramanjari,1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_WuWbjTwXDs.54-55 min, *Thulabharam*. Directed by A Vincent, Hari Pothen, 1968, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrQrHkrs1C4>.1:37-1:47 min, *Jeevikkan Marannu Poya Sthree*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S R Moorthy, 1974, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Super Hit Movies, March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R1fLJzeqM6I>.1:29 min.

the social relationship between bourgeoisie and proletariat as if the signs of bad and good. As anecdotes of class struggle, the 'class' movies render the hero as a working class leader with lofty ideals and the villain as a capitalist or feudal lord with unaccommodated traits in the novel social/narrative configuration.

The proposed socialism of the left was under cinematic scrutiny as well. The government policies such as the issuing of lottery tickets were criticized by indicating that the new initiative is meant for creating millionaires while all rhetoric is centred on socialism.³³ The degeneration of trade union politics has also occupied much space in cinematic narrative. The trade union strikes being picturized as ritualistic which lost the commitment to the cause. At the zenith of its class rhetoric, Malayalam cinema had represented the class line even in mundane dialogues by indicating the universal history of class struggle.³⁴ Evoking the ideological insights derived from the class struggles of the previous decades, Malayalam cinema employed the continuing hegemony of class politics in Marxist line either as context or as additional flavor in the otherwise 'classless' narrative movies in the post-Gulf boom era which began to draw the changing trajectory of class nature of Malayalam cinema, especially in its critique of the existing practices of trade unionism. The compromising politics instead of class politics were visualized and it appeared to be the degeneration of politics in general and class politics in particular. Enough are the references of the back-door negotiations of trade union leaders with the capitalist at the cost of the interest of the working class they are supposed to represent.³⁵ Recognizing the

³³ *Lottery Ticket*. Directed by A B Raj, T E Vasudevan, 1970, 6 min.

³⁴ *Babumon*. Directed by Hariharan, G P Balan, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, June 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y4CC3ZH9dPE>. 57 min.

³⁵ *Oru Penninte Kadha*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K SR Moorthy, 1971, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQOQXuGKhaU&t=315s>. 31 min, 39 min. *Panimudakkam*. Directed by P N Menon,

eventual fate of a praxis of working class politics inside the structure of bourgeois parliamentary politics, the consensual politics in which the organized left being trapped was questioned by a more radical preposition of the left ideology; Naxalism. Though the emergence of left radicalism in Kerala to be contextualized in a larger canvas – that may be tried in the subsequent sections – the indifference existed against the practice of class politics by the organized left had precisely triggered the inquiry for an alternative political imagination, culminated in left radicalism. The radical representations closely visualized the internal contradictions and chaos of the movement owing to its middle class orientation. Rather than the actual liberating political praxis, the Naxal movement had been a movement of intellectual and cultural practice against the political system at functions and culminated either in tragedy or in spiritualism.³⁶ In the popular cinematic representations, the ‘former Naxal’ metaphor is employed in the margins of narrative or as a sort of nostalgic revolutionary past -which has got a significant place in the collective political imagination of the Malayalee community – evoked to be an indication of the futility of any revolutionary attempt to destabilize the existing order. Although the movement had

P. N. Menon and M. B. Pisharadi, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8iEL8tz-riQ>. 1:14. *Utharayanam*. Directed by G Aravindhan, Pattathuvila Karunakaran, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Masters, March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EITpskf9HAW&pbjreload=101>. 1:35 min. *Thaliritta Kinakkal*. Directed by P Gopakumar, Chitra Geethi, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, August 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PdXZ0_FmLGM. 22 min. *Rachana*. Directed by Mohan, Sivan Kunnappally, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NBVeONNYqBk>. 19 min. *T P Balagopalan M A*. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, T K Balachandran, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5zyfb8vEks0>. 1:41 min.

³⁶ *Utharayanam*. Directed by G Aravindhan, Pattathuvila Karunakaran, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Masters, March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EITpskf9HAW&pbjreload=101>. 1:45 min. 1:55 min. *Kabaninadhi Chuvannappol*. Directed by P A Bakker, Pavithran, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Masters, March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o4WAqTv5vYc>. 4 min. *Pokkuveil*. Directed by G Aravindan, K Raveendran Nair, 1982.

received the considerable potential to formulate an alternative political imagination in the wake of a compromising and degenerating class politics, Malayalam cinema utilized the romantic, courageous, non-conformist elements of the Naxal past as an emotional flavour of its narrative recipe and an instrument to naturalize the power of the state apparatus by revoking the futility of radical attempts to overthrow it.³⁷ Malayalam cinema as an ideological apparatus of the post-colonial state, thus, successfully incorporated the political alternative within its own framework.

While the movies in the 1970s made a ‘moralistic critic’ of class politics on the basis of the degeneration of trade unionism, the emphasis got shifted to political and economic aspects by the 1980s. Analyzing the movie ‘*Ee Nadu*’ (1982), Jenny Rowena emphatically shows the contours of the changing texture of political praxis. Salim (Mamootty’s character in *Ee Nadu*) represents the emergence of a new set of political questions by crossing over the question of class. “We are not seeing the ideas of subaltern caste revolution in Salim. Conversely, he stands for the middle class resistance like the rights of the small-scale farmer’s, environmental issues, right of voters,

³⁷ *Panimudakkam*. Directed by P N Menon, P. N. Menon and M. B. Pisharadi, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8iEL8tz-riQ>. 1:48 min. *Angadi*. Directed by I V Sasi, P V Gangadhharan, 1980, Millenium Video Vision 2 DVD 35-37 min. *Marmaram*. Directed by Bharathan, Vijayan Karottu, Kallikad Ramachandran, V.P. Karunan and Sanal Kumar, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, November 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ypSLctOnu_g. 1:04 min. *Aavanazhi*. Directed by I V Sasi, Saj Productions, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movieworld Ent, June 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8896pgGqrtY>. 50 min, 1:54 min. *Naradan Keralathil*. Directed by Crossbelt Mani, Crossbelt Mani and Jayasree Mani, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-CmUZ9q8v8M&t=8124s>. 1:00-1:03 min. *Dinarathrangal*. Directed by Joshi, Sree Venkiteshwara Movies, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by mcmoviesmalayalam, December 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QZGY-LJp9Lc>. 6 min, 18 min, 28-29 min, 1:05 min. *Kudumbapuranam*. Directed by Sathyan Anthikadu, Mathew George, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_EW3cocra3c. 33 min. Also refer K P Jayakumar, *Udalil Kothiya Charitra Smarankal: Malayala Cinemayile Viplava Bhoothakalam*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2011

etc., and opposes a local illegal distiller of Dalit origin, a trade union leader, an abkari owner of Ezhava origin, a minister from the background of a barber caste and the left movement in general which accommodates them all”.³⁸Salim envisages a new form of political praxis with more emphasis on human rights, environmental issues, etc. The agitation he initiated can claim mass content unlike the hero centred political/cinematic solutions of the later years’ movies. Metaphorically, the murder of Krishna Pillai (Balan K. Nair's character) implies the eroding of class-based politics from the narrative centrality and the emergence of the struggles of new social movements in Kerala (Salim represents this politics). However, such a theme had not received many followers in the narrative world in the later phase. The environmental issues had been visualized as an additional problem of the exploitative nature of industrial capitalism.³⁹ It is also noteworthy that through the narrative politics, cinema resolved the real political issue it had been raised and acted as a safety valve for popular resentment against the structure.⁴⁰ It is, therefore, evident that the politics of visibility and invisibility rely on the class nature of the hegemonic gaze. When the middle class redefines its political question, the gaze of the lens changes its focus accordingly.

The thriving middle class since the Gulf boom in the post-1975 upheld the view that class politics has been the hindrance for ‘development’. The expansion of public undertaking in Kerala was indebted to the prolonged struggles of the working class as portrayed in the movies of the 1970s.

³⁸ Jenny Rowena, ‘ “Evan Puliyanu ketta” Mammoottyum Anathangalum’, Bipin Chandran, (ed.), *Mammootty : Kazhchayum Vayanayum*,DC Books,Kottayam,2014, p. 54.

³⁹ *Adiyozhukukal* (1984),*Adimakal Udamakal* (1987) for instance. *Ulsavam*(1975) directed by I V Sasi was an exception to this trend.

⁴⁰ *Ankkakuri*. Directed by Vijayand,C V Hariharan, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies , April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SM3eCG-Bs54.1:19min>.

Ironically, state capitalism was expanded due to working class pressure.⁴¹ When the movies of the 1970s presented the class struggle between the capitalist and the working class, generally, the narrative leniency was directed towards the working class. However, in the post-boom era, the hero or main characters became the representatives of the managerial or bourgeois class.⁴² As K. Gopinath points out, “It has been a matter of in-depth inquiry for both our cinema and our society that how the ‘rich’ who stood in the margins of socio-political/narrative space in the initial phase of the nation-building got on to the centre of it and undermined the dynamics of these two spaces with their will power and agenda.”⁴³

The erstwhile celebration of right-based political agitations turned into an impediment of capitalist development which curtailed the untied expansion of capital. The trade union activism is generalized in its predatory nature as have seen in the movie ‘*Varavelpu*’ (1989) that picturized the two structural/political impediments of capital investment and its smooth ‘running’; bureaucracy and predatory trade unionism.⁴⁴ Malayalam cinema by the 1980s aligned with the predicament of the bourgeois/managerial class by projecting the working class movements as antithetical to ‘progress’. The class position that the Malayalam cinema reached by this historical conjuncture can be extended to the larger socio-political and economic

⁴¹ *Panimudakkam*. Directed by P N Menon, P. N. Menon and M. B. Pisharadi, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8iEL8tz-riQ>.

⁴² *Ente Upasana*. Directed by Bharathan, Joy Thomas, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movie, August 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7AFmM>. *Ente Kanakuyil*. Directed by Sasikumar, Prem Prakash, 1985, *YouTube*, Uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam Movies, November 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZbOgxRIQr0>. *Adimakal Udamakal*. Directed by I V Sasi, Raju Mathew, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z1iNKQ-q2nc>.

⁴³ K Gopinathan, *Cinamayude Nottangal*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2012, p. 30.

⁴⁴ *Varavelppu*. Directed by Sathyan Anthikadu, K Rajagopal, 1989, *YouTube*, Uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, October 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QbjHywFlefc>.

changes through which the nation had gone in general and the Malayalee society in particular.

6) The Collapse of a Bridge/System: Malayalam Cinema as a System Critic

The failure of the post-colonial state to keep up the promises of national movement became evident in the social/narrative world of the 1970s. As discussed before, one of the responses to the incredulity towards structured political praxis was the embracing of left extremism, followed by the peasant insurgency in Naxalbari in 1967. However, the political content of the radical left in Kerala had been middle class youth, deprived of employment even amid higher educational qualifications. It left political romanticism in the popular psyche upon which the cinematic narrative built a certain plot in the later years. The indifference to the existing practice of politics and the unfulfilled promises of the static system encouraged the critic of the system and the search for an alternative (precisely, not a revolutionary alternative as in the case of left extremism).

It is pertinent to note that the ‘ideal politics of the national movement is metaphorically represented in the mise – en – scene of the government offices. Often, such scenes are beginning with a shot of the framed picture of Mahatma Gandhi or Jawaharlal Nehru fixed on the walls of those offices. Below them, the subsequent shots show the irony in the state of affairs/affairs of the state.⁴⁵ Politics became a self-motivated urge for power that lost all

⁴⁵ *Akkarepacha*. Directed by M N Nesan, M M Nesan/Sukumaran, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, November 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wbNLEgAQZeU>. 1:10 min. *Udayam*. Directed by P Bhaskaran, Suchithramanjari, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_WuWbjTwXDs. 39 min. *Sindhu*. Directed by P Bhaskaran, R Somanath, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4LzX17oOw5M>. 5 min.

forms of the idealism of the bygone days⁴⁶ and it had not been a mere critic of the practice of politics rather acted as a critic of the political system itself.

The narratives of popular Malayalam cinema in the 1970s and 1980s had been developing a subtle critic of the Nehruvian model of the state system. The ideological hegemony of ‘Nehruvian Socialism’ had come under scrutiny by this historical conjuncture. Malayalam cinema renders this middle class psyche frustrated by the saturation of the political-economic system, through repeated narratives. Sometimes, the camera acts as a social microscope, enabling the spectator to observe micro nuances of the state of social life in which they live in. The critic of politics gradually evolves to the critic of the elements, constituting the very bases of the political economy at functioning. The Licence–Permit–Quota Raj which characterized Nehruvian socialism came under severe ambush. The centrality of state capitalism and the proposed Nehru–Mahanolobis system of centralized planning and infrastructure development precipitated the formation of the predatory axis – the axis of the politician, bureaucrats, and contractors and the eventual outcome of such a system would be corruption, red-tapism, and inefficiency.⁴⁷ The formation of such an unholy alliance is rendered in the film *Panchavadi*

⁴⁶ *Oru Penninte Kadha*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K SR Moorthy, 1971, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQOQXuGKhaU&t=315s>. 24 min, 31 min and 39 min.

⁴⁷ *Vazhveyamayam*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, M O Joseph, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A3-xrvV438I>. 31 min. *Udayam*. Directed by P Bhaskaran, Suchithramanjari, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_WuWbjTwXDs. 31 min. *Uyarum Njan Nadake*. Directed by P Chandrakumar, Kuttiyil Balan 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by mcmoviesmalayalam, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kZO13J2uHP0>. 33 min. *Mutharamkunnu P O*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, G Subrahmanyam 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscuit Regional, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HbK-JQqNd8>. 11 min. *Anubhandham*. Directed by I V Sasi, Century, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HbJ1mo_q4tU. 9 min. *Chekkeran Oru Chilla*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, T Krishna Kumar and T Chandran, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WCM8NdVnuhY>. 1:20 min.

Palam (1984) directed by K. G George. The movie can be taken as a sort of case study of the critic of existing political order sarcastically.

Adapted from the story of Veloor Krishnan Kutty's '*Paallam Apakadathil*', K. G George presented the classic political satire in Malayalam cinema through *Panchavadi Palam*.⁴⁸ The central plot is revolved around the destruction of a bridge, called Panchavadi Palam, and the construction of a new one as the commemorative of *Airavathikuzhi* Panchayath President Dushasana Kurup (Gopi's character). The narrative can be applied from the micropolitical unit to the macro-political system. Therefore, the narrative space and characters are having mythical names. As mentioned above, the story is of bridge construction which symbolizes the infrastructure development largely carried out by the support of state capitalism as envisaged by the Nehru-Mahalanobis nation-building scheme. The mythical Panchayath is named after *Airavathikuzhi* which directly evokes the memory of the mythical white elephant (*Airavatham*) in Puranas. The white elephant used to employ as a symbol of the government projects that only lead to the wastage of public money and corruption, inefficiency, the indifference of bureaucracy, etc., which turned many state-sponsored construction projects a white elephant.⁴⁹ The puranic background gives the narrative an 'Indian' experience of capitalistic development and the democratic political system. To regain the losing political image, Panchayath President is advised by Shikhandi Pillai (Nedumudi Venu's character) to construct a bridge. The existing bridge was in good condition. Therefore, they deliberately damage the bridge and manage to get a certificate from the executive engineer of PWD that the bridge is in danger. The corrupted politicians, bureaucrats, and

⁴⁸ K B Venu, *K G Georginte Chalachitra Yatrakal*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2015, p. 63.

⁴⁹ There is another Malayalam movie with the title *Vellankalude Nadu* (1988) which implies the corruption and wastage of public money in the current political system.

contractors joined together to build the new bridge. However, it collapses on the very first day. Only one life is lost in the accident; Kathavarayan, the paralyzed man living in the street.

The film problematizes certain aspects of the ‘building model’ (nation-building) of the time. Many of the government projects are just a wastage of money and time. The Politicians – officials –businessmen axis is the real beneficiary of state capitalism whereas the common man is the ultimate victim. The construction projects facilitate the accumulation of capital for the grand alliances of politicians-bureaucrats-businessmen wherein the system itself is personified. Shikandi Pillai used cement and other building materials come for the construction of the bridge to build his own shopping complex.⁵⁰ As a reward for the ‘commemorative project,’ he also availed 4 cents of government land from the Panchayath President in benamy name. Thus, *Panchavadi Palam* reveals the subtle and complex process of capital accumulation by the private sector during the heydays of state capitalism. The eventual beneficiaries of state-sponsored development had been the private capital which liberated itself from the hands of Licence Raj by the mid of 1980s.⁵¹ The centralization of power and capital in the hands of the state made corruption almost a ‘natural’ phenomenon in the political sphere. The intensity may vary from micro level to macro level, but the corruption had spread like cancer in the political body of the nation. *Panchavadi Palam* delineates the all-pervasive bribery in national life. The peon sitting in front of the PWD office represents the lowest version of bribery in the bureaucratic

⁵⁰ *Panchavadipalam*. Directed by K G George, Gandhimathi Balan, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinema, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sq75BJODymA&t=884s.1:30 min.1:47 min>.

⁵¹ *The Market that Failed: A Decade of Neoliberal Economic Reforms in India* authored by C P Chandrasekhar and Jayathi Gosh delineates the historical context of Licence - Permit Raj system.

hierarchy⁵² and it got intensified as it has moved upward. The movie also narrates the devaluation of political activism.⁵³ Another embodiment of political turn picturized in this film is the interplay of caste and religion with politics. The politicians use religious sentiments to meet their parochial interests. Tension has been triggered on the position of the new *Panchavadi Palam*. The opposition party politicizes the issue by propagating that the old bridge located nearby the Hindu temple and the new one must construct close to the Christian church. The consensus emerged after a series of communal rhetoric that the new bridge would be constructed in the middle of the temple and the church.⁵⁴ The nation-building had not been so secular as Nehru envisaged by indicating the dam as the new temple of India. The resource allocation was negotiated or compromised with caste and communal interests. Unlike the class representation of the previous movies, Malayalam cinema, by the 1980s, implied the gradual communalization of the political discourse in the realm of cultural representations which will be discussed in the following section.

The common man, represented by the character of Sreenivasan ⁵⁵in the film, is almost paralyzed in the physical and political sense. He finds shelter in the street, deprived of basic amenities, and gets energy from the speeches

⁵² *Panchavadipalam*. Directed by K G George, Gandhimathi Balan, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinema, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sq75BJODymA&t=884s.1:21-1:22> min.

⁵³ The political instability and lobbying for power have also been portrayed in the movie sarcastically.

⁵⁴ The caste-based allotment of ministers is also indicated in the film. *Panchavadipalam*. Directed by K G George, Gandhimathi Balan, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinema, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sq75BJODymA&t=884s.59> min. The caste-based division of political candidature is also mentioned in *Udayam*. Directed by P Bhaskaran, Suchithramanjari, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_WuWbjTwXDs.55 min.1:46-1:47 min

⁵⁵ This character named after a Dravidian myth-Kathavarayan. Except in the one place, he remains nameless throughout the narration that indicate the nameless and faceless millions in democracy.

of the political leaders.⁵⁶ The agency of the character is compromised in the narration. He is a passive listener and observer of the political drama staging around him. By indicating the political inertia and political amnesia⁵⁷, the narrative extends its critic to citizen/spectator as well. When the bridge collapses at the end, only one character has lost his life; the paralyzed *Kathavarayan*. The eventual victims of the development are the common people who lose their livelihood and life. Rather than a superficial satire of the political practice of the time, *Panchavadi Palam* stands as a critique of the post-colonial political system at a pertinent historical conjecture when the burgeoning middle class had been searching for an alternative system for national life.

7) An Alternative in the Reel

The unkept promises and the failed initiatives of the state to ensure welfare to the people stimulated the search for a way out. As have seen, the early attempt had been left radicalism with middle class content. The highly educated unemployed youth- a peculiar economic feature of Kerala- were attracted to movements in the backdrop of its romanticized utopian idea of ‘real freedom and socialism.’ Owing to the inherent contradictions of the movement and brutal state oppression, the waves of left extremism got subsidized and left with romantic cultural imprints. Another solution put forward has been safeguarding the unabated flow of capital. I.V Sasi’s *Iniyenkilum* (1983) epitomized this trend which began to be received a hold over the socio-political and economic discourses by that time. A thrust for capitalist development, mainly hails from the middle class background can be

⁵⁶ *Panchavadipalam*. Directed by K G George, Gandhimathi Balan, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinema, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sq75BJODymA&t=884s>. 4-5 min.

⁵⁷ *Panchavadipalam*. Directed by K G George, Gandhimathi Balan, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinema, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sq75BJODymA&t=884s>. 11 min.

seen in this film. The Gulf migration enabled the Malayalee community not only to make sure the influx of foreign money but also to discern the different social formations in foreign countries. Such know-how led to the comparison of the system at a function in Kerala. In other words, the internationalization of Malayalee acted as a source for the critique of the national structure in which they are lived in.

Iniyenkilum (1983) problematizes the historical conjecture and presents an alternative model before the Malayalee spectator community. It has had many sub narratives that culminate in the central theme of the movies. Each stream or sub-story renders a given aspect of social relations. The multi-star, multi-narrative movies had been a director signature of I.V Sasi. Many of his films, especially the films he had done with T. Damodaran's script are 'social festivals,' consisting of various modes of life in the structure of society. The movie *Iniyenkilum* shares such characteristics. In one pole of the narration the political instability, bribery, politician-bureaucrat – businessmen nexus being unrevealed and the other pole delineates the socio-economic life of Japan.⁵⁸ Divakaran (Mammooty's character) is the metaphor of the old stream of political practice, currently serves in power, but his younger brother Ravi (Mohanlal's character), however, represents the contradictory image who opposes the current system and fed up with hunger, poverty, and unemployment.⁵⁹ It is for this generation/conjuncture the Japanese Model is presented in images and words. The narration is focused on the economic development that Japan could attain after the rampant destruction during the Second World War. They rose like a phoenix from the

⁵⁸ Japan and Hong Kong rather. These South-East Asian nations, then, were labelled as Asian Tigers since the capitalistic development in these countries were rapid and high.

⁵⁹ *Iniyenkilum*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AT68AMdXCpM>. 21-22 min.

ashes of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and achieved economic prosperity.⁶⁰ In comparison with the Kerala experience, the Japanese model being celebrated owing to their virtues of hard work, discipline, patriotism, and civic sense. Their success is a collective story of which, the movie argues, the Malayalee society has got many things to learn. An interesting comparison is made in the form of labour protest. In Japan, the workers' stage strike by working an additional hour without having food which does not affect the chain of continuous production.⁶¹ “Within 38 years, Japan regained what it lost in the Second World War. What does India obtain even after the 35 years of independence? We have got ample resources, but lacking patriotism and civic sense. The parochial divisions based on caste and religion, the tendency to destruct public wealth, etc., hinders our progress”.⁶² The movie finds the reason for the present-day socio-economic predicament of India in general and Kerala in particular in the poorly developed sense of social and civic sense.

Allying with the new notions of economic development, Malayalam cinema problematized the role of the working class as a hindrance to ‘progress’.⁶³ The political discourse gets transformed into the unchecked

⁶⁰ The detailed visuals of Japanese cities are providing image evidence of the verbal discourse. The language of camera!

⁶¹ *Iniyenkilum*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AT68AMdXCpM.1.05-1.15> min.

⁶² *Iniyenkilum*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AT68AMdXCpM.1.16> min.

⁶³ *Naradan Keralathil*. Directed by Crossbelt Mani, Crossbelt Mani and Jayasree Mani, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-CmUZ9q8v8M&t=8124s.1:45> min. *Kudumbapuranam*. Directed by Sathyan Anthikadu, Mathew George, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_EW3cocra3c.10 min. *Vicharana*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, Ranjini, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczone Movies, July 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y9GzdD-37sw.3> min. *Nammude Nadu*. Directed by K Suku, P V R Kutti Menon, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QjXrYyK1KvM.19> min. 1:02 min.

flow of capital, losing its old premises of welfare and ethos of liberation. The political legacy of Nehruvian Socialism and nation-building have been sidelined and a new discourse in favour of capitalism is on the stage. The gravity of narration is moved to the rich as K Gopinathan observed ⁶⁴ which culminated in the neo-liberal economic policy of the state in 1991. Though the official structural adjustment programme of India is announced in 1991, it appears that such a political narrative got momentum even in the mid-1980s. The praise for Japanese capitalist development, therefore, can be seen as the budding ideological premise towards a neo-liberal economy. The bureaucratic-state centred political system, the working class political pressure, the right-based work culture, lack of ‘discipline’ etc., had come under severe criticism due to its inefficiency to attract capital and to ensure the free flow of it.⁶⁵ The title itself is suggestive of the urge of the flourishing middle class (*Iniyenkilum*-hereafter). Considering the modern social development of Japan, free from parochial interests and focus on the collective endeavours for national development, as the movie says, the caste and political mobilization are also criticized in the narrative world of *Iniyenkilum*. But the narrative failed to problematize the post-colonial history of Indian society and the struggle for space in national life. The divided people have been, in fact, essential for the neo-liberal economic agenda too.

8) The Coming of Raja: Political Representation at the Crossroad

Analysing the historical reasons for cine-politics in South India, Madhav Prasad offers an interesting explanation. The political lacuna created by the post-colonial state between dreams and realities had been filled by the

⁶⁴ K Gopinathan, *Cinemayude Nottangal*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2012, p. 30.

⁶⁵ *Iniyenkilum*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AT68AMdXCpM>. 1.15 min. This frame points out this critic by narrating that when someone is setting up a factory in Kerala the first attempt would be to close it as soon as possible.

stardom embodied through M G Ramachandran and N T Rama Rao in Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh respectively.⁶⁶ Star is a site/sight of history, embodying the variegated ideological struggles for hegemony.⁶⁷ In the experience of Malayalam cinema, the stardom could not transcript from reel to real since the politicization process in Kerala society has been different owing to various historical factors such as modernization of the lower strata of a graded society, the left movements, and their class-based political programs, high level of literacy which enables to have multidimensional political imaginations through newspapers, magazines, books and other forms of cultural scripts, etc. However, cinema as a historical artifact is reflecting and reshaping the political realities of its time and cinematic effects like the star system bestow to the politics of culture.

The star duo in the early days, Sathyan-Nazir, personified the idealist political bodies. The heroes are men of lofty morals and character who always stand for righteousness and truth. The diversion would put them in trouble and guilty (eg: *Neelakuyil*). These characters had born from the pen of progressive writers, the co-travelers of left ideology in Kerala. Hence, the class content of the hero was always in favour of the working class. The narration was almost binary, rendering the struggle between good and bad and the eventual victory of the good (hero) over the bad (villain). The cultural binary created by Malayalam cinema narrative can be seen as an extension of the nature of politics that the society went through the last decades by articulating the narration of binary opposites like the British and the Indian, the king and the subject, the feudal lord and the peasantry, the bourgeoisie and the working class, the upper caste, and the lower caste, etc. It is also

⁶⁶ M S S Pandian, *The Image Trap: M G Ramachandran in Film and Politics*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1992. Madhava Prasad, *Cine- Politics: Film Stars and Political Existence in South India*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2014.

⁶⁷ Richard Dyer, *Stars*, BFI Publishing, London, 1998.

pertinent to note that the star value of Sathyan-Nazir was confined to the cinema industry alone. They were the main ingredient in deciding the box office success or failure of a movie but could not extend the surplus-value of the image in similar industries such as advertisement due to the historical development of Kerala society at that conjuncture. The commodity value of stardom is more or less confined to the cine industry as the commodified image could not find value in the current market development of Kerala. Like the constraints of the market, the predicament of the cine industry in the production and consumption of cinema had also affected the nature of stardom. The limitations of the studio system and technological devices (cinema is a technology intensified art form) truncated the narrative and presented the plot more or less in the language of the stage. The supply chain-cinemas-were few and the sociological processes like urbanization, the emergence of the concept of leisure time, nuclear family, etc., caused to increase the cine consumers, were about to get momentum. In such historical and social constraints, early stardom can only be analysed through these limitations.

The 'Nazir era' had ceased to be dominant by the later years of the 1970s.⁶⁸ The technological changes, increase in the number of movies produced, changes in the pattern of consumption of movies and the proliferation of exhibition centres even in the rural areas, the influence of Gulf money as a potential source of capital accumulation for the cinema industry and the post-emergency socio-political climate instigated a paradigm shift in cinema experience in Malayalam. The movies of I.V Sasi can be seen as a landmark in this transformation. The multi-layered narrative inside a single discursive framework and multi-star casting had decentred the pivot of 'cinema sense' in the Malayalam cine industry. The logic of stardom had also

⁶⁸ Premchand. *Noottandinte Mounangal*, Red Cherry Books, Calicut, 2017, p. 103.

altered with the image of hyper-masculinity embodied and energized through the spectacle of Jayan. The masculine body becomes commodified and standardized through the narratives movies, in which Jayan played an important character or as the hero of the plot. Unlike the masculine character of Sathyan in the previous years, the masculinity of Jayan's character can be traced out in the commodified images of the masculinized body, depth of the voice, and adventurous task that the character involves inside the course of narration. The image of '*Ezhakalin Thozhan*' (Friend of the poor) used in the cine-politics of Tamil Nadu, had also been echoed in the visual narratives of Jayan's movies. The interesting departure of the 'class' affinity of narration in this period is that the concept of liberation politics had been focused on the individual heroism of man rather than the collective effort of the people. The indifference or incredulity towards the organized politics, represented in the narrative world of Malayalam cinema since the 1970s had found a solution by attributing the hope of liberation politics upon a single individual, upon a political messiah. The social predicament began to be confined to the 'individualized' solutions in the narrative social which later culminated in the discourses of King (Raja) or the feudal lords. The masculinized body and individual adventures of Jayan's characters personified the internal crisis of masculinized-organized revolutionary rhetoric and praxis of the bygone years. It might have been served as a safety valve of the middle class-oriented revolutionary Utopia.⁶⁹

The 'angry young men' films had continued for a while through the characters of Sukumaran, Soman, and Rathish.⁷⁰ However, the star duo had been coming to the Malayalam cine industry personified through Mammootty

⁶⁹ In the film *Angadi* (1980), the fluent rendering of dialogues in English by a working class man (Jayan's character) has been more close to educated middle class culture rather than the culture of the working class.

⁷⁰ T K Krishnakumar, *Jayan: Abiralokathinte Ithihasa Nayakan*, 2 nd Edition, Olivu Publications, Kozhikodu, 2014, p. 430.

and Mohanlal. The stardom of Mammooty and Mohanlal has to be analysed by using the various aspects of the socio-economic context that produced such icons and the impact made by them in the reconfiguration of the same socio-economic system. The question of masculinity and family has been discussed in the previous chapter. The image of Mammooty as the protector of the 'system' – whether it is family or state- can be seen as an ideological ordering towards a neo-liberal state apparatus.⁷¹ Those characters are more 'structured' with the hegemonic discourses of the family, legal system, and similar state apparatus, being an ideological or oppressive form. Mohanlal films produce a counter-narrative by embracing the disordered, flexible image of the character.⁷² However, the political economy of Mohanlal's stardom lies elsewhere which would be discussed in the following section. The change in the political texture of the time can be discerned through the narrative social of the movies in the 1980s. *Ee Nadu* (1982), one of the path-breaking movies of expressing the changing domain of politics, priorities, Mammooty's character (Salim) emerges as a popular leader at the end of the narrative. He is one among the crowd (obviously ahead of them) who sieged the corrupted politician. However, the mass political content had been eroded in the latter year's narrative.⁷³ Another marker of change in this period is the narrative emphasis on the criminalization of politics. One of the factors of the star duo has been the mega box office hits of their don characters.⁷⁴ The narrative centrality is on the mafia kings and their chequered relationship with the politician. The popular Indian psyche of the time had also been prepared for such plots since the lead story of the dailies celebrated underworld mafia dons like Davood Ibrahim, Charles Shobaraj, Chota Rajan, etc., and their likely tie-ups with the politicians. The reception of a parallel system (political and

⁷¹ K Gopinathan, *Cinamayude Nottangal*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 201, p. 96.

⁷² A R Reghuvas, (ed.), *Mohanlal Padangal*, J R Books, Kottayam, 2011.p.31

⁷³ Op.Cit, p. 96.

⁷⁴ *Athirathram* (1984), *Rajavinte Makan* (1986), *Irupatham Nootandu* (1986) etc.

economic) unravels through the underworld stories show cynicism and critic over the official system. The villains are politicians/political system in these narratives which emphasis the ‘internal virtue’ of the dons compare to the ‘unethical’ politicians. The critic of the corruption, by the mid of 1980s, extended to the critic of the nexus between the politicians and the businessmen of parallel economy. It is after all business. The politicians gain a huge amount of money to finance electoral politics whereas the businessmen receive political support for their business endeavours, official or parallel.⁷⁵ This critic also designates the changing ambiance of the political culture of society. Unlike the period of Nehruvian socialism and its crisis (the corruption, red-tapism, favouritism, etc., which were the outcome of state capitalism) in the new course of events transformed to the amalgamation of private capital and the political system. Doing business became so ‘political’ and doing politics became a business indicating the changes in the relation of state and private capital. The private capital is acknowledged since it provides some financial and social protection to the weaker sections in the context of the state’s failure to do the same.⁷⁶ The villainization of politicians ⁷⁷gets the rhythm of the time when one can see the budding state of neoliberalism.

The same mid-1980 witnessed another kind of political imagination against the existing democracy; the infusion of princes into the political system. The name of the movies like *Rajavinte Makan*, *Bhoomiyile*

⁷⁵ *Mutharamkunnu P O*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, G Subrahmanyam 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HbK-JQQnDt8>. 11 min.

⁷⁶ The mass base of the underworld kings are poor people dwelling in slums and through this strategy, the narrative explicit the ‘internal values’ and empathetic-good mind of the hero. The existence of such a hero is being vindicated through their leniency towards the downtrodden masses. These representations reiterate the rather mythical and fictional image of Robin hood or Kayamkulam Kochunni which are significantly placed in the popular psyche. Watch *Athirathram* (1984,) *Irupatham Nootandu* (1986) etc.,

⁷⁷ For instance, *New Delhi* (1986).

Rajakanmar, etc., indicates the coming of the prince in the political imagination. Movies like *Bhoomiyile Rajakanmar* imply the elite overtone of politics or the need for it to ensure caste/lineage supremacy, especially against working class politics.⁷⁸ The cultural revivalism of upper caste ethos, by this time, became evident and more direct in the narration. The stardom of Mohanlal is greatly indebted to this political context. The middle class apprehensions and struggles of life being personified by his characters. It gives him wider acceptance and the ‘next-door boy’ image. However, in the closer analysis, it gets evident that though the class predicaments were highlighted, upper caste orientation was tactfully disguised in the middle class narrative structure. The image of an innocent village lad, struggling in the rapidly urbanized society got embodied in Lal’s characters. The political ramification of such an ‘innocent poor man’ person is intense. What Mohan Lal’s movies of the period manifest are an ideological justification of the elitist psyche. Those movies argue that due to their innocence, the upper castes throw into poverty and misery whereas the lower castes win the race owing to the current democratic political system (like reservations) and the Gulf remittance since the Oil boom. Considering the rapid communalization of Indian politics after the Ayodhya movement and the Shah Banu case, the sub-national political experience of Kerala has not been contrary.⁷⁹ It is in this backdrop, the revivalist narrative got the upper hand gradually.⁸⁰ It is pertinent to note that gradual infiltration of communal ideas had carried out through comedy scenes that pretend to be innocent in the maiden watching. *Dhim Tharikida Dhom* (1986) visualizes the gradual tricking down of

⁷⁸ *Boomiyle Rajakanmar*. Directed by Thambi Kannamthanam, Joy Thomas, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vZWzqM02rDE>.4 min,10 min,12 min,32-34 min.

⁷⁹ *Pradeshika Varthakal*. Directed by Kamal, S Sivaprasad, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uNz4A-b147Y&t=1644s.1:31> min.

⁸⁰ G P Ramachandran, *Cinamayum Malayaliyude Jeevithavum*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2010, p.17.

communal politics in the context of the Ayodhya movement. The story of Rama is presented in the form of a musical drama in which one of the characters delivers his dialogue in a cliché tone of Muslim. The audience shouted at him for his unmatched/unfit utterance in the Ramakatha narrative.⁸¹ Extended the scene to the politics of the Ayodhya movement, it can be evident that the same logic was being applied. The Muslim, in his/her utterances, has not been fit in the narrative of Hindutva state, building on the story of a masculine, aggressive Rama⁸² and she/he has to be ridiculed. A cultural demolition was at play in otherwise innocent scenes like this. The political and economic alternative of the present crisis in which the upper caste is trapped has been the reinvention of princely rule with ethics (caste values, obviously). The land reform, reservation, left politics⁸³ which destabilized the upper caste social system and put them in crisis in the post-colonial social life had been criticized in this narrative world. The star persona of Mohanlal can be seen as a culmination of these social contradictions in which the upper caste narrative finds embodiment and utterances. He becomes the symbol of the present crisis and the future of political hope.

A gradual intrusion of communal/casteist narration can be seen from the mid-eighties onwards in the secular fabric of Kerala pointed towards the internal crisis of secularism and modernity in Kerala's experience. Nor does it mean that the secular content in Kerala was remarkable throughout history. The 'reformed' caste and communal organizations had intervened in the

⁸¹ *Dhim Tharikida Thom*. Directed by Priyadarshan, Anand, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Comedy Movies, May 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=On9HQK6y3Oc&t=4s.1:29-1:32> min.

⁸² Chandrima Chackraborty, *Masculinity, Asceticism, Hinduism: Past and Present Imaginings of India*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2011, p. 198.

⁸³ *Aryan*. Directed by Priyadarshan, Cheers, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, June 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vy2mogMhPC4&t=1461s.2:15> min.

political course to protect their interests several times. The caste-communal-based distribution of power had not been rare in Kerala's political experience as depicted in cine frames quite occasionally.⁸⁴ However, a public sphere could maintain here irrespective of caste and communalization of Pan- Indian politics. Kerala witnessed the strengthening of communal boundaries in public life. The upper caste revivalism as mentioned above ought to be analysed in this context. The schism in the public sphere implies the gradual intrusion of communal politics with its aggressive ideological and practical attire into the social life of Kerala.⁸⁵ The public sphere got fragmented on communal lines. Nor does it show the immediate communal programme of events similar to that. But the communal lines were drawn more clearly and identity got fixed inside it. It implies the inherent fragility of a rather communally harmonious public sphere created in the 19th and 20th century and marks the changing course of politics in the backdrop of communal and neoliberal contexts.

The demographic content of the community began to be seen as a potential vote bank in electoral politics and a source of power to work as a pressure group in the allocation of scarce resources. Religion and caste became politically sensitive in this background. The political use of religion⁸⁶

⁸⁴ *Udayam*. Directed by P Bhaskaran, Suchithramanjari, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_WuWbjTwXDs. 55 min. *Boomiye Rajakkanmar*. Directed by Thambi Kannamthanam, Joy Thomas, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vZWzqM02rDE>. 12 min. *Pradeshika Varthakal*. Directed by Kamal, S Sivaprasad, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uNz4A-b147Y&t=1644s.1:19> min. *Panchavadipalam*. Directed by K G George, Gandhimathi Balan, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinema, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sq75BJODymA&t=884s>. 59 min.

⁸⁵ *Rachana*. Directed by Mohan, Sivan Kunnappally, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NBVeONNYqBk>. 35 min.

⁸⁶ *Panchavadipalam*. Directed by K G George, Gandhimathi Balan, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinema, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?>

also indicates the narrow line of demarcation between religion and politics and the fragility of secular politics has been exposed in this scenario. The narrative in favour of Hindu Darmavadi (Hindu Practitioner) instead of Hindu Vargheeyavadi (Hindu Communal) being presented quite naturally.⁸⁷ The religious minorities, especially the Muslim community became other in the communal narrative in the later decades.⁸⁸ The hardening of communal politics through such narratives further politicizes identity-based politics. Through the encounter with modernity, Kerala society could reform the community and created a public sphere more or less in resonance with the ideals of modernity. The agitations related to caste/community oppressions were largely concentrated on the ‘visible public sphere’ and the rights connected to it. The secularization, in this context, in Kerala had been a process of hiding the visibility of traditional ethos from the public sphere though it remained in the subtle practices of everyday life. The return of caste/communal narrative into public visibility, as have been seen in the feature movies of the mid-1980s initiates the destabilization of the secular public. Malayalam cinema in the mid-eighties implies the advent of such narrative politics in Kerala society and raises serious questions about its encounter with modernity.

v=Sq75BJODymA&t=884s.1:46 min. *Pradeshika Varthakal*. Directed by Kamal, S Sivaprasad, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uNz4A-b147Y&t=1644s.1:19> min,1:26 min,1:39 min.

⁸⁷ *Arhatha*. Directed by I V Sasi, P K R Pillai, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Choice Network, December 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VIDXWy05IMg.1:04> min.

⁸⁸ *Druvam*, Directed by Joshi, M Mani, 1993, *YouTube*, Uploaded by Saina Movies, February 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zcDzkkEe48I&t=4s>. *Mahathma*. Directed by Shaji Kailas, Vandothra International, 1996, *You Tube*, Uploaded by Malayalam Super Hit Movies, February 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xtf2vFha1oY>.

Conclusion

Since the nation is a collective imagination, the cultural artifacts through its representational regimes furnish the ideological vindication of the nation. Nor has it always been come about through the consumption of literary artifacts as Anderson postulates for explaining the emergence of European nationalism, but image representations, too, bestow to the national imagination in the societies like post-colonial India. As a close ally of modernity, cinema functions as a site/sight of the collective national imagination. The moving images unravel a discursive world in which various ideologies of social class in the constant struggle for hegemony over civil society. However, owing to the dependency on capital and political system, cinema often visualizes the narrative world of the ruling class. In the Indian context, the bifurcated self of the Indian bourgeoisie can be discovered through Indian cinematic images. Even when the medium in use is highly modern, the narrative world it represents has been hand in glove with 'pre-capitalist' ethos such as religion, caste, community defined moralities, etc., through which the Indian bourgeois class maintains their social capital. The film has been a space where 'Indianness' is defined and redefined.

Bollywood movies are considered to be the national cinema of India. However, the regional/subnational/federal imagination of a nation has been diverse and sometimes even contradictory. The more federal cinema analysis would bring about more clarity on the subtle nuances functioning in Indian nationalism and the Indian state. The analysis of Malayalam cinema in the post-colonial premises becomes the social history of Kerala. Through the formation of the Kerala state, Malayali nationalism was crystallized within a political entity and new notions of citizenship and politics sprang up. The new citizen had been liberal humanist, an embodiment of multi-dimensional struggles which made possible the transformation of the individual from duty-based subject to right holding citizen. This conjuncture can be reckoned as a pivotal moment in the making of a new (modern) citizen in Kerala. The

movies of the 1960s and early years of the 1970s register the class orientation of the narrative world by which left ideology attempted to maintain its political and cultural hegemony.

However, politics, especially working class politics, began to be criticized in cinema renditions during the post-Gulf boom period. Those narratives emphasized the degeneration of the existing political system characterized as Nehruvian socialism and the trade union politics in the Kerala context. The post-colonial Indian state failed to deliver economic growth and full employment as it promised in the heydays of the national movement. The ideological coherence of Malayalam cinema in this period criticized the failure of the system and sought new models or an alternative for the current crisis. One of the means adopted by middle class youth had been left radicalism. Though the movement faced political failure, the romantic overtone of the Naxalite nostalgia was adopted to the narrative structure of Malayalam cinema. The 'former Naxal' image was reiterated either as a romantic flavour for narration or as a justification for the present condition of the character; as a criticism against injustice, or spiritualism (the withdrawal from the system itself). However, the major alternative suggested in the Malayalam cinema narrative by the 1980s was the unabated flow of capital. The 'predatory' nature of trade unionism was presented as the real political cause of the stagnation of economic development. It alleges that parochialism and internal divisions of Indian society hinder the progress of the nation. The model was drawn from economies like Japan. The Gulf experience might have transformed the middle class notions of economic development, social status, and political system. The Nehruvian economic model and left-oriented politics are portrayed as culprits of the present crisis. Inside the rationale of these narratives, the budding disposition of the neoliberal system can be traced out.

The Star system in cinema has been analyzed as a site of confrontation and negotiation of national political life. The star duo -Mammootty and

Mohanlal- emerged by the latter half of the 1980s imply the socio-political context of Kerala society in that period. The parallel economic leadership given by dons and underworld kings was received with much appreciation. The politicization of the criminal world can be considered as a response vis-i-vis to the criminalization of politics. The narrative rationale has been standing in favour of anti-establishment heroes as they protect the poor people where politics failed to deliver. These characters had given a career break for Mammooty and Mohanlal which eventually made them superstars although Mammooty became a “system” man in the later phase narratives, personifying the remaining virtues of the existing structure.

Another source of criticism of the status quo is that emerged from the revivalist tendencies of elite Brahmanism. Such narratives got space in cinema in the backdrop of the communalisation of Indian politics at that time. These narratives were centred on poverty and wretchedness in the upper caste lives and sought the reasons for the misery. Their “innocence” and the crookedness of other communities-read as minorities and lower castes- put them in a miserable condition. The legacies of the modernity, democratic political system, socialist thought, and government initiatives such as land reform, urbanization, etc., were antithetical to the ‘traditional’ life of the upper castes. The changing equilibrium of social power can be seen as the historical force behind such narrative formulations. The way out suggested for the upper castes is neo-Brahmanism which insists those communities make an alliance with capitalist trends by giving up ‘traditional behavioural traits’ like innocence and re-establishes the dominance in the village using the capital accumulated. Only through the evoking of the traditional socio-political system, the present crisis that emerged out of the democratic system that downplays caste norms can be overcome. The present Kerala political structure dominated by communal revivalists and neo-brahmin values evolved evidently after the eighties and indeed the role of Malayalam film in this process cannot be denied.

In the period under discussion, Malayalam cinema visualized the changing emphasis of class politics to communal politics in its narrative framework. The narratives were attempts to critically engage with the political narrative of social life. The centralities of cinematic narratives are largely representing the historical changes of imagining a nation by the middle class psyche. This is how cinema transforms itself into a site of struggle for hegemony over civil society on the configuration of national life.

CHAPTER 5

THE MODERN SCREEN SPACE

Introduction

This chapter examines the myriad aspects of modernity and the nature of spatial practices that evolved out of it in the historical context of post-colonial Kerala. Each social formation would formulate its own spaces and corresponding practices. The space in its theoretical milieu has been a locus of communication of social ethos. This space can either be physical or mental or social. The historical changes of space and spatial practices in Malayalee society during the 1970s and 1980s are analysed with the images of a modern 'representational space', that is cinema. The analysis is centred on the narrative and physical spaces, nevertheless, such spatial bifurcation is not having any strict theoretical boundaries. The images are the embodiment of physical space whereas the narrative emerged out of the network of images unravel the ideological landscape. Both the physical and ideological spatial practices are contextualized in the actual texture of social life.

The status of the economy in the decades under consideration is represented in Malayalam cinema space by narrative and physical images. The shrinking space of job opportunities and the response to it have been reiterating imagery of cinematic representations. One way out of this predicament was Gulf migration. It opens up a commodified version of modernity and changed some of the spaces of social relations. The 'Kerala Model' of the economy and its internal contradictions are also narrated in this section. By the 1980s the representations of images evidently register the advent of neoliberal modalities and their spatial regimes in Kerala society. New physical spaces have emerged as the outcome of new social practices in

the backdrop of changing economic disposition in the post-boom era. The capital influx altered the physical space/market of cinema as well and the period marked the evolution of Malayalam cinema as a full-fledged industry. The medium underwent through spatial changes in itself.

Another historical departure can be seen in the spatial dichotomy of village and urban in cinematic representation. This had been a cultural representation of the rapid urbanization of Kerala's economic and physical topography. The narrative was more representational in the rendition of upper caste mental space and its reflections of changing social context. In the dominant gaze of neo-Brahmanism, the geographical entities such as high range and coastal regions have been represented as 'the other' of the mainland paddy field cultural milieu. It is represented not just as the cultural other but as the parallel economy as well. Another space where the shadow of the dominant gaze cast over is the images of lower caste and minority communities. The ideology of neo-Brahmanism is projected in the stereotyping of different caste and religious communities and ahistorical registering of the changing social equilibrium. The pivot of the chapter is the inquiry of how the hegemonic gaze and its visual topography mis/non-represented the subaltern images in the narrative space.

1) Modernity as a Spatial Practice

While analyzing the dynamics of the mode of production in the larger canvas of the historical evolution of humankind, Henri Lefebvre emphasizes this process of 'the production of space', corresponding to each mode of production. Capitalism had brought about a spatial practice contextual to its specificities like other modes of production create their own spaces and associated practices. Compared to the erstwhile epochs of history, the modern spatial practices have been more structured and well defined and it

accentuates the division of space as the division of labour in society.¹ The physical, mental, and social bifurcation of spatial practices can be traced out in the features of capitalist social formation. Each spatial practice would have its own discourse- which Lefebvre termed as codes- produced by the actual social life that facilitates the reading or decoding of it. These codes are represented through the cultural artifacts of the society in each historical conjuncture. Such representations of space are decisive in discerning the practice of the space in which the 'knowledge of space (read society) is embedded.'² "The area where ideology and knowledge are barely distinguishable is subsumed under the border notion of representation, which thus supplements the concept of ideology and becomes a serviceable (operational) tool for the analysis of spaces, as of those societies which have given rise to them and recognized themselves in them".³

Cinema is such a mode of representation that subsumes the physical arrangement of space through visuals (spatial practice), the discourse on the space through the narrative (representation of space), and the knowledge which space is built upon through image criticism (representational space-the society itself). Cinema can represent the potential spatial practice of capitalist modernity in its multidimensionality. "If the space is produced, if there is a productive process, then we are dealing with history".⁴ Cinema in this context unfolds the history as it reveals the spatial practice of a conjuncture through the ways of 'perceived, conceived and lived'. The 'multitude of interactions'

¹ Due to the political pressure from the working class, the capitalist time had also undergone a tripartite system; work, leisure, and rest. To ensure the continuation of exploitation, leisure time has been commercialized by the products of the cultural industry facilitated by the capitalist system. See. Theodor W Adorno, *The Culture Industry*, Routledge Classic, New York,2001.

² Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 1991, p. 17.

³ Ibid, p. 45.

⁴ Ibid, p. 46.

embedded in the representations of cinema turn it a ‘serviceable (operational) tool’ in the analysis of representational space, i.e. the society at a given historical time. Contextualizing Malayalam cinema as a space or a code of discursive value can elaborate the production and practices of the ‘lived space’ in Kerala society.

2) The Image of Economy

a) The pictures of the unemployment crisis

The economic trajectory of the state of Kerala had been precisely a part of the economic development of post-colonial Indian state although the Kerala experience – otherwise called as ‘Kerala Model’ of development- had its own peculiarities owing to the socio-historical factors. A huge volume of literature has been produced dealing with the peculiarities of Kerala's experience of economic development. To historicize the 'Kerala Model' through the language of cinema would be pertinent in the understanding of micro-level functioning of the economy and the cultural response to economic changes. As an industry-based art form, the form and content of cinema are greatly indebted to the fluctuations of capital in the economy as discussed elsewhere. The emergence of nuclear family, more individualized ethos of social life, gradual urbanization, evolving of new frames of time concept such as leisure time, increase in the production of movies and proliferation of exhibition centres after the influx of Gulf remittance, etc., contextualized the functioning of production and consumption in the cine industry. Such socio-economic changes, in fact, acted as a historical force to liberate Malayalam cinema from the technological and financial constraints of the studio system era⁵ and initiated a new visual language in cinema renditions. However, it is reciprocal in the sense that within the frames of narrative, a social narrative

⁵ C S Venkiteshwaran, ‘ Malayala Cinemayude Studio Kalam’, *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 87,no 7, 2009, p. 76.

has also been generated. More than a medium of the reflexivity of social reality, cinema, ideologically, intervenes in the making of that 'reality'. Thus, when Kerala society stands at a crossroads in its socio-economic history, Malayalam cinema becomes a cultural associate of it.

The landmark economic change in post-colonial Kerala had been initiated by land reforms. It altered the very structure of the economy which was more focused on land and economic relations built on it. The land-based economy had been changed in structure and constitution after land reform. The redistribution of land had been a deliberate political intervention for the reallocation of economic and social capital. The fragmentation of land, however, negatively affected the cultivation of food crops and only cash crops registered some growth which was largely under the control of big farmers or foreign firms.⁶ It appears that the feudal texture of paddy cultivation in the common psyche of the Malayalee community precipitated them to restrain from agriculture.⁷ The liberation of the working class from the feudal modes of relations led to the shortage of labour, rather than the lack of an effective mechanism to ensure the supply of labour. The high rate of literacy, especially among the working class also contributed to the 'negative' image of agriculture. Changes in land relations and the size of the land, shortage of labour supply, high rate of literacy, and the feudal/caste orientation of agriculture at that time made the primary economic sector unattractive. The growth of industry had also been at a slow pace due to the capital constraints and anti-capitalist rhetoric of the working class movement dominant in the state (mainly against private capital). Owing to the high population density, large-scale industries would have a high rate of socio-economic ramifications.

⁶ R Sunil, *Harisons: Rekhayillatha Janmi*, Keraleeyam, Trissur, 2019, pp. 20-25.

⁷ Another factor that might have contributed to the indifference towards agriculture has been the agrarian struggles which got intensified by 1930s and 1940s. These struggles had liberated the tenants from the grab of land-based economic system existed for centuries.

Thus, the growing sector was the service sector which got a constant supply of educated labour. It also reflects the internal weakness of the education system that ultimately directed towards the production of human resources indispensable for the functioning of the state.⁸ The quest for government jobs had been so high and as an employer, the government had its own predicaments. Hence, a share of labour was assimilated to the service sector since the 'Kerala Model' is inherently service-oriented like education, health, etc. Compared to other parts of India, the unemployed youth were considerably educated in Kerala which further complicated the matter. Though the parallel education centres had played an important role in assimilating the surplus labour force of educated youth, the limited salary and high rate of the reserved army of educated youth that brought about cut-throat competition in the sector made it not a panacea for unemployment among the educated youth.⁹ This predicament of unemployment or underemployment coupled with the growing indifference towards the politico-economic system which failed to generate adequate sectors to absorb the educated youth has been a grave socio-economic problem delineates in the cinematic representations of the time under discussion. The identity crisis portrayed in the movies of the time is rooted in the historical conjuncture of social transformation from old forts of reliance (feudal-high caste apprehensions,

⁸ K N Ganesh, *Arivinte Vinimayam Keralathil*, Kerala Sahithya Akademi, Trissur, 2017, p. 42.

⁹ Ibid, p. 62. Movie references- *Bharya*. Directed by Kunchaco, Kunchaco, 1962, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film Library HD Movies, March 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qpLiQxB3ZWE>.7 min. *Lottery Ticket*. Directed by A B Raj, T E Vasudevan, 1970, 3 min. *Swayamvaram*. Directed by Adoor Gopalakrishnan, Chitrakala Film Cooperative, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Entertainment, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bAeIEVXI_aw.1:00 min. *Oru Madapravinte Katha*. Directed by Alleppey Ashraf, Indukala, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, April 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kWb_XomTkUY.52 min. *Ariyatha Veedhikal*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S Sethumadhavan, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movie, June 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AOKMfCpFdbY>.1:03 min.

joint family, etc) to an inefficient political economy, failed to deliver its promises. When the search for a radical political alternative perished at the infant stage, the middle class/upper caste self-resorted either to spiritually or to suicide.¹⁰ The search for jobs and the predicaments related to it could have placed in the centrality of narrative or at least got a mention in the course of the narrative along with the issues of underemployment.¹¹ Owing to the poor rate of growth in the primary and secondary sectors and the limited opportunities in the government sector which was vulnerable to political pressure and corruption, the remaining option had been migration. Migration became the potential option for the job seeker and there had been a flow of qualified labour force to the industrial centres like Bombay and Madras.¹²

¹⁰ *Utharayanam*. Directed by G Aravindhan, Pattathuvila Karunakaran, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Masters, March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EITpskf9HAW&pbjreload=101.1:55> min. The crisis through which the youth underwent during the period can be discerned by the life of Subrahmaniyadas. He was a follower of left radical politics and a voracious reader who made attempts to find out an ideological solution for the current predicaments. He thought that his search for an ideological alternative is futile and committed suicide at the age of 24. See, P K Ashokkumar, (ed.), *Subrahmaniyadas Innum: Leghanagal, Samvadham, Kathukal*, Prasakthi Book House, Pathanamthitta, 2013.

¹¹ *Thulabharam*. Directed by A Vincent, Hari Pothan, 1968, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrQrHkrs1C4.1:00> min. *Dhathuputhran*. Directed by Kunchaco, Excel Production, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Amritha Online Movies, September 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fb4uSXsHIBk&pbjreload=101.26> min. *Marunattil Oru Malayali*. Directed by A B Raj, Jayamathuri Productions, 1971, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, December 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nJ_edT5k8qI.29 min. *Swayamvaram*. Directed by Adoor Gopalakrishnan, Chitralkha Film Cooperative, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Entertainment, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bAeIEVXI_aw.1:42. *Sindhu*. Directed by P Bhaskaran, R Somanath, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4LzX17oOw5M.33> min, 39 min. *Vayal*. Directed by Antony Eastman, M D Mathew, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, November 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-b_oODLXbs.1:08 min. *Arayannam*. Directed by P Gopakumar, K Mohan Kumar, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, December 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I66pmMuJjm8.20> min. *T P Balagopalan M A*. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, T K Balachandran, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5zyfb8vEks0.3> min.

¹² *Olavum Theeravum*. Directed by P N Menon, P A Backer, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Amritha Online Movies, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?>

However, the vista of opportunity had opened up in the post-oil boom Gulf for Malayali job seekers.

b) Commodified Modernity and Glimpses of ‘Kerala Model’

The early phase of migration of Malayalee to British colonies like Singapore and Malaysia got significant space in the cinematic narrative, especially in the pre-Gulf migration period. Those who have returned from these countries and lived a luxurious life in Kerala, being presented with a tinge of humour. Their lifestyle and behaviors are marked as an antithesis to ‘socialist Malayali-ness’.¹³ In comparison with the Gulf migration, the returns from Singapore, Malaysia, etc., made a lesser impact on the socio-economic fabrics of Kerala.¹⁴ The first exclusive cinematic representation of the Gulf

v=LPAbkB663xc1:00 min. *Marunattil Oru Malayali*. Directed by A B Raj, Jayamathuri Productions, 1971, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, December 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nJ_edT5k8qI. *Kalachakram*. Directed by K Narayan,Raghunath, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FgLg-LYAH0Y>. *Ishtamanu Pakshhe*. Directed by Balachnadra Menon, E J Peter, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Bravo Malayalam, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Vn8nD1XvXU>.21 min.

¹³ *Ladies Hostel*. Directed by Hariharan,Dr.Balakrishnan, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dNDcF2skOTY>.3 min. *Rathimanmadhan*. Directed by Sasikumar, MA Rahman, Naseema Kabeer, 1977, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, May 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X8w8gAWG1Mg>.13 min. *Thambu*. Directed by G Aravindhan, K Ravindran Nair, 1978, *YouTube*, uploaded by Boniv V, May 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Juw5R_kjyo.27 min. *Swantham Enna Padham*. Directed by Sreekumaran Thabmi, P K Kaimal, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aDFf8-y2zDQ>.10 min. *Vilkanundu Swapangal*. Directed by M Azad,V B K Menon, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, June 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ayCyx9Chu4>.0-1 min. *Venal*. Directed by Lenin Rajendran, K N Ansari, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie House, July 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ycsv9Z_CA2c.22 min. *Kinnaram*. Directed by Sathyan Anithikadu, Pratheeksha, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WOODGu7rCPs>. 9 min. *Peruvannapurathe Visheshangal*. Directed by Kamal, Castle, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, December 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CHgSJP_raMM.1:46 min.

¹⁴ It is interesting to note that Malayalam cinema rarely represents the Euro-American migration of the Malayali community.

migration of Malayalee was rendered in *Vilkanudu Swapnagal* (1980).¹⁵ It is interesting to note that flight became a character in Malayalam cinema, invoking the memory of the Gulf migrant and the expectations it brings about¹⁶, and airports, as space, began to have appeared in the narrative structure of Malayalam cinema.¹⁷ These symbolic cultures are fixed in the economy of migration, expressing the outward mobility of the people in search of jobs in the context of the inability of the domestic economy to create sufficient employment. However, the diverse content and the subtle socio-economic impact of Gulf migration have not been discussed in a single narrative framework. The traces of such changes in life can be found in the substrata of narratives such as single visuals, dialogues, plots, etc.

The Gulf has mainly been transmitted through commodities. The packed box tied on the top of a taxi car often renders in movies, symbolizes how the Gulf being articulated in the common Malayali psyche.¹⁸ A series of new goods – known as foreign in popular parlance – had been introduced to the Kerala economy such as textiles, electronic gadgets cosmetic items, and so on. These commodities stand for the newly acquired richness of the Gulf

¹⁵ The title itself is suggesting the popular aspirations of Malayali youth at that point in time: dreams to sell out. The Gulf facilitated their dreams to get flesh and blood and these dreams were mediated by market dispositions. Even dreams of Gulf migration became a saleable commodity.

¹⁶ *Arayannam*. Directed by P Gopakumar, K Mohan Kumar, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, December 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I66pmMuJm8.51> min, 58 min. *Akkare*. Directed by K N Sasidaran, K N Sasidaran, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Club Malayalam Chitram, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sBRr2IFV4A0.3> min. *Boeing Boeing*. Directed by Priyadarshan, Evershine Productions, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Harmony Malayalam Films, March 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JPQrAjC16y4>. 36 min.

¹⁷ *Boeing Boeing*. Directed by Priyadarshan, Evershine Productions, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Harmony Malayalam Films, March 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JPQrAjC16y4>. 2:26 min. *Irupatham Nootandu*. Directed by K Madhu, M Mani, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, May 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XHWDYpl9X_8.2:20 min-2:30 min.

¹⁸ *Akkare*. Directed by K N Sasidaran, K N Sasidaran, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Club Malayalam Chitram, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sBRr2IFV4A0.15> min.

emigrant, prompting even the Government employee to migrate to the Gulf regions.¹⁹ Asking a visa to the returned Gulf emigrant visualizes the development of a migration network, that perhaps started from a single person and extended to his/her immediate relatives, friends, etc.²⁰ However, Malayalam cinema also portrayed the deception related to Gulf migration, mainly in the form of visa fraudulence.²¹ Unlike the former patterns of migration, Gulf migration made drastic changes in the socio-economic life of Kerala because of two reasons; (a) Gulf migration was temporary. The emigrants got a work visa, not a permanent residence visa. Hence, the remittance and lifestyle had been torrented to the Kerala society, (b) along with the skilled labour, a large chunk of unskilled labour could also find a new horizon in the Gulf. It changed the economic equilibrium in Kerala which was followed by the reshuffling of social status considerably. The money from Gulf had been largely invested either in the consumer market as discussed above or in the service sector. As a service industry, money is largely pumped into purchasing land and construction of houses. The land reforms acted as a catalyst in the process of commodification of land. The fragmentation and commodification of land facilitated Gulf money to be

¹⁹ *Vilkanundu Swapangal*. Directed by M Azad, V B K Menon, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, June 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ayCyx9Chu4.1:17> min. *Vayal*. Directed by Antony Eastman, M D Mathew, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, November 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-b_oODLXbs.25 min. *Oridathoru Phayalvaan*. Directed by Padmarajan, Suresh Babu, 1981, 21 min. *Baloon*. Directed by Ravi, Sree Lakshmi Priya, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Universal Malayalam Movies, June 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LAZPrHR76VI.40> min. *Akkare*. Directed by K N Sasidaran, K N Sasidaran, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Club Malayalam Chitram, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sBRr2IFV4A0.27> min. *Ariyatha Veedhikal*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S Sethumadhavan, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movie, June 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AOKMfCpFdbY.1:15> min.

²⁰ *Akkare*. Directed by K N Sasidaran, K N Sasidaran, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Club Malayalam Chitram, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sBRr2IFV4A0.52> min.

²¹ *Adiyozhukkukal*. Directed by I V Sasi, Casino Films 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2AXGOrwvprQ.10> min.

invested in it. The spread of nuclear family raised the demand for individual houses and the emergence of a strong middle class in the post-Gulf boom period which triggered the construction of houses as a symbol of social status. It obviously, drove a boom in the real estate sector which emerged as a potential economic field facilitating employment opportunities in different strata of society.²² The Gulf remittance had also stimulated the growth in the transportation industry,²³ video shops ²⁴, and so on. The fluctuations in money from the Gulf countries had a direct impact on Kerala's socio-

²² For the detailed cinematic experience of the pattern of land transfer, the commodification of land, and the making of the house as a social statement of new status during the post Gulf boom period. Watch, *Vilkkannundu Swapangal*. Directed by M Azad, V B K Menon, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, June 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ayCyx9Chu4>. 8min,1:36 min,1:58 min. *Arayannam*. Directed by P Gopakumar, K Mohan Kumar, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, December 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I66pmMuJjm8>.1:34 min. *Ariyatha Veedhikal*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S Sethumadhavan, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movie , June 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AOKMfCpFdbY>.1:20 min. *Nokketha Doorathu Kannumnattu*. Directed by Fasil, Bodhichitra, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot , January 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LojDuoLSs9I>.37 min. *Aalkoottathil Thaniye*. Directed by I V Sasi, Century,1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7AFmM> 18 min. *Idanilangal*. Directed by I V Sasi, K Balachandar,1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film library hdmovies, March 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YV-UwnZgrA>.29 min.

²³ *Nirmalyam*. Directed by M T Vasudevan Nair, M T Vasudevan Nair, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by LAMAK PVT March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J2FYIQhwep0>.22 min. *Muthukudayum Choodi*. Directed by Baiju Thomas, B. R.R Cine Arts, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FaFwRvDH6uw>.1:19 min. *Peruvannapurathe Visheshangal*. Directed by Kamal, Castle, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, December 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CHgSJP_raMM.12 min. *Varavelppu*. Directed by Sathyan Anthikadu, K Rajagopal.1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, October 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QbjHywFlefc>. 33-34 min.

²⁴ *Kudumbapuram*. Directed by Sathyan Anthikadu, Mathew George, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_EW3cocra3c.25 min *Vadakkunokki Yantram*. Directed by Sreenivasan, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movies, October 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xONg3Zt0_9A.42 min.

economic life which indicates that Kerala society was integrated into the world economy on such a scale by that time.²⁵

The gradual expansion of the migrant network expanded the market as well. New goods were introduced into social life and they suddenly became a symbol of social status by replacing some of the status icons of the feudal era. It provided an economic solution to the modernity crisis which was failed or to address by the political (The cultural impact was a neo- Brahmanism which is yet to claim more visibility). An increase in the rate of consumption had also reflected in inflation that occurred in the local market.²⁶ The commodities circulated and introduced in connection with the Gulf migration heralded a new socio-economic culture of consumerism. However, the sudden shift in economic life radically altered the social hierarchy and the richness of the Gulf migrant and the way of their life being ridiculed for lacking 'heritage' by using the term '*puthenpanakar*' (nouveau rich).²⁷ It denotes the emergence of a new middle class in the economy of Kerala that

²⁵ *Aalkoottathil Thaniye*. Directed by I V Sasi, Century,1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7AFmM>. 1:08 min. This scene narrates the new decision of the government that those who are going to study abroad should obey the terms and conditions of the International Monetary Fund. The image of KFC appears in Malayalam cinema by this time. *Vilkkannundu Swapangal*. Directed by M Azad,V B K Menon, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, June 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ayCyx9Chu4>.1:17 min.

²⁶ *Yavanika*. Directed by K G George, Henry, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SnwdhIHKiUQ>.23 min. *Aalkoottathil Thaniye*. Directed by I V Sasi, Century,1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7AFmM>. 18 min.

²⁷ They are portrayed as arrogant and fraud and often ridiculed in the narratives. *Baloon*. Directed by Ravi , Sree Lakshmi Priya, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Universal Malayalam Movies, June 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LAZPrHR76VI>.40 min. *Innalenkil Nale*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1IKt8oS5WQ>.41 min. *Peruvannapurathe Visheshangal*. Directed by Kamal, Castle, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, December 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CHgSJp_raMM. 12 min.

largely draws on the Gulf remittance and expanded the hitherto limited market through the consumption of 'modern' commodities.

Malayalam cinema visuals register the transition from a planned economy of consumer goods which were limited both in quality and in quantity to the vast economy of consumerism with product diversification.²⁸ The market expansion brought about product diversification, facilitating the consumer to choose with his/her 'free will'. The ethos of the emerging middle class is embodied through the family genre movies, especially the Mammooty movies. As Jenny Rowena writes, "The husband characters of Mammooty facilitated Malayali spectator community to experience various visuals. The real houses with terrace, scooters, cars, fridge, dining table, Godrej almirah, etc. In such a family, there are children in their smart English medium uniforms and family women entering the scene with a porcelain teacup in their hands and a welcoming smile on their face. The masculinity of Mammooty had been constantly selling the dreams of the new consumerist middle class".²⁹ These detailed visuals became instrumental in generalizing the models of the middle class nuclear family and it marked such family as the basic unit of consumption in the burgeoning consumer economy. Commodity gets visualized and visual gets commodified in these narratives. The masculinity traits of Mammooty maintained the order in family and

²⁸ Brook Bond Tea, Cutticura powder, Britannica Biscuits, for instance. It is a reiterating visual in Malayalam cinema that indicates the limited variety of commodities available in the market. *Bharya*. Directed by Kunchaco, Kunchaco, 1962, YouTube, uploaded by Film Library HD Movies, March 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qpLiQxB3ZWE>. 8 min. *Swayamvaram*. Directed by Adoor Gopalakrishnan, Chitralakha Film Cooperative, 1972, YouTube, uploaded by Malayalam Entertainment, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bAeIEVXI_aw. 1:01 min. *Aalolam*. Directed by Mohan, O M John and Mohan, 1982, YouTube, uploaded by Malayalam Evergreen Movie, October 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f-CO_BVLCOc. 59 min.

²⁹ Jenny Rowena, ' "Evan Puliyanu ketta" Mammoottyum Anathangalum', Bipin Chandran, (ed.), *Mammootty : Kazhchayum Vayanayum*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2014, p. 54.

state, which indicates the disciplinary nature of an emerging neoliberal state and those characters personified the ideological economy of the ‘ideal family man’ on which Mammooty built up himself as a potential commodified image in the cine market that culminated in his stardom. The stardom of Mammooty, as a commodity, functioned in two ways; (a) the star value is used to accumulate capital in the cinema industry. The production of Mammooty based cinema (cultural commodity) could ensure a minimum economic return for the producer for a given period (the first fan association was of Mammooty), (b) in the ‘intrinsic value’, the images associated with Mammooty crystalized the dispositions of the consumeristic economy.

The expansion of the commodity market implies the changing notion of social relations, through which-it was conceived- the social status could be redrawn. Thus, the commodity gets a social position, estranged from its real content which Marx would call ‘commodity fetishism’. The foreign goods, electronic gadgets, automobiles, large houses, etc., began to be the symbols of changing socio-economic conditions and came under the broader definition of what is meant by being modern. When the image of a commodity becomes a commodified image, the spectator gets transformed into a potential buyer of both the ‘imagised’ commodity and commodified images in the redefined space of the cinema.³⁰ Modernity gets commodified in this context and the spatial practice (image of commodities in the visual narrative, supermarkets, etc.) and representation of space (like the narrative logic that produces consumerist modernity) reflects the alteration of social relation.

For instance, the telephone, rather than usual electronic gadgets in the visuals of the movies by the time, dramatically changed the system of communication that existed in Kerala society. Previously, letters and

³⁰ Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, Black and Red, Detroit, 1983.66,67.

telegrams had been used as the predominant means of communication.³¹ Telephone provided audio communications, transforming the very notion of time and space in the process of communication. Speed is associated with the working culture of capitalist modernity where time being taken as capital. The employment of a system of communication like the telephone facilitated the emergence of a labour section in the service sector. Women were largely employed as telephone operators and public telephone booths had been infiltrated onto the topography of the public sphere in Kerala. More interestingly, these gadgets became the centrality of narratives by which the individual relations are defined, progressed, and broken.³² The place of a commodity in the narrative indicates the actual position of the commodity in determining the relations of society.

The same 'status' logic had also been extended to commodities like automobiles which implies a more private experience of travel instead of the public. New elitism based on the commodities possessed had been emerging. Those who own elephants were considered economically and socially powerful in the feudal social relations which transformed to the ownership of

³¹ Telegrams were received as a bad omen, often communicated the death of someone. *Mindapennu*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, V M Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscuit, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RU8RVBLqNV0>. 24 min. *Jeevikkan Marannu Poya Sthree*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S R Moorthy, 1974, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Super Hit Movies, March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R1fLJzeqM6I>. 38 min.

³² *Onnu Muthal Poojyam Vare*. Directed by Reghunath Paleri, Appachan, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IwGbkQv29fg>. *Hello My Dear Wrong Number*. Directed by Priyadarshan, Thripathi Films, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T7mj2Ztt2A>. *Vandhanam*. Directed by Priyadarshan, P K R Pillai, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Choice Network, November 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uhu-7eV5cPs>. *Idavelakku Shesham*. Directed by Joshi, Evershine Productions, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aGLHmIMMrQU>. 18 min.

private vehicles in the consumerist modernity.³³ The visuals of a car in front of the middle class house became not unusual. The shrinking of family size and the notions of more intimate, private space- be that household or car- are exemplified through those visuals.³⁴ More ‘freedom’ in mobility attained by the breaking of feudal legacies can also be traced from the cinematic images.³⁵ The changing nature of social status is not only registered by the owners of private vehicles but also by the ownership of public vehicles as the bus.³⁶ The owner of the bus became a new status symbol tried to acquire by both the traditionally rich and the emerging middle class. Such an expansion of the service sector even into the rural areas indicates the development of road networks as well which facilitated the enhancement of mobility of people and goods in an emerging consumer economy. The rural-urban dichotomy had also been blurred through the extensive networks of roads. The bus services and wider road networks would encourage the formations of rural convergent space that may develop to small townships across the road networks in the due course of time.

³³ *Mazhavilkkavadi*. Directed by Sathyan Anthikad, Siyad Kokkar, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yqGffhO8l9Y>. 36 min. This transformation also implies the changing concept of societal speed. Analyzing the dynamic nature of art, Raymond Williams argues that many of the art forms were static as it originated from a conservative society. see, Raymond Williams, *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists*, Verso, London, 1996, p. 111. Extending the argument to the mode of transportation, it gets evident that the speed of movement is interlinked with the notions and practices of the time in society. The elephant here symbolizes feudal status and speed whereas the automobile denotes the changing disposition of time, travel, and pride.

³⁴ For instance, *Kattathe Kilikoodu*. Directed by Bharthan, P V Gangadaran, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Scube Films, November 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AyPZF1z-nGA>. Private cars even get the status of a character in the family genre.

³⁵ The arrival of a vehicle including a train is a typical opening scene of many Malayalam movies.

³⁶ *Akkare Ninnoru Maran*. Directed by Priyadarshan, Suresh Kumar and Sanal Kuamr, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Vinod Kumar G, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0mfY23QifhY>. 6-7 min. *Varavelppu*. Directed by Sathyan Anthikadu, K Rajagopal. 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, October 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QbjHywFlefc>. 34 min.

Malayalam cinema, through its narrative strategies, problematizes other areas of the 'Kerala Model'. It might not be a widely medical practice though the advanced processes like organ transplantation, artificial insemination, etc., found their way in the narrative framework of Malayalam cinema as the centre of narrative structure.³⁷ The primary health centres, the locus of Kerala's peculiar development in the health sector are seldom represented in comparison with more advanced specialty hospitals.³⁸ A stream of private health care system became extensive and it received appreciation from the middle class for the employment of more advanced technologies in diagnosis and facilities provided by specialty centres. Like education, public health began to be seen as a 'space for the poor' by the middle class who is having the notion that paid services would uphold their social status. It is interesting to note that lifestyle diseases like blood pressure, diabetics, cholesterol, etc., were seen as a privileged symbol of new social life by the emerging middle class.³⁹ The peculiar Kerala experience in socio-economic life has been directly or indirectly visible in the visual narratives of Malayalam cinema. It cannot claim the totality of social life due to the political affinity of the narrative to the hegemonic structures in society. Environment movements began to be received wider attention with the Silent Valley Movement in the latter half of the 1970s. The issue raised by such movements could not find adequate space in the cinematic narrative, though the issues of pollution had

³⁷ *Chekkeran Oru Chilla*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, T Krishna Kumar and T Chandran, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WCM8NdVnuhY>. *Dasharatham*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, Saga Appachan, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mohanlal Movies, February 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k5wFJr5UJuU>.

³⁸ *Muhoortham 11.30*. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nmcwSCLPOBM>.

³⁹ *Cheppu*. Directed by Priyadarshan, Thiruppathi Chettiyar, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movies, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H2icQFQgx5s>. 30 min.

been visualized as a peripheral or sub-narrative of the dominant discourse of the movie centred on the class question.⁴⁰

c) Neo-Liberal Modalities and Spatial Practices

New economic ethics had been evolving within the middle class who finds agency in the narrative world of Malayalam cinema occasionally. Kerala had not only been connected to the global commodity market but also with the global financial market. Malayalam cinema gives testimony to this change within its discursive framework. The masculine hero of the time is a successful man in the changing nature of the economy. He might be the managing director of a corporate firm or the chief officer of financial institutions.⁴¹ The market-oriented course like MBA got reception in the higher education scenario, indicating the development of both commodity and capital market and the need of managerial class to run the upcoming businesses.⁴² The movies with the story of financial institutions had released

⁴⁰ *Ulsavam*. Directed by I V Sasi, Ramachandran, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscot Regional, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OWmf_R24yj8. *Adimakal Udamakal*. Directed by I V Sasi, Century, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z1iNKQ-q2nc>.

⁴¹ *Naanayam*. Directed by I V Sasi, C S Productions, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Lallu Movie World, July 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXbA7IJJ1MM>. *Aalkoottathil Thaniye*. Directed by I V Sasi, Century, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7AFmM>. *Kanamarayathu*. Directed by I V Sasi, Casino Films 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by VICI Films, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mx7z16MoHw>.

⁴² *Kattile Pattu*. Directed by K P Kumaran, Prkruthi films, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Ent, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DOEhABqYiI0>. 53 min. *Aalkoottathil Thaniye*. Directed by I V Sasi, Century, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7AFmM>. 58 min. *Gayathridevi Ente Amma*. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, Prathap S Pavamani and Leela Reghunath, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZysP9IkOVZw>. 24 min. *Chekkeran Oru Chilla*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, T Krishna Kumar and T Chandran, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WCM8NdVnuhY>. 3 min. *Kottayam Kunjachan*. Directed by T S Suresh Babu, M Mani, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zy2TmSTNpqA>. 51 min.

in 1983 in which the hero saves the institution from a fiscal crisis.⁴³ The new hero of the era is the one who saves and protects the institutions of finance capitalism! The centrality of wealth seems to be liberated from the legacy of feudal mode where land is perceived as the focal point of wealth. The land is commodified and transacted for liquid money. The surplus was being generated by the money deposited in the bank.⁴⁴ It implies the changing dispositions of economic life by fixing capital (monetary economy) overland (feudal economy). The influx of Gulf remittance stimulated the financial market that further expanded the service sector of the economy. The upper strata of job in this sector are allocated with the men whereas women are employed as a telephone operator, receptionist, etc., though the visibility of women in the sector was satisfactory even in the narrative economy of cinema.

The new economic ethos altered the concept of space substantially. Through rapid urbanization, new spaces such as supermarkets, telephone booths, etc., were opened up. The fine roads, busy streets, multi-storeyed commercial buildings, telephone booths, restaurants, etc., could mark the momentum of urbanization.⁴⁵ However, the singular change had happened in the constitution of public space in itself. The new spaces in the public sphere that evolved in the backdrop of the neo-liberal economy were more private in their physical and ideological composition. The middle class customer gets more chances to make 'individual' choices inside a supermarket (in the

⁴³ *Naanayam*. Directed by I V Sasi, C S Productions, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Lallu Movie World, July 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXbA7lJJ1MM>.

⁴⁴ *Nokketha Doorathu Kannumnattu*. Directed by Fasil, Bodhichitra, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, January 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LojDuoLSs9I>. 37 min.

⁴⁵ For instance, *Deshadanakilikal Karayarilla*. Directed by P Padmarajan, Burton Movies, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by ZAAS MOVIES, April 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=waR5KepjSU4>. M Navaneetha, 'Deshadanakilikal Paranjathum Sancharam Parayathathum', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 87, no 42, 2009, pp. 38-45.

narration it becomes a point where characters meet). Communication gets more private through telephones. Restaurants provide a private space to sit and chat. The 'privatization' within the public domain registers the advent of the neoliberal economic paradigm.

Malayalam cinema at this conjuncture also reveals the unfolding of a society of the spectacle which is characterized by the logic of neoliberalism. The society of the spectacle is a social relationship mediated by images or spectacle. In a consumeristic society, the image becomes a commodity in itself and represents the image-driven forms of the commodity.⁴⁶ The commodified image and the 'imagized' commodity imply the formation of a given set of social relations or another phase of capital expansion called late capitalism or neoliberalism. The 1980's witnessed the gradual transformation of Kerala society to a society of the spectacle. The urban scenes in cinema register the placement of advertising hoardings and there was an expansion of job opportunities in the advertising industries.⁴⁷ It indicates the development of consumer culture and the consumption of spectacles associated with it. The proliferation of supermarkets can be taken as the ideal instance of a society of the spectacle where commodities are arranged as spectacle and the spectacle transform themselves into a product of ideological consumption within the new spatial practices. This space is transformed as a central locus of narration where the main characters intersect from two diverse streams of narration and bring about a twist in the narrative. The places of image density became a natural domain of social and narrative worlds. The emergence of stardom in this conjecture can also be characterized in the context of its

⁴⁶ Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, Black and Red, Detroit, 1983.147

⁴⁷ *Onnu Muthal Poojyam Vare*. Directed by Reghunath Paleri, Appachan, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IwGbkQv29fg>. 24 min. *Vandhanam*. Directed by Priyadarshan, P K R Pillai, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Choice Network, November 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uhu-7eV5cPs>. 1:01-03 min.

potentiality to be presented itself as an image of consumption which has direct ramification on the patterns of the economic system compared to the previous style of stardom in the era of ‘Nehruvian Socialism’. The traces of a spectacle society can also be discerned from the importance given to framed photos (mainly family photos) and albums in the narratives.⁴⁸ The framed images are crystallized time, with the potential to trigger the memory associated with the time it was captured. Therefore, it achieved the ability to change the navigation of narration in movies. It is interesting to note that one of the areas where Gulf money was invested had been the still photo and video studio.⁴⁹ Gradually, it became an inevitable part of social gatherings like marriage. The growing emotional attachment with images had opened up commercial possibilities as well. The hero, roaming around with a hanging camera became a casual scene in the movie by this time.⁵⁰ The ‘imagined’ places (Tourism sites) should also be read in the context of an emerging spectacle society. The detailed visuals of tourist places⁵¹ themselves functioned in two

⁴⁸ *Aalolam*. Directed by Mohan, O M John and Mohan, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Evergreen Movie, October 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f-CO_BVLCOc.2:25 min. *Vadakkunokki Yantram*. Directed by Sreenivasan, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movies, October 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xONg3Zt0_9A.47 min.

⁴⁹ *Kudumbapuram*. Directed by Sathyan Anthikadu, Mathew George, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_EW3cocra3c.25 min. *Vadakkunokki Yantram*. Directed by Sreenivasan, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movies, October 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xONg3Zt0_9A.47 min.40 min.

⁵⁰ *January Oru Orma*. Directed by Joshy, Tharangani Films, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FMWVUOEfj2Y>. *Chitram*. Directed by Priyadarshan, P K R Pillai, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Choice Network, November 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=THew2hCgCDs&vl=en>.

⁵¹ *Thadakam*. Directed by I V Sasi, Arifa Hassan, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Hungama Malayalam, April 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l-sWz94X_xU&pbjreload=10. *Iniyenkilum*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AT68AMdXCpM>. *January Oru Orma*. Directed by Joshy, Tharangani Films, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FMWVUOEfj2Y>. *Dwani*, Directed by A T Abu, Mac Productions, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, July 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eVzfFOIFsEQ>.

ways; (a) it facilitates the spectator to consume the spectacle of a place through the visual narratives of cinema (a visual tour), (b) it also registers the change in topography by which some places are marked as a place to be visited and seen (tourism industry). Along with the visuals of foreign tourists, Malayalam cinema identified the growth in domestic tourism that evidently implies the changed composition of middle class virtues and manifest economy of visual aesthetics. When considering tourism as a neoliberal industry,⁵² the increased travels between the nations and domestic state units have been represented in the narrative world of Malayalam cinema. It also delineates some stereotypes regarding the foreign tourists that the parallel economy of drugs being fostered by these tourists.

The visual narratives open up the possibility to discern both the macro-level and micro-level changes in the economy. Inside the frame, infrastructures and commodities in circulation have been unraveled. The verbal narrative throws light into the economics of everyday life and contextualizes its changing trends.⁵³ However, the subtle political and economic changes which constituted the concept of nationalism and regional identity in a post-colonial society can be unfolded through the *deframing* of cinematic frames. Malayalam cinema, in the history of its post-colonial narrative, embodied the larger questions of political economy through its frames. The Malayalam movies in the period under discussion mark the paradigm shift from the Nehruvian version of the socialist system to the neoliberal version of capitalism, in the context of India in general and Kerala in particular.

⁵² Perry Anderson, *The Origins of Post Modernity*, Verso, London, 2002, p. 144.

⁵³ (See, Appendices- Table I)

3) Changing Texture of Cine Market/Physical Space

The decades under consideration witnessed a dramatic change in the production and consumption of Malayalam cinema in the context of changing the texture of the physical practices of space. The spatial practices of the cinema social had been reconfigured when the social practices had altered in the wake of the introduction of the novel technologies, the capitalist premises of its utilization since the Gulf boom, the expansion of the cine market, etc. The production of cinema could liberate from the technological constraints of the studio system and outdoor shootings were gradually naturalized which facilitated the spectator to imbibe the physical spaces through the cinema visuals. The colour films also encouraged the widening of the visual experience.⁵⁴ The estrangement from the studio system facilitated a more 'realistic' narrative and radically altered how the plot is narrated with the employment of multiple narrative techniques. The 'dramatic' language had been switched over to 'cinematic' language where visuals got prominence. A new cinema language had been uttered by skillful directors like Adoor Gopalakrishnan, Aravindan, Pavitran, Bakker, etc., and Malayalam cinema began to be counted with Indian classics.

The consumption side went through some internal alteration as well. The cinema theatres began to be distributed elsewhere in Kerala that broke the concentration of cinemas in some pockets. The more decentralized and democratic distribution of cinema theatres can be seen as the proliferation of physical space in the social topography of Kerala. The number of exhibition centres increased along with the increased production of movies.⁵⁵ Both

⁵⁴ The first colour movie in Malayalam cinema was *Kandam Becha Kottu*, released in 1961. However, the black and white movies had got the upper hand till the latter half of the 1970s owing to the constraints of capital and technology of Malayalam cinema as an industry in the pre-Gulf boom period.

⁵⁵ See, Appendices- Table-II and Table III)

phenomena were attributed to the growth of capital in the wake of Gulf migration. The investment of capital on cinema production and networks of theatres, thus, facilitated the transformation of the spatial practice of the society that even penetrated the rural villages.⁵⁶ As an art where the distinct spatial practice (physical, mental, social) has coalesced, the expansion of cinema definitely marks the changing texture of social practices (the representational space).

It has not only been the capitalist pressure that expanded the scope of cinema, but also the deliberate and collective action of the people through film societies and youth clubs that transformed and expanded cine literacy.⁵⁷ The film festivals organized by those film societies enabled the spectator to be familiarised with the aesthetic world of another cinema. However, the dramatically opened up public sphere had largely been masculine which is the common trait of the public sphere in Kerala due to the various historical and social factors played in the formation of the modern public sphere in the region.⁵⁸ Alternative film distribution centres like *Janasakthi* ⁵⁹ had also left their mark on the consumption history of Malayalam cinema in this period. These were the political initiatives to enhance visual literacy so that the cultural hegemony of the Left which was formulated by the progressive

⁵⁶ *Ayalkari*. Directed by I V Sasi, A Reghunath, 1976, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=93XmfiSBSJc>. 1:15 min. *Kadamba*. Directed by P N Menon, P V George, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam, September 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z2aIhLQvvCM>. 15-16 min.

⁵⁷ The film societies and film festivals they conducted opened up new vistas for Malayali audience to discern the global aesthetics of cinema. It is pertinent to note that exclusive screenings were held in tribal areas at this time. Chelavoor Venu, 'Cinemayil Illatha Cinemakaran', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 92, no 39, 2014, p. 37. K Sethumadhavan, 'Poonam Ki Rath', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 92, no 39, 2014, p. 70.

⁵⁸ Ratheesh Radhakrishnan, *Masculinity and The Structuring of the Public Domain in Kerala: A History of the Contemporary*, Centre for the Study of Culture and Society, MAHE-Deemed University, 2006, p. 78.

⁵⁹ Shika Mohandas, 'Chathunni Mastere Chathichathu Arokke?', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 92, no 34, 2014, pp. 12-31.

writers and popular drama groups like KPAC in the previous decades, could be continued even in the era of moving images. However, such initiatives did not have successful heirs in the later years which in effect shrunk the consumption space of 'parallel cinema'.

The enlargement of consumption space can also be attributed to the establishment of the new legacy of the nuclear family. Focusing on such families, even a new genre called family movies had been introduced in the narrative world of Malayalam cinema. "The ideal nuclear family would consume 'good' cinema".⁶⁰ It is pertinent to note that soft porn films, of which the C class theatres were the main exhibition centres, emerged almost parallel to the 'family genre'.⁶¹ The consumption space got divided in this context as family movies/theatres and soft porn movies/ theatres (which was an exclusively male domain). The expansion and diversification of cinema theatres register the widening of the spatial concept of bourgeois modernity, professing the division of space and time and the attributing space with a definite purpose such as workspace/time, leisure space/time, family space/time, etc. However, by the middle of the 1980s, Malayalam cinema shows a more privatized consumption (and space) of movies which marked the privatization of the public.

It came about with new technology, basically introduced in the context of Gulf remittance. As we have discussed in the previous section, the Gulf boom communicated largely through commodities of which electronic gadgets such as Walkman, tape recorder, VCR, etc., got prominence. The

⁶⁰ *Bharya*. Directed by Kunchaco, Kunchaco, 1962, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film Library HD Movies, March 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qpLiQxB3ZWE>. 31 min. *Vazhveyam*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, M O Joseph, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A3-xrvV438I>. 31 min.

⁶¹ Meena T Pillai, (ed.), *Women in Malayalam Cinema: Naturalising Gender Hierarchies*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2010, pp. 201-214

VCR era and the video shops symbolize the transformation of spatial practice in the wake of the neoliberal economy in Kerala. A local market of video tape's circulation emerged,⁶² ensuring the enhanced supply of cinema and the increased accessibility to visual consumption. Cinegoers were transformed into cine buyers; the former points to a set of cultural practices in which the collective public is widely accepted whereas the latter shows the more individualized, domesticated, consumed transformation of space/society marking the change in the ways of life. The root of the crisis of Malayalam cinema in the 1990s is pointed towards such a pattern of domesticated visual consumption in the context of TV and VCR. The physical space practice of cinema, thus, historicizes the alterations in the social space as well.

4) The Idyllic Village, The Iniquitous City: Rural-Urban Dichotomy in Malayalam Cinema

The decades under discussion register rapid urbanization of Kerala. This process had gone through two phases; a) expansion of a city to its periphery, b) the growth of towns. When the demographic concentration increases in an urban centre due to various factors of migration such as education, work, etc., that centre would extend to its nearby villages and urbanized those regions. This has been the pattern of development and expansion of metropolitan cities. However, the urbanization in Kerala can be marked by a distinct experience. Although the growth of city centres had not been negligible, the formation of small and comparatively big towns is the salient feature of the urbanization pattern in Kerala. It had been more of a town network rather than a space centred growth of cities. In other words, urbanization was largely a process of village modernization by which the facilities of urban centres reached remote villages. *Oridathu* (1987) directed

⁶² *Vannu Kandu Keezhadakki*, Joshy, Sajan, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bWQkKbGf0LQ>.47 min.

by G Aravindan marked the historical process of the advent of developmental modernity to rural village premises. The narrative is emphasized on the electrification of a village and the ramifications it brought about among the various sections of society and the nature in the villages. The movie can be taken as a monograph (monophot?) of the penetration of developmental modernity to the villages of Kerala in the wake of state formation.⁶³ Shankarankutty (Gopi's character) in *Kodiyettam* (1977) has been fascinated by the speed of modernization by looking at a running car on the village road.⁶⁴ The developmental modernity, by this time, got momentum and began to alter the existing socio-geographical spatial praxis. Malayalam cinema marks this process and narrates the responses and tensions that existed among the communities in the context of rapid urbanization/modernization. The symmetrically distributed urban life, however, is represented in the rural-urban dichotomy in the narrative world of Malayalam cinema by stereotyping both the spaces. The distinct way of an encounter with modernity in the rural terrain is drowning in such a torrent of the narrative. Yet, the physical space visualized through the lens can open up the possibility to discern the spatial practices that existed in society. Representation of rural public sphere is a tea shop often run by a 'deprived' upper caste man and it is a place where everyone can come, eat, and chat irrespective of their caste and class (however, gender matters. The tea shop as the public sphere is a place for men in the narratives. Barbershop is also having a similar identity). Space is used to derive political knowledge through discussions and to create and propagate rural gossips. Newspapers were read loudly for a group of the interested audience which often registered as a peculiar Kerala experience of

⁶³ The narrative time of the movie is 1954.

⁶⁴ *Kodiyettam*. Directed by Adoor Gopalakrishnan, Kulathoor Bhaskaran Nair, 1977, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, December 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BVVUKcYzuJU>. 43 min.

politicization.⁶⁵ More than a consumption space, tea shops were a communicative space that acted as a locus of political education, knowledge dissemination, and social control mechanism through gossips. Restaurants, on the other hand, represent a more privatized public space in the context of urbanization, the space that facilitates personal and emotional chats rather than the social and political.⁶⁶ It also registers more impersonal service delivery, which emerged with the expansion of the service sector along with urbanization.⁶⁷ Another marker of modernity's intrusion discernible from the visuals is that the colonial forms of sports like cricket gained wider reception over the local sports. Playing cards, which was illegal in the perception of the state, is a repetitive scene in the depiction of rural images of cinema along with wrestling, kabaddi, and so on.⁶⁸ Such localized sports were less capital

⁶⁵ *Nirmalyam*. Directed by M T Vasudevan Nair, M T Vasudevan Nair, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by LAMAK PVT March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J2FYIQhwep0>. 1:16 min. *Kodiyettam*. Directed by Adoor Gopalakrishnan, Kulathoor Bhaskaran Nair, 1977, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, December 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BVVUKcYzuJU>. 33-34 min. *Ormakal Marikumo*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S R Moorthi and K S Sethumadhavan, 1977, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mollywood Movies, October 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kkMns0Mlmfk>. 1:31 min. *Kadamba*. Directed by P N Menon, P V George, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam, September 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z2alhLQvVCM>. 15-16 min. See also Robin Jeffery, *Politics, Women and Well-being: How Kerala became a Model*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 1992.

⁶⁶ *Deshadanakilikal Karayarilla*. Directed by P Padmarajan, Burton Movies, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by ZAAS MOVIES, April 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=waR5KepjSU4>. 1:01 min. *Pattanapravesham*. Directed by Sathyan Anthikad, Siyad Koker, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by universal malayalammovies, February 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SdKTfZRpR2I&t=5750s>. 1:33-34 min.

⁶⁷ *Pattanapravesham*. Directed by Sathyan Anthikad, Siyad Koker, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by universal malayalammovies, February 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SdKTfZRpR2I&t=5750s>. 1:33-34 min.

⁶⁸ *Akkarepacha*. Directed by M N Nesan, M M Nesan/Sukumaran, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, November 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wbNLEgAQZeU>. 36 min. *Nirmalyam*. Directed by M T Vasudevan Nair, M T Vasudevan Nair, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by LAMAK PVT March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J2FYIQhwep0> 42 min. *Bhadhanam*. Directed by M T Vasudevan Nair, V B K Menon and P K Bhaskaran Nair, 1978, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013,

intensive and more social-oriented as the players are acquaintances or neighbors in a locality. The proximity of physical space and body, one of the characteristics of local sports cannot be attributed to formalized, market-oriented sports entertainments like cricket. Even the echo from a cricket field had an audience in Kerala by that time.⁶⁹ Youth culture was redefined by cricket and other sports items of universal scale and it symbolizes itself as the 'soul' of a new kind of nationalism that transcends the communal and caste barriers.⁷⁰

The spatial dichotomy of rural-urban indicates a dilemma in the conception of modernity which was articulated through the dynamics of representations of space like cinema. The Malayalam cinema narratives in these decades register the internal contradiction of modernity in everyday life and bewilderment on the rapidity of change it brought about. The individual and communitarian dilemma in this rapidity is implied by the narrative structure and its multi-layered sub narratives. The integration of the upper

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M5Z3ypqr8DA>. 19 min. *Lajjavathi*. Directed by G Premkumar, Chandrika Movies, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=np43R3_ZGxM. 14 min. *Oridathoru Phayalvaan*. Directed by Padmarajan, Suresh Babu, 1981. *Mutharamkunnu P O*. Directed by Sibi Malayil, G Subrahmanyam 1985. *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HbK-JQnDt8>.

⁶⁹ *Jeevikkan Marannu Poya Sthree*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S R Moorthy, 1974, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Super Hit Movies, March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R1fLJzeqM6I>. 1:30 min.

⁷⁰ *Jeevikkan Marannu Poya Sthree*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S R Moorthy, 1974, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Super Hit Movies, March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R1fLJzeqM6I>. 1:35 min. *Nidra*. Directed by Bharathan, K J Joseph, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, April 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jJOeG_SR9dk. 25 & 38-39min. *Chillu*. Directed by Lenin Rajendran, Hayyath Movies, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, June 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bu2Y8UimqUE>. 1:10 min. *Iniyum Katha Thudarum*. Directed by Joshy, Poorna Chandra Rao, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by mcmoviesmalayalam, December 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CVU_I73y-uw&t=2772s. 3 min.

caste into the larger fabric of modernity was completed by the 1970s.⁷¹ The previous socio-economic backing such as joint family, land-related economic practices, etc., had been vanished and the patterns of new life were received with apprehension and confusion. The post-colonial state had failed to deliver what it promised and the new race of life in a changing context of social equilibrium had been manifested in the 'identity crisis' of modernism, a prominent style of rendition in literature as well as movies. The '*Tharavadu*' (ancestral home) films expressed the socio-economic and philosophical dilemma of the upper caste and universalized it into a pan - Kerala cultural topography. The Malayalee's search for identity in the movies of the period under discussion has largely been the predicament and dilemma of the upper caste /middle class in the alteration of power equilibrium in the society. Attempts were made to replace the traditional value system with a more radical one which failed in inception itself. Another way out was the market which widened and strengthened in the post-Gulf period. The anxiety of being lagged in the competitive and consumerist society precipitated the development of an ideological critique of the society, and such critic is mainly drawn energy from the traditional feudal casteist nostalgia. The critique of the market had not been against the alienating processes involved in it (it was a liberating process for the downtrodden to some extent), rather it was a critique towards communities who are the beneficiaries of the new economic regime. *Bhandhanam* (1978) explicitly marks the two dispositions prevalent in the time; nostalgia and egoism. These traits were rendered as the diseases of the time. However, such narrative descriptions delineate the changes in social topography and the eventual response to it. In the wake of rapid modernization, the upper caste fell into the 'golden day' nostalgia which personified in the latter years cinematic and political discourse and the self-

⁷¹ Ratheesh Radhakrishnan, *Masculinity and The Structuring of the Public Domain in Kerala: A History of the Contemporary*, Centre for the Study of Culture and Society, MAHE-Deemed University, 2006, p. 221.

affirmation of the lower caste and minority community in the backdrop of Gulf remittance which is antithetical to the hierarchical notions of caste structure being portrayed as arrogance and egoism.⁷² The counter-narrative of this kind also developed in search of the ‘moral’ factors that drew back the upper caste in the new race and it attempts to ensure the social capital it possessed even in the lack of economic capital which can be seen as an ideological attempt to balance the economic growth of the lower caste/ class with the social capital inherited traditionally by the upper caste.

The locus of this ideological battle in the narrative structure of cinema has been the rural-urban bifurcation. It becomes evident in the split inside the character sketch of Jayakrishnan (Mohan Lal’s character) in *Thoovanathumbikal* (1987). The protagonist, Jayakrishnan is of feudal descent who lived in a *Tharavadu* in a rural village in Thrissur. He has strong connections and relational networks in the town that he developed in the days of his college life. It signifies the rural-urban dialogue in which the rural youth interact with the urban for education, employment, and better standards of living. The two spatial existences necessitate two kinds of behaviours and manners. In the rural village, Jayakrishnan is a feudal landlord (in ambiance, attire, and attitude towards his tenant), a patriarch (the head of the *Tharavadu*), and a rough and unpolished man.⁷³ Yet, the alter ego of the character in an urban space is entirely different. It is the place of unlimited freedom, brutality, mischievous, and ‘valueless’ (even in the ‘urban mischievous’, Jayakrishnan had tried to uphold his ‘morality’ he earned from his village, upper caste life). This spatial bifurcation can be traced out in his

⁷² *Bhandhanam*. Directed by M T Vasudevan Nair, V B K Menon and P K Bhaskaran Nair, 1978, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M5Z3ypqr8DA>. 1:26-28 min.

⁷³ His first encounter with Radha (Parvathy’s character) shows his “unmannered” behaviour. *Thoovanathumbikal*. Directed by P Padhmarajan, P Stanly, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, June 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q0FcohtjXcM>. 29-30 min.

conception of women as well. Radha (Parvathy's character) evokes platonic love, chastity, family mores, etc., and Jayakrishnan often meets her in the rural/ritual places like *tharvadu*, temple, paddy field, etc. On the other hand, Clara, a Christian girl with western attire and appearance symbolizes sexual freedom (fantasy?), a loose value system, anti-establishment traits, etc. While the former embodies 'internal' cultural space, the latter manifests the other of such a pre-defined national culture. The narrative demarcates the space of two women from interacting with each other. Clara is not supposed to be at Mannarathodi (Jayakrishnan's *Tharavadu*) and Radha is not for a hotel or lodge in the city (more open space). The narrative ends when Jayakrishnan overcomes the urban fantasy (Clara) and returns to the 'serenity' of the village (Radha).

This spatial bifurcation in the physical and mental realm implies the split in the upper caste patriarchal self in the wake of rapid urbanization. Return to the village is therefore a political act. It is the space where feudal nostalgia blossoms. The representation of the village as an idyllic space is negating the internal contradictions among the communities, caste oppression, the traditional ideological system, and its violence. Malayalam cinematic representation of space introduces the village as a counter-narrative to urban space which is alleged of the lack of morality and value. The upper caste is failing in such a context for they still uphold the value-based life. 'The innocent' upper caste men are cheated in the urban space and returned to his village has been a spatial and ideological stereotype in the narrative world of Malayalam cinema.⁷⁴ The urban space, its ethos, social relations, lack of 'order', impersonal interactions, etc., are antithetical to the upper caste value

⁷⁴ *Sanmanasullavarkku Samadhanam*. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, Siyad Koker, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ITiC0Axmhc>. *Nagarangalil Chennu Raparkkam*. Directed by Viji Thampi, J Peter, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by universal malayalammovies, June 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ac-zvrwdwyjw>.

system. Hence, in the period of Brahmanical revivalism (neo-Brahmanism) in the narrative, it is advised to relinquish the traditional value system and embrace the 'unethical, immoral urban life to get money and power', which are inevitable to establish the lost hegemony. The feudal nostalgia of village life as opposed to the urban space and its legacies are, therefore, registering the internal contradictions of modern space in Kerala society. It romanticizes the village life by covering up all the internal contradictions and demonizes the urban space which made the upper caste life difficult. It also negates the peculiarity of urbanization in Kerala which witnessed the horizontal distribution of modern facilities in the villages. Representing village-urban as two distinct ways of life, the system of values and spatial practices have not been historically valid though the cinematic narrative renders it in such a way owing to its upper caste affinity.

5) Periphery as the Other: Visual Topography of High Range and Coastal Regions

Malayalam cinema facilitates the hegemony of mainland paddy field culture (and its changes) over the cultural experience of the other geographical regions such as forest, hilly area, coastal area, etc., by systematic othering of those spaces through the narrative dispensations. The hegemonic gaze is centred on the middle land which was more of a historical-geographical space produced by a graded society. In the narrative logic of the middle-land, the peripheral regions are represented as a cultural and economic 'other' to the notions and values of the centre. The stereotyping of the estate in Malayalam cinema can be reckoned as a good instance for the spatial othering of Malayalam cinema in its narrative geography. Estates are not only a geographical space, but also represent a different culture in the psyche of the hegemonic gaze in Malayalam cinema. Historically, the plantations/estates had been the economic-ecological space produced by the colonial apparatus in

Kerala. As a location of mono-cropping and cash crops, estates challenged the notion of ecological utilization of the middle land which was concentrated on food crops like paddy. The field-compound (*parambu*) pattern of geographical dispensation was hardly gone in hand with the plantation system. It also marks the commercialization of agriculture in Kerala which began during the colonial period.⁷⁵ The association with the colonial powers and capitalist ethos made the estate another space of imagination characterized by the westernized lifestyle and the flexibility of social values associated with the west or rather perceived as the western culture. The cultural landscape of estates being delineated as criminal, deceptive, sexually unbounded, and immoral⁷⁶ which have been evidently different from ‘the value system of India’ (read Brahmanical). A person of low class/caste will be the leader of such an ‘uncultured’ region.⁷⁷ The discourse of space, thus, produces knowledge of the space which is tantamount to the perception of the dominant who creates it. The estate/plantation space depicted in the Malayalam cinema represents the hegemonic gaze of the middle land culture onto the ‘high range’ periphery by constructing it as a geographical/ cultural

⁷⁵ K N Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalekal*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Tiruvananthapuram, 2015, p. 141-144.

⁷⁶ *Swapanam*. Directed by Babu Nanthamkodu, Sivan, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Bbsus 4, December 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qOgXd0o5-Ww>. *Avano Atho Avalo*. Directed by Baby, R Somanath, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, November 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qP1qiYd0gmc>. *Sharapancharam*. Directed by Hariharan, G P Balan, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E90ulN2Z0Bc>. *Aavesham*. Directed by Vijayand, C V Hariharan and R S Prabhu, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ynRLgg-dCZI>. *Ariyappedatha Rahsayam*. Directed by Dr. Venu, Raji Philip, Koshy Philip, Koshy Ninan and John Mathew, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Universal Malayalam Movies, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qdYKNMM34pQ>. *Uyarangalil*. Directed by I V Sasi, S Pavamani, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Superhit Movies, January 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4raN_sNKVOK&t=2872s.

⁷⁷ *Uyarangalil*. Directed by I V Sasi, S Pavamani, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Superhit Movies, January 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4raN_sNKVOK&t=2872s. 2:23 min.

landscape different from the general onlooker. In the metadiscourse on the estate as the other cultural land, the gaze unravels the internal conflicts of the estate as an ecological and economic landscape. The ecological changes mono-cropping brought about and the exploitation of the estate workers by the owners and managers of the plantations of which intense class struggle was formulated went inadequately represented.

The coastal region, by negating its historical role in the formation of Kerala society, is narrated as a locus of the parallel economy and 'uncultured' landscape in the movies of these decades. In the previous decades, the seashore was represented in a romantic backdrop that renders the organic life of the fishermen community with the sea, communitarian boundaries that the sea cannot erode, the intrusion of capitalist ethos to traditional communitarian life, and the subsequent tragedies coming out of it, etc. Sea has been a character in this narrative framework.⁷⁸ However, such a status of nature got altered in the narrative geography of the later decade when the sea became a context of human activity alone. Like the high range representation, the coastal space also being depicted as a different cultural zone in the hegemonic gaze of Malayalam cinema. Historically, the coastal ecological system facilitated overseas trade, contributed to the development of a trade economy which was syncretic and hybrid in its socio-cultural composition. Though the ancient trade groups (Christians and Muslims) were integrated into the Brahmanical caste system and its notions of purity and pollution, the 'openness' sea could make the region peripheral in the caste psyche. The communities associated with trading practice in the coastal region had not been entirely observed the caste-based ideology and practices of the agrarian economy. Owing to its 'openness', the coastal region began to be portrayed as

⁷⁸ *Chemmen*. Directed by Ramu Kariat, Babu Ismail Settu, 1965, *Youtube*. Malayalam Movie TV, September 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bGJrCK0y7Bw>. *Moonam Pakkam*. Directed by P Padmarajan, Balan, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FeCqvpfddmg>.

a locus of parallel economy, aggressiveness, an uncultured region in the cinematic representations of the 1980s. Two reasons have been presented as an explanation of the othering of the coastal region; one is smuggling and the other is tourism. Smuggling cast its shadow over the cinematic imagination of the 1980s as have discussed in the previous chapter. The spatial cliché associated with smuggling is the seashore. The ocean (or crossing of it) had considerable economic and cultural value in the context of rapid overseas migration. The wealth influx from overseas transformed the internal equilibrium of social status since the main beneficiaries of this had been the backward classes and the minority communities as discussed elsewhere. The money from outside is looked at as illegal and an allegation was made over those beneficial communities that the economic prosperity, they enjoy has been an outcome of 'black' money came from overseas. Hence, the coastal region became an entrance to a parallel economy which negates the traditional power structure in the land.⁷⁹

The changing of Kerala seashore as a locus of burgeoning tourist activities also contributed to the stereotype of the coastal region as a space of 'moral' flexibility. The half-naked white body depicted in the backdrop of the seashore reflects 'the liberated' concept of sex and the human body which is seen as not-Indian in the hegemonic gaze of Malayalam cinema constituted by the cultural logic of Brahmanism. Movies like *Season* (1989) exacerbated the othering of coastal regions by depicting the uncontrolled use of drugs, sex, and violence. Malayalam cinema also represents the aggressive nature of the coastal region (the fishermen community to be more precise) by evoking the

⁷⁹ *Irupatham Nootandu*. Directed by K Madhu, M Mani, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, May 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XHWDYpI9X_8.1:08-1:10 min.

cliché dialogue as 'this is seashore' before playing stunts and violent scenes.⁸⁰ Converting the geographical space to cultural space can be traced out in the internal contradictions that existed among the communities which the Malayalam cinema narrative threw lights into.

6) Community Representations: The Need for Cultural Exorcism

Colonial modernity had been a historical conjuncture, the time when communities got reconfigured on the lines of newly acquired ideas. Modernity had been defined and inculcated in region-specific, community-oriented ways. As Sanal Mohan argues, the socio-cultural changes that occurred in the late 19th and early 20th century in Kerala had been more of modernity rather than Renaissance.⁸¹ When the form/outside/visible got transformed following the ethos modernity (ideas such as individuality, the public, etc.), the content/inside/invisible part of self/community had been readjusting to maintain or achieve the socio-cultural capital, considering the macro-level aspect of the modernity experience of Kerala society. As the trustful collaborator of modernity, Malayalam cinema unravels the internal contradictions modernity experience in the individual and community domains. However, the narrative, owing to the loyalty towards hegemonic ideology and power, represents the dominant gaze on the dynamics of modernity in which communities are stereotyped on the basis of certain specific traits attributed to them. These visual narratives of dominant gaze/space, therefore, show the invisibility of the power relations among the communities developed in various conjunctures of modernity practices. Such communal representations in the 1970s and 1980s ought to be examined in the historical context of structural changes in post-colonial Kerala society.

⁸⁰ *Godfather*. Directed by Siddique Lal, Appachan, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, August 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f331Bnk0f6w>. 7 min.

⁸¹ Sanal P Mohan, 'Keralathinte Adhunikatha: Charitrarachana Sastraparamaya Prashangal', Kerala *Navodhanam: Puthuvayankal*, Dr. Ajay Sekhar and Dr. S R Chandramohanam, (ed.), Raven Publications, Tiruvanthapuram, 2017, pp. 218-230.

The cultural representations of the communities throw light into the internal contradictions of historical experience that modernity brought about. As have been argued by the 'reflectionist' theorists, the cultural renditions might not be a mere reflection of the economic and social changes of a conjuncture. Even when acknowledging the clout of economic and social transformation on the symbols of cultural and intellectual representations, the very nature of such representations will also be hegemonic rather than reflective. The dominant community that owns the cultural capital can still represent 'the reality' as they perceive it. The visuals are framed and narratives are arranged in the image of the world view of the hegemonic community. Those narratives may hold the elements of the actual historical process, but it rather represents the response of the hegemonic towards the concrete historical conjuncture. The othering of Christian and Muslim religious communities in the narratives of Malayalam cinema expresses the hegemonic gaze of the upper caste Brahmanism that upholds its cultural capital even in the backdrop of changing socio-economic status.

The plot of Malayalam cinema during the early decades of its post-colonial history had been more 'secular' in the narrative by incorporating the stories of different communities. Rather than the community stereotypes, these narratives were emphasized on the humanistic perspectives owing to the literary quality and the hegemony of the Left in the cultural sphere of which those plots had been formulated. In the later phase, Christian-Muslim stereotypes were systematically narrated as the communities of luxurious life, sexual immorality, unstable family life, unbounded alcohol consumption, fraudulence, untamed behavioural traits, etc.⁸² Christian community is

⁸² *Marunattil Oru Malayali*. Directed by A B Raj, Jayamathuri Productions, 1971, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, December 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nJ_edT5k8qI. *Udayam*. Directed by P Bhaskaran, Suchithramanjari, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_WuWbjTwXDs. 1:36 min. *Chuzhi*. Directed by Thriprayar Sukumaran, Hussain and Salim Karassery, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by MC Movies Malayalam, December 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QXIYfdZW_YM. 7 min, 21 min, 30 min. *Vilkkannundu Swapangal*. Directed by M

equated with the West. In order to portray the cliché of a sexually available girl, the Malayalam cinema narrative employs Anglo- Indian women imagery.⁸³ The consumption of liquor, broken family, and the urge for money visualized as the communal traits of the Christian community which ensured the other/outside image in the hegemonic narrative. By othering "the outside" (the west) through cultural representations, a culturalist value system has been attributed to the modern national life regarding the constituent elements of the soul/self of the nation. It is interesting to note that the bifurcated image of inside/outside, we/ they, east/west, Hindu/Muslim, or Christian has been rendered even as the haunted one.⁸⁴ The modern/western ghost of Lisa (who is dead -does it imply the political process of decolonization?) affects an Indian/Brahmin girl Lakshmi⁸⁵ that changed the behaviour of the latter from a disciplined, pious Indian girl to a modern, self-affirmed western girl. Through the complex and ritualistic (Brahmanic) processes, the western/Christian

Azad, V B K Menon, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, June 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ayCyx9Chu4>. 57 min. *Manushya Mrigum*. Directed by Baby, Thirupathi Chettiyar, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Superhit Movies, September 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NGAVgS1pH1I>. *Ilakkngal*. Directed by Mohan, David Kachappally and Innocent, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eFK8cIGtmII>. 30 min. *Parannu Parannu Parannu*. Directed by Padmarajan, Thomas Korah, N J Cyriac and Prem Prakash, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by malayalammoviehits, March 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cVWC-jrptZw>. 9 min. *Irupatham Nootandu*. Directed by K Madhu, M Mani, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, May 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XHWDYpl9X>. 8.1:33 min. *Ithrayum Kalam*. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=awKiDEmqLW>. 56 min.

⁸³ *Chattakari*. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, M O Joseph, 1974, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinema, March 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xVtj_Unk7Yg. *Ariyappedatha Rahsayam*. Directed by Dr. Venu, Raji Philip, Koshy Philip, Koshy Ninan and John Mathew, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Universal Malayalam Movies, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qdYKNMM34pQ>. *Sharapancharam*. Directed by Hariharan, G P Balan, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E90ulN2Z0Bc>.

⁸⁴ *Lisa*. Directed by Baby, Dhanya Productions, 1978, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Entertainment February 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nFWcGTf3QWo>. *Veendum Lisa*. Directed by Baby, Baby and London Mohan, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, June 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jD4o86_u-wc.

⁸⁵ The heroin's name is Saraswathi in *Vendum Lisa*

ghost was exorcised in the climax of the narrative. It points out the need for a cultural exorcism to get back the soul/self of the nation haunted by 'outside' cultures. Such a narrative exercise of cultural exorcism has been nothing but political exclusivism when transcripts to actual political praxis and envisages a cultural expulsion from within by employing the Brahminic-ritualistic devices. That cultural representations manifest the Hindutva project of post-colonial nation-building⁸⁶ starting from arts and culminating in the political outcry of Hindu Rashtra. Paradoxically, cultural revivalism came into force while modernity had entered into the phase of late capitalism or neoliberalism.

Neo-Brahmanism had emerged by employing the narrative of injustice that is done to the upper caste community in the post-colonial scenario of Kerala society. The structural transformation held through deliberative political and legislative action debilitated the traditional edifices on which the life of the upper caste was built for a long period in history. It is argued that the rampant modernization and economic prosperity after Gulf migration had not been favourable for those communities. The image of poor, innocent upper caste and the crooked, fraudulent backward and minority communities stand in this historical context. Malayalam cinema indicates the historical process of land transfer from upper caste to other communities. However, the narrative framework had been more favourable to the upper caste by portraying their emotional and cultural predicaments in the changing social scenario. It even tries to physically assault the emerging middle class to establish their caste superiority.⁸⁷The return of a son whose mother was a former servant in the upper caste house implies the transformation which was brought about by Gulf capital in actual social life. As a part of claiming the new status, the returned son builds a luxurious house before the old

⁸⁶ A V Sakthidharan, *Antigod's Own Country: A Short History of Brahmanical Colonisation of Kerala*, Navayana, New Delhi, 2019, p. 158.

⁸⁷ *Thinkalazhcha Nalla Divasam*. Directed by Padmarajan, M Mani, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ormR3QpzNC0.1:37> min.

inhabitants of the village.⁸⁸ In this socio-economic context of changing equilibrium, the cultural onslaught on lower caste and minority communities got momentum in the representations of the late 1980s. Malayalam cinema narratives also allege that the money possessed by the minority community is unholy since it is, after all, the result of deception done to the upper caste or to the state (both are equal in the cultural sense of these narratives). The dons are having Christian names like Vincent Gomes,⁸⁹ Sagar Elias Jackey.⁹⁰ The poor Dasan and Vijayan had been cheated by Gafur in their search for a job in the Gulf.⁹¹ The names have not been accidental. The communal stereotypes had been moved to another realm for the Muslim community. In the heydays of neo Brahmanical narrative, Muslims began to be depicted as terrorists along with the images of aggressive, uncivilized, crooked Muslims.⁹² Neo Brahmanism in Kerala context, therefore, rhetorically placed the image of a victimized upper caste and parasitic backward and minority communities which can be seen as a cultural regulation of the latter through the employment of cultural capital even though the economic – social status is being questioned. The emergence of cultural revivalism, which is contradictory to the ethos of modernity, in the backdrop of economic prosperity problematizes the very existence of modernity in Kerala historically.

⁸⁸ *Peruvannapurathe Visheshangal*. Directed by Kamal, Castle, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, December 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CHgSJp_raMM.1:46 min.

⁸⁹ *Rajavinte Makan*. Directed by Thambi Kannamthanam, Thambi Kannamthanam, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie Pulse, April 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-2iJLtey4Ik>.

⁹⁰ *Irupatham Nootandu*. Directed by K Madhu, M Mani, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, May 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XHWDYpl9X_8. In the village he is a pious Hindu while in the city he acquires a Christian name to commit economic crimes.

⁹¹ *Nadodikattu*. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, Casino, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Hungama Malayalam, December 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ftMfLhro3E>.31 min.

⁹² *Druvam*, Directed by Joshi, M Mani, 1993, *YouTube*, Uploaded by Saina Movies, February 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zcDzkkEe48I&t=4s>.

Conclusion

The engagement with modernity would produce correspondent spatial practices in each society. The colonial modernity to which Kerala society was espoused also formulated new notions of space, introduced new space in physical and imaginative realms and developed its variegated spatial practices. As a culmination of spatial negotiations in the previous decades, the post-colonial Kerala society also experienced a set of spatial practices- both physical and mental- in the wake of rapid modernization by the 1950s. The representational space (society itself) becomes more evident in the spatial practices and representations of space (here cinema) that existed in society. Malayalam cinema, thus, facilitates the epistemological understanding of society through its imagery regimes, consisting of both the physical world and ideological world. The economic images that Malayalam cinema renders exhibit the alteration of economic disposition to the neoliberal system. The sluggish economic growth and underemployment or unemployment in the 'Nehruvian Socialism' began to be criticized and the alternative being projected by the narratives of capitalist economic development. This change is rooted in the post-Gulf boom of economic prosperity in Kerala. The images of this time also manifest ruptures of the 'Kerala Model'. Modernity at this juncture is commodified and the society of the spectacle began to be evolved gradually. A more image density space was in the formulation which marks the stepping up of neo-liberal modalities. The substantial influx of capital could change how a cultural product like cinema being presented and consumed. The interconnection between economy and cinematic representations is evident for cinema is a capital-intensive art form.

The subaltern space in the narrative has been constructed through the hegemonic disposition. Through the stereotyping of geographical and communal/social space, the narrative explicitly reveals its political inclination. The traditional caste practice of unseeability transformed to

mis/non- representation in an image-driven social landscape. The world view narrated in the cinema representation tends to the hegemonic social groups. Through the deployment of narrative techniques such as stereotyping, the hegemonic discourses formulate the social discursive as they perceive it. The representation of space (the narrative) moulds a subaltern space through its images and fixes the same through reiterated discourses. High range, coastal region, lower caste, minority communities, etc., become the other/ subaltern in the physical and social landscape of cinematic discourse. Thus, Malayalam cinema, with its proclivity towards hegemonic discourse, attempts to create a framework of social practice as it envisages.

CONCLUSION

As an emerging area of historical writing, the historiographical potentiality of moving images opens up new horizons before historians, especially those who are practicing contemporary history and it makes the practice of historical writing more democratic and diverse. The present thesis is a navigation through the popular movies released between 1970 and 1990 in Malayalam. Since it has given more emphasis on the narratives and images inside the frames, the ‘non-cinematic’ elements of the movie consulted are minimal. The historical context of each movie under discussion did not point out in detail and archival sources of these cinema narratives have not been dealt with considerably. The movies are selected without any parameters like genre specificities, directors, box office hits, etc. Nevertheless, more emphasis is given to the ‘popular’ content of the movies. The absence of any coherent methodological and theoretical framework to use moving images as a historical source is a major constraint faced during this study. The proposed theoretical and methodological framework is yet to be developed with more media-related explorations, rather than taking hues from textual criticism. However, the inadequate repository system for archiving film literature and movies has been a challenge in the present scenario. The attempts like CINFRA Film Park at Kazhakootam to establish cine archives for literary and visual content are in the right direction and hopefully, more such endeavours may come up in the future. Serious academic investigations are going on at different universities on Malayalam cinema after the momentum of cultural studies and wider acceptance of interdisciplinary approach. Many of these works are categorized as film studies or considered as a sub-branch in the literary study. The textual reading of cinema misses out on the complex process of image-making and media-related peculiarities. On the contrary,

film studies often use history as a context of the film text to explore the sociology of cinema.

The present thesis is different in emphasis from these approaches. Here, the knowledge of the past is not a context, but a terrain to be explored. The visual narrative of cinema is used as the primary navigation tool for the same. It takes Malayalam cinema as a critical source for the socio-cultural history of Kerala society. Therefore, the increase in the number of primary movie sources consulted would be beneficial to delineate the subtle changes in social life. It is evident that from a single genre of source, the given period of the past cannot be comprehended. The thesis is not arguing the cinema as history itself. Rather, it enquires the historiographical potential of moving images and likely cues that can be made out of the analysis of cine-frames. This is not the single framework of cinema-history engagement as discussed elsewhere. Historical films are getting much scholarly attention in western academia as an alternative way of imagining and narrating the past. Theoretical and methodological devices are being formulated for the analysis of historical films. However, in industries like Malayalam cinema, the scope of such inquiry may be limited since the industry did not produce a considerable number of historical films. The historian/filmmaker identity will likely be come up in the representation of the knowledge on the past. In a post-literate society where the images are surplus, the moving images would enable the revision of the past and re-present the history through visual modalities.

Within the framework of space, time, capital, and state, the narrative becomes a socially symbolic act and manifests the texture of social relations. These constitutive elements are inseparable from the discernment of a cinematic frame. Malayalam cinema, in its history of almost a century, reveals the subtle interactions between social struggles and discursive frames.

Nor does it argue that the discursive frames of cinema can be taken as naïve manifestation of social life. The cinematic frames are not social history as such. What can be derived from the narrative frames are the ideological representations of society. The cultural and intellectual landscape of society is evident from the film representations which is produced and disseminated by society. The representational politics of (or the representational space as in Lefebvre's spatial analysis) cinema also problematizes the hegemonic emphasis of the discourse by which certain narratives are getting misrepresented or non-represented. The distributive injustice of representational frames indicates the otherwise indirect struggle for cultural hegemony. Such employment of cinema as a site of struggle for hegemony raises the larger question about the society which is flooded with images. The lack of adequate representational images for a section of society implies the deprived status of that social group in the larger world of social narratives. The image-based narrative, in this sense, becomes a narrative of social imagery. As argued in the present thesis, the subtle and indirect exchanges of social relations and cinematic frames have continued in the latter decades of Malayalam cinema as well.

As examined, the advent of cinema created a social space in its own image. Analyzing the inroads taken by the cinema as a novel form of entertainment in Malayalee society at a critical historical conjuncture, it gets evident that the cinema had brought about new physical and mental spaces and related spatial practices in the quotidian Malayalee life. The public sphere built in the pretext of cinema, obviously on bourgeois dispositions, can be seen as a part of the radical socio-economic and cultural changes through which the Malayalee society had undergone at the dawn of the Twentieth Century. Cinema had created physical and social spaces in its own image and presented new spatial practices with peculiar modalities. In the post-colonial scenario, Malayalam cinema transformed both technologically and

aesthetically, the studio system was firmly established, permanent theatres were built, a fixed community of spectators was formed and the stories of box office hits began to come out. During the period, Malayalam cinema got acknowledged by the state with many prestigious awards. The politics Malayalam cinema served in the early decades of post-colonial history had been in tune with the formation of a liberal humanist citizen and a federal imagination/sub-nationalism within the grand narrative of nation-building by the post-colonial Indian state. The cinema acted as a unifying point of cultural varieties that existed in the three erstwhile political regions and produced an ideological justification for the existence of Kerala as a linguistic state. This ideological mission was carried out by representing common culture, shared myths, and common past cinematically. In the 1950s and 1960s Malayalam cinema also progressed in terms of production and distribution by formulating a vast network of studios and permanent theatres. Aesthetically, Malayalam cinema was moving closer to a visual language of cinema by liberating itself from the clutches of linguistic and dramatic elements overloaded in the previous narratives. The generic varieties facilitated to represent different sections of the societies and movies with women protagonists were not rare.

During the period 1970-1990, Malayalam cinema could firmly establish its aesthetic and industrial ethos. New experiments had been carried out in cine languages and such movies began to be known as parallel cinema. On the other hand, the commercial or popular movies had been produced abundantly after the influx of Gulf remittance. It also encouraged the widening of theatre networks even into remote areas. The 'C' class theatres were filled with 'soft porn' movies which even created a market outside the state.¹ The one-time producer was a novel phenomenon of this time indicating the prospect of the cine industry as a locus of capital investment

¹ Anirudh Deshpande, *Class, Power and Consciousness in Indian Cinema and Television*, Primus books, New Delhi, 2009.p.37.

facilitating swift and easy returns. Another two remarkable trends of this decade were the emergence of regional film societies and the conduction of film festivals. They enabled the Malayalee spectator community to engage with the global cinema sensibilities and aesthetic explorations. Though the public sphere constituted by the film societies and festivals was largely male-oriented, the insights received from these engagements enriched the cinema practices in Kerala.

The economic changes that occurred after the Gulf Boom determined the narrative trajectory of Malayalam cinema to great extent. The minority and backward classes used migration to enhance their economic and social prospects. However, the analysis of movies in these decades reflects another version of this social narrative. The social changes were represented from the culturally hegemonic gaze. The socio-economic and political factors which brought about significant alternation in the existing social status were under discursive assault by the hegemonic cultural representations in the cinema narrative. The economic changes may not be reflected in the cultural representations as such. Nevertheless, cultural representations like cinema are often employed to disguise social realities and to ensure social hegemony even in the changing tempo of actual social life. The economic changes and cultural representations are dialectically interacting within the larger matrix of social formation which transcends the naïve application of the base-superstructure theoretical model. Culture has not merely been a realm in which the economic base is reflected. Instead, it has distinct modalities though not autonomous.

Social relationships based on gender, national identity, and the engagement with modernity in Malayalam cinematic representations register the dialectical relationship between economic base and cultural superstructure. The cultural representations embodied in the narrative frames,

have to be *deframed* within the subtle interactions of economic changes and social relations. Even if the changes are registered in narratives directly or indirectly, those are represented in a hegemonic perspective. The 'engendering' process initiated by the latter years of the nineteenth century was at a critical juncture by the 1970s. New social movements, economic changes with emphasis on the service sector and foreign remittance, literary expressions of the subalterns, etc., had problematized the gender relations in Kerala. The discourses of patriarchy were used to retain/regain the male hegemony. Malayalam cinema narratives were such a site of struggle by this time. The visuals testify to the naturalization of the nuclear family and present a normative discourse for the same. The family became the primary focus of economic consumption and social identity. Nevertheless, within the larger narrative structure which idealizes heterosexual and patriarchal family, there were glimpses that one can be observed on the internal schisms and ideological menace that the family system faced in the wake of the women's political assertion and creative interventions. The discussion of gender relations expands to the realm of the shaping of gendered subjectivities. Through the codes of performance and peculiar cinematic experiences like stardom, a hegemonic gendered identity-obviously the dominant version of masculinity-got idealized. This image of ideal masculinity is related to the current economic perspective of being successful and dominant. The movie narratives in these epochs show the reconfiguration of gendered social institutions. The values and practices of neoliberalism were trickling down to the Malayalee social life by this time.

The political mission of Malayalam cinema in the post-colonial scenario was the contextualization of the existence of sub-nationalism/ federal identity within the larger contours of Indian nationalism. The narrative frames define what constitutes a nation and a distinct subnational identity which was formulated on a linguistic basis in the early phase and shifted its

focus to ‘developmentalism’ in the latter phase as we have seen in the context of Kerala. It has also been evident from the historical context of Malayalam cinema in the 1950s that the process of building a subnational identity of Malayalee and its geographical and legal expression, ie, the state of Kerala had not been a unilateral development. Instead, it carried multifaceted forms of contestation and negotiation within the official nomenclature of statehood. As a result of the socio-political movements of previous decades, the early ‘state mission’ of the Malayalam cinema narrative was to represent the emerging subjectivity within the new form of political expression, ie, the Republic of India. Malayalam cinema confirms the transition process from the subject of a princely state to the citizen of a Republic as far as the political subjectivity of the people is concerned.

Being a citizen was not confined to a project of liberal politics in the historical experience of Kerala. ‘The Left’ element in the making and affirmation of citizenship in the post-colonial context might be a distinct feature of Kerala society. Along with the values of liberal citizenship, the concepts of equality and justice have also been celebrated in the process of making citizens in Kerala. Such a liberal-humanist perspective of citizenship and political subjectivity are marked by the popular cinematic narratives of the 1950s. The hope for a better society has also been shared in these discourses which indicate the political hope that existed in the society in the immediate years of post-colonial national life.

Nevertheless, the hope given by independence had been waning in the narratives of subsequent decades. In the distinct historical experience of Kerala society, this issue is reflected in the narratives criticizing politics in general and the Left politics in particular. Trade union activities and organized political parties came under narrative critique by the mid of the 1960s. Rampant unemployment, continuing poverty, political chaos, frequent

strikes, and 'hyper politicization' had been criticized. These frustrations led to the search for political alternatives and a group of middle class youth found it in the Naxal movement. The movie narratives which are ideological sympathizers of the radical Left problematize contemporary political life and questioned the state on its failed promises. However, owing to the hegemonic nature of cinema frames, the Naxal plots became an additional flavour in the melodrama of the later year narratives.

By the end of the 1970s, Malayalam cinema had gone to the extent of presenting a political and economic alternative. The political and bureaucratic nexus which produces corruption in public life was presented as the inherent problem of the existing system. The infrastructure developments in the post-colonial nation-building projects had been metaphorically narrated to question the discourse of the state on economic development. The economic model presented as an alternative in Malayalam cinema frames had been the capitalist development experience of developed economies like Japan. By covering up the all internal contradictions of society into a single verb -disunity- these 'alternative' narratives point towards the socio-political factors impending capitalist development in Kerala.

The 1980s do not confine to pro-capitalist narratives alone. The gradual percolation of communal narratives became visible during this period. Communities got stigmatized. Such stereotypes produced a hegemonic gaze over the marginalized social groups and naturalized the existing social relation thereby. These narratives found reasons for upper caste predicaments in the peculiar historical processes carried out in the social landscape of post-colonial Kerala. Land reforms, which brought about structural transformation to a large extent, had been questioned from the perspectives of the upper caste. The major beneficiaries of the Gulf boom were minorities and lower castes. Democratic politics sabotaged the traditional power structure and

opened up new vistas before the subaltern communities to lift themselves in the status hierarchy. These socio-political and economic changes, it is argued, badly affected the everyday life of the upper caste and they are presented in the narratives as the victims of the current system. The victimization image of the upper caste had created a cultural background for the evoking of feudal nostalgia and communal suspicions. The communal narrative can be seen as a reactionary response to the crisis of the systems and it problematizes the post-colonial national discourses such as humanism, modernization, democracy, secularism, etc.

Malayalam cinema during these decades picturizes/problematises the structural transformations through which Kerala society had been undergoing. Land reforms, Gulf migration, the growth of the service sector, the growing middle –class, rapid urbanization, standardization of heterosexual family, etc., laid foundational historical contexts where the narratives were unfolded. However, unlike the problematisation of the ‘Kerala model’ in the actual social discourse, mainly raised by New Social Movements, the critique of the current system represented in Malayalam cinema was inclined towards the hegemonic standpoint of the upper caste. The alternative suggested was also tinged with the world view of the elites. The possible spectator that Malayalam cinema envisaged had been the upper caste male.

As a cultural product of modernity, cinema creates novel spaces and spatial practices in social life. The physical and ideological spaces created by Malayalam cinema in the 1970s & 1980s are distinct from the previous decades. Owing to the influx of Gulf money, the cinema theatre networks got widened and made inroads into the rural parts of the state. It extends the visual practices and different sections and regions got converged into the visual language of cinema. The categorization of the theatres into different levels also indicates the increase in the number of cinema production. The

spatial change relates to the cinema is not confined to the production and consumption networks of cinema alone. The frames/visuals in the moving images provide a glance over the physical topography of the region where the movie is shot. The visuals derived from Malayalam cinema in these decades signify the widening of urbanization in Kerala. Basic infrastructures were begun to be available even in rural areas. New special practices such as telephone booths, supermarkets, restaurants, etc., which are the outcome of neoliberal leniency of the economy are visualized in the frames of Malayalam cinema. These visuals can be taken as the primary visual source material of the urbanization process and neoliberal spatial practices in the context of Kerala.

The narratives are not only reflecting the physical space but also constructing an ideological space. They can be assumed as cultural/visual cartography of Kerala. The spatial divisions such as village/urban, coastal – high range/middle land, etc., are ideologically validated by the cinema visuals which further proven the hegemonic gaze over the narrative. The high range/coastal region has been portrayed as the cultural other of the mainland. Such divisions have not only been confined to geographical entities but extended to the communitarian terrains. The major religious minority groups like the Muslims and the Christians had been presented from the perspective of Brahmanical world view. The socio-economic conditions of these communities came under narrative scrutiny and the reasons had been found in the ‘unethical’ socio-political system. However, the hegemony of the upper castes is ensured through the ‘moral’ content of them which is often narrated as ‘Indianness’. The lack of an Indian ethical code is what makes these communities anomaly in the hegemonic discursive frames of Malayalam cinema. ‘The other’ culture followed by these religious minorities is even depicted as the hovering of unholy spirit over the national self and it has to be exorcised. This line of argument was being materialized by the political

actions of Hindutva forces in the late 1980s. 'The otherness and foreignness' of culture represented by the communities concerned put them as the antithesis of national imagination to which the cinema narratives adhere. Unlike the 1960s, the community-based representations became communal-based representations in the 1980s through the repetitive depiction of chosen 'facts'.

The modernity discourse has been manifested in the realm of commodities as well. Malayalam cine visuals facilitate the introduction of new commodities in the economy of Kerala. The modernity practices by this time became commodified and it registered a new signpost in the experience of modernity in Kerala. Even the images got commodified through the representations of commodities in movie visuals. This change registers the formation of a society of the spectacle. The image/commodity-based economy had been, more or less, indebted to the Gulf remittance. The Gulf, often, is signified through the commodities termed as 'foreign'. The emergence of consumerist modernity and the society of the spectacle marks the entry of Kerala's mainstream economic life into neoliberal regimes which brought in corresponding spatial practices both in physical and ideological domains.

It can be argued that the changes in the 1970s and 1980s significantly influenced the course of national life in the subsequent years. The cinema had gone through remarkable changes too. The Indian political scenario was tinged by rampant identity-based politics on one hand and economic liberalization on the other. The politics since the 1990s has been guided by three radical events; the implementation of the Mandal Committee report, the official announcement of economic liberalization, and the demolition of Babari Masjid. The rapid polarization in social life had narrative resonances in cultural representations like cinema. The cultural mission initiated by the serializing of *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* in Doordarshan by the mid of

1980s bestowed to the strengthening of communal ideology and the political endeavours to materialize it.² Though the socio-cultural composition is somewhat distinct in Kerala compare to its Northern counterparts, similarities can be drawn from the movies of the 1990s and the early decade of the new millennium. The communally oriented discourses are no longer a hidden utterance in cinema frames by this time. In the approach to plot and the visual arrangement of images, some of the remarkable cinema narratives in this time evoked the feudal ambiance by placing the corresponding signs and symbols. The architecture, rituals, social relations, attire of characters, and all mise-en-scene had been closely chosen to represent the cultural and ideological past of the upper caste elitists.³ As mentioned earlier, unlike the modern history of communal tensions and eventual riots in other parts of the Indian subcontinent, communal harmony could maintain in Kerala society thanks to its distinct social formation in the late nineteenth and the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the communal narrative that got momentum by the latter half of the 1980s presented ‘structural violence’ faced by the upper caste ever since its encounter with modernity and the ideological and institutional practices of it. Here, the communal division is built upon the narrative of Hindu victimization and their innocence which was deceptively used by the other communities to further their socio-economic interests. It is interesting to note that all discourse on victimized Hindu is centered on the social premises of the upper caste. The re-feudalization of form and content of cinema visuals, in this context, can be discerned as a cultural response to the ‘disorder’ of a graded society and a strive to culturally ensure the hegemony over the society while the economic capital has been slipping away from the dominant upper

² K N Pannikar, *History as a Site of struggle: Essays on History, Culture and Politics*, Three Essays Collective, New Delhi, 2013, pp.583-584. Anirudh Deshpande, *Class, Power and Consciousness in Indian Cinema and Television*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2009,p.24.

³ G P Ramachandran, *Cinamayum Malayaliyude Jeevithavum*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2010.p.30.

castes. Contrary to the popular cinema narrative, the benefits of migration had not been confined to any particular community. The cultural assertiveness of the upper caste elites at this juncture can also be put in another light. While examining some narratives like *Ustad* (1999), *Aram Thampuran* (1997), etc., it gets evident that the plots navigate through parallel lines; through the lines of upper caste hero in a cosmopolitan city, and the rendition of the same hero as the protector of the village and its customary practices. In both spaces, aggressive masculinity has been employed as an integral part of character traits. However, movies like *Ustad* would show 'the calmness' of the otherwise aggressive hero when he is in his proper or organic space, ie, the village. The narrative of the movie *Aryan* (1988), on the other hand, proposes to utilize the economic opportunities presented by the cosmopolitan city. Such a successful hero can return to the village, fix 'the disorder', and rule the land. These narratives reveal the formation of a new upper caste identity of corporate Hindutva which manifests the ironic nature of modernity in India. The market forces facilitate the hegemony of upper caste further rather than debilitating it.

These political discourses were embodied in the hyper-masculine superhero characters and Re-feudalization as the panacea for the present crisis was proposed. The heroes became the protector of people, village, and customary practices. The return of a successful urban Hindu to his old village indicates the ironic nature of modernity in Kerala. At the one end, the relation with neo-liberalism facilitated the upper caste to accumulate the new form of wealth ie, the capital. He might be a successful entrepreneur in the cosmopolitan city. However, in the due course of the narrative, the hero finds his true space in the village, returns to it, and 'fixes' it on the traditional and customary lines. These superhuman characters with the names of mythological gods culturally enhance the feudal nostalgia of the upper caste and financially support the dwindling Malayalam cine industry at the dawn of

the new millennium. They were celebrated because of the hyper-masculine traits and the use of cultural symbols which are swiftly becoming hegemonic in the national consciousness by that time.

The vivid statements against the minority communities found their way into the Malayalam cinema narrative in the 1990s.⁴ The ‘cultural demolition’ of minorities’ social life was orchestrated with more vigour and in a direct manner. At this juncture, Malayalam cinema narratives did hand in glove with the dominant political discourse of othering the Muslim community. The Muslims had been placed outside the national discourse and asked to prove their loyalty to India. ‘The other’ is put in a demonic and villain image in the hegemonic national narrative. The cinema narratives produced ‘terrorist, anti-national’ Muslims by the 1990s. *His Highness Abdulla* (1990), *Vietnam Colony* (1992), *Druvam* (1993), *Kalapaani*(1996), etc., picturized the villainization of Muslims in the post-masjid era. On the other hand, hitherto neglected persons began to be portrayed as national leaders.⁵ While negating national status to a section of society, counter-balance attempts were also put in place to symbolize the core of ‘our common past’. Movies like *Paithrukam* (1993) and *Desadanam* (1996) visualized the Brahmanic core of the hegemonic national discourse. The narrative of *Desadanam* revolves around a very selective social practice that existed among the upper castes in Kerala and unfurls it over the common imagination of the past legacy.⁶ The ‘We- They’ dichotomy in national life receives more narrative collaborations in the post – 1980 period.

⁴ *Mahathma*. Directed by Shaji Kailas, Vandothra International,1996, *You Tube*, Uploaded by Malayalam Super Hit Movies, February 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xtf2vFha1oY>.1:22-23 min.

⁵ Veersavarkar is portrayed as an important national leader in *Kalappaani* (1996).

⁶ G P Ramachandran, *Cinamayum Malayaliyude Jeevithavum*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2010. pp. 84-88.

The genre diversification of these decades is indebted to the crisis faced by cinema as a medium. The 1990s inaugurated the TV era in Kerala society and redefined the entire concept of leisure time and entertainment. There were exchanges between cinema and TV. However, a major loss was with the cinema. The family genre and melodramatic contents which were pivotal of movie narratives in the previous decades were replanted to the TV screens.⁷ Women were the major consumers of TV serials with melodramatic content and it opened up the chances of more privatized and domesticated visual entertainments. These changes affected cinema both aesthetically and industrially. Cinema theatres lost their family audience and had faced a severe financial crisis due to these developments. Aesthetically, the genre varieties had been less and the narratives slipped off to 'easy and erotic' contents. A series of comedy movies sprang up in this context. The comedy genre movies are revolving around comic plots, altered the cinema narrative into a site of mass entertainment. The cultural impact of these comedy films and the way in which they reimagined masculinity have been scholarly explored.⁸ The trend also received stimuli from a new form of art; mimicry. Professional dramas were rather replaced by stage shows and mimicry. Many of these artists belong to the subaltern classes and they could make inroads into the otherwise upper caste space of Malayalam cinema.⁹ These newly inducted actors further enlarge the scope of the comedy genre. Through these movies promoted 'homosociality' in the context of feminine assertion to protect patriarchal space as Jenny Rowena argues¹⁰, they had presented more

⁷ C S Venkiteshwaran, *Malayala Cinema Padangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2011.pp.15-16.

⁸ Jenny Rowena, *Reading Laughter: Popular Malayalam Comedy Films of the Late 80s and Early 90s*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad, 2002.

⁹ K K Baburaj, 'Marananathara Jeevithathile Mani Enna Tharam', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 94, no 3,2016, pp, 46-49.

¹⁰ Op.Cit.p.46.

stories from the margins. However, these narratives are incapable to raise political questions on the subaltern social life in Kerala and failed to counter the upper caste discourses. The 'lack of life' in these narratives put the entire cine industry in an aesthetic and industrial crisis. As the homosociality in the narrative, the physical cinema space like theatres had also become a space for male spectators. When the family ebbed from theatres, it became a male-gendered public space. As C.S Venkiteswaran points out, TV got feminized when cinema got masculinized.¹¹ It domesticated the leisure time of women within the four walls of the house and promoted homo public space in the social life. This masculinization of both physical and narrative space contributed to the emergence of two generic varieties; soft porn, and superhuman character movies. The early years of this millennium witnessed a soft porn wave in Malayalam cinema. C class theatres were the destination of these movies and the male audience was the target group. The soft porn trend can be seen as the last resort for class C theatres. On the other hand, superstar movies with superhuman characters ruled over the other cinema theatres and cinema narratives. With their mythical/mystical traits, they promoted the upper caste male hegemony in the narrative. While these movies discursively control the woman, soft porn movies present them as a sexual objects and facilitate voyeuristic pleasure. Another gendered cine space was fan clubs upon which the superstar movies sought a fixed market. The fan clubs are exclusively male-oriented and it is the members of these clubs who celebrated the patriarchal and elitist rhetoric of their superheroes. The lack of generic varieties, poor narrative treatment, pathetic technological advancement, unfavourable market conditions, the influence of TV, the fun rivalries, etc., solicited an artistic and industrial crisis to which Malayalam cinema was hopelessly sinking during the initial years of this millennium.

¹¹ C S Venkiteswaran, *Malayala Cinema Padangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2011.p. 16.

The critic was even made from within the cinema narrative on the unfavorable circumstances that exist in the industry such as the dominance of superstars, vandalize attitude of their fans associations, compromised narratives to glorify the star image, hyper-masculine heroes, cheating, and dubious activities in the industry, etc. Covered by a sarcastic veil, *Udayananu Tharam* (2004), directed by Roshan Andrews, problematized the current status of Malayalam cinema in an industrial and artistic realm. The narrative of this movie could generate resonance in the cinema industry. In the latter years, the critic on superstar/superhuman narratives embodied in the characters of Santhosh Pandit. It can be seen as a response to the pathetic condition of cinema renditions in Malayalam. The mockery on cine industry and cinema narratives made by Pandit was well-received and the theatres became the physical space of the audience's reaction vis-i-vis the illogical narratives fabricated to project superstars.¹²

The response to the degenerating condition of Malayalam cinema did not confine to symbolic protest. Creative responses were on the way and it culminated in *Traffic* (2011) directed by Rajesh Pillai. This movie is considered path-breaking since the narratives were fresh in content, novel in treatment, and demolished the single star emphasis of the narrative. It called back the audience to the theatres and initiated a new era of cinema representation which is termed as New Generation Cinema, Multiplex Cinema, or Post-Modern Cinema by the prominent film critics. This change can be contextualized in the global cinema aesthetics percolating to Kerala society. The main consumers of this had been the youth. Through the DVD revolution, accessibility to the internet, and popular participation in the International Film Festival of Kerala in Thiruvanthapuram facilitated the encounter with technological and aesthetic revolutions that occurred in the

¹² Jose K Manuel, *New Generation Cinema*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2012. pp.17-18.

global cinema industry.¹³ The familiarity with these changes has transformed the visual sensibility of moviemakers and movie viewers alike. The generic change that happened in Malayalam cinema after 2010 is greatly indebted to this global perspective.

These movies have been ‘New Generation’ since the on/off-camera crew are mainly the youth and the narrative centrality is fixed upon the life of the youth. A group of new directors and writers like Ashiq Abu, Rajesh Pillai, Anwar Rashed, Anjali Menon, Sidharth Siva, Alphonse Putran, Bobby-Sanjay, Shyam Pushkaran, Dileesh Pothan, and so on enrich the cinema experience. These movies are political in content, but not rhetoric in their presentation. The cosmopolitan youthhood and their life struggles get ample representation in the New Generation movies and the narratives problematize the traditional concepts of body, sexuality, morality, etc. Such a change in cinema narrative can be analyzed in the context of the long-term struggles of New Social Movements that questioned patriarchy and caste hierarchy. The aesthetic changes can either be a harbinger of political correctness or be the culmination of movements for political correctness. Many shades of social life hitherto remained untouched bring into cinema narrative and it enlarges the politics of visibility and representation. The questions raised by Gender movements, Dalit movements, and Environmental movements provided political visibility to the invisible and illuminated the subtle interactions of domination and subordination in social life. Such political visibility is transcribed onto the screens of cinema by this time. Movies like *22 Female Kottayam* (2012) and *The Great Indian Kitchen* (2021) expose the patriarchal practices in society that are otherwise viewed as natural. Women characters get agency and female-centered narratives are becoming a part of Malayalam cinema. Corresponding changes have been taking place in associations of

¹³ Ibid, p.12.

cinema actors as well. One of the remarkable signs of progress is made in the realm of direction. More women directors are coming up and sensitizing gender relations with wit and humour.¹⁴ A movie like *Kammattipadam* (2016) became possible only with the parallel political sensitivity brought in by the Dalits. It problematizes the multifaceted aspects of Kerala's contemporary social life. These narratives are 'realistic' in the sense that the main plots are focusing on the everyday life of people from different social hues. Satellite rates ensure minimum returns to the producer and the introduction of digital technology opens up new vistas in visual and narrative treatment. Cinema becomes easily available due to technological advancement. Smartphones further reduce the screen space and the public experience of cine viewing. Nevertheless, the socio-political movements, like the feminist movements, environmental movements, Dalit movements, etc., could change the political and cultural landscape of Kerala's social life. The issues they raise began to be subsumed in contemporary cinema.¹⁵ These narratives are political but express political correctness subtly and differently, compare with the rhetoric of previous decades. 'The millennials' social consciousness finds its way to the contemporary cinema narratives. The digital possibilities are pressuring to experience the visuals with novel modalities and practices. Netflix, Amazon Prime, and other online stream platforms are launching successful web series. The corona pandemic leads to the Over The Top (OTT) release of movies. The future of cinema and the historian's engagement with it will be determined by these social and technological changes.

¹⁴ Anjali Menon, Sreebala, Vidhu Vincent are the prominent and promising women directors in Malayalam cinema.

¹⁵ 22 Female Kottayam (2012), *Kammattipadam* (2016), *Valiya Chirakulla Pakshikal* (2015), to mention a few.

GLOSSARY

<i>Mise-en-scene</i>	:	The physical arrangement of a scene including sets, costumes, shot composition, lighting, etc.
<i>Vilichuparachilukar</i>	:	Commentators
<i>Nivarthana Prakshobham</i>	:	Abstention Movement
<i>Oru Samudhaya Kadha</i>	:	A social story
<i>Painkili Sahithyam</i>	:	Pulp Fiction
<i>Vimochana Samaram</i>	:	Liberation Movement
<i>Dubaikaran</i>	:	A person from Dubai
<i>Kudumbam Namukoru</i>	:	Family is a Sanctum for us
<i>Sreekovil</i>		
<i>Kattathe Kilikoodu</i>	:	The bird's nest in the wind
<i>Ente Kadha:</i>	:	My story
<i>Adakkavum Othukkavum</i>	:	Discipline and Meekness
<i>Pennarasunadu</i>	:	The women ruled country
<i>Gusthi</i>	:	Wrestling
<i>Ezhakalin Thozhan:</i>	:	The friend of poor
<i>Puthenpanakar:</i>	:	Nouveau rich
<i>Tharavadu</i>	:	Ancestral home

APPENDICES

Table – I

The following table shed light on the economic transactions which were being taken place in the time of the narrative. It might not be the exact reflection of the price or market status. The rates narrated are influenced by many factors including social and economic position of the narrator, market fluctuations of the time, etc. However, the traces from film narrative have been instrumental to delineate the larger picture of economic changes in the society.

ITEMS	RATE	REFERENCE
Monthly room rent in cities	Rs 75	<i>Mindapennu</i> . Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, V M Sreenivasan, 1970. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, October 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RU8RVBLqNV0 .10 min.
Monthly expense of a middle class family	Rs 300	<i>Aranazhikaneram</i> . Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, Manjilas, 1970. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Music Zone, May 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NpoI_064H88&t=8s . 1:48 min
Stitching charge for a shirt	Rs 3	<i>Akkarepacha</i> . Directed by M N Nesan, M M Nesan/Sukumaran,1972. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, November 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wbNLEgAQZeU .18 min
Taxi rent	Rs 3	<i>Chembarathi</i> . Directed by P N Menon, S Krishanan Nair, 1972. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam Movies, April 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nv8CkGGBMyw . 23 min
Movement of goods	Rs 5	<i>Interview</i> . Directed by Sasikumar, Tirupathi Chettiyar, 1973. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pZhJ07hDQBQ . 11 min

Head loading	Rs 3	<i>Nirmalyam</i> . Directed by M T Vasudevan Nair, M T Vasudevan Nair, 1973. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by LAMAK PVT March 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J2FYIQhwep0 . 1.05 min
6 fish	Rs 1	<i>Ulsavam</i> . Directed by I V Sasi, Ramachandran, 1975. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OWmf_R24yj8 . 16-17 min
1 Soda	30 paisa	<i>Kudumbam Namukoru Sreekovil</i> . Directed by Hariharan, T E Vasudevan, 1978. 1.37 min
Daily wage of manual labourer	Rs 10	<i>Vilkanundu Swapangal</i> . Directed by M Azad, V B K Menon, 1980. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, June 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ayCyx9C hu4 . 1.58 min
1 kg Ladyfinger	Rs 2	<i>Sreeman Sreemathi</i> . Directed by Hariharan, Gopi, 1981. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Movie World Ent, February 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CQSkMG77fDE . 39 min
Monthly salary of a sales representative	Rs 1500	<i>Kilukilukm</i> . Directed by Balachandra Menon, S Kumar, 1982. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1HeXqDz wDAU . 1.33 min
One cent land	Rs 1500 or Rs 2000	<i>Aalkoottathil Thaniye</i> . Directed by I V Sasi, Century, 1984. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, November 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7 AFmM . 18 min
Doctor's fee	Rs 20	<i>Aalkoottathil Thaniye</i> . Directed by I V Sasi, Century, 1984. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, November 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7 AFmM . 18 min

Monthly salary of a bank official	Rs 900	<i>Oru Kochu Swapnam</i> . Directed by Vipin Das, A M Shereef, 1984. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1NXeRprNFFQ . 11 min
Salary of a parallel college teacher	Rs 450	<i>Ariyatha Veedhikal</i> . Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S Sethumadhavan, 1984. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movie , June 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AOKMfCpFdbY . 1.03 min
PWD officer scale	Rs 500-700	<i>Idanilangal</i> . Directed by I V Sasi, K Balachandar, 1985. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Film library hdmovies, March 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YV-UwnZgrrA . 18 min
Cinema ticket	Rs 4-5	<i>Choodatha Pookal</i> . Directed by M S Baby, V Gopalakrishanan Nair, 1985. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Biscoot Regional, December 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G_cIRFqZ0vc . 22 min
Cigarette packet	Rs 10	<i>Koodum Thedi</i> . Directed by Paul Babu, Siyad Kocker 1985. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, July 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=62tbSZuZFIU&t=3518s . 10 min
Candle	Rs 1.65	<i>Pappan Priyapetta Pappan</i> . Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, G S Harindran, 1986. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=em1AB_8dUuY . 24 min
Emergency ward in a hospital	Rs 5000	<i>Adhipan</i> . Directed by K Madhu, Geethika, 1989. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, November 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TDFhrD7FGqc . 1.08 min
Financial	35% interest	<i>Muthukudayum Choodi</i> . Directed by Baiju

institution	for Rs 25000 deposit	Thomas, B. R.R Cine Arts, 1989. <i>YouTube</i> , uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, August 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FaFwRvDH6uw . 29 min.
-------------	----------------------	---

Table – II
Growth Trends in Film Production

Year	Number of films
Before 1935	2
1935-40	1
1940-45	2
1945-50	2
1950-55	38
1955-60	27
1960-65	63
1965-70	166
1970-75	241
1975-80	465
1980-85	551
1985-90	497
1990-95	413

Source: Public Relations Department, Government of Kerala

Journals of the Kerala Film Chamber

Taken from Uma J Nair. *Economic Aspects of Film Industry in Kerala*, C-Dit Centre for Development of Information Technology, 1999, Tiruvanathapuram, p 59.

Table – III

Trends in the Number of Cinema Theatres

Year	Number of Cinema Theatres
1938	32
1948	111
1976	900
1987	1389
1993	1422
1995	1408
2000	1323
2009	670

Taken from Uma J Nair. *Economic Aspects of Film Industry in Kerala*, C-Dit Centre for Development of Information Technology, 1999, Tiruvanathapuram, p 65.

AS MOVIE POSTERS SPEAK

ഇന്നത്തെ തിരവനതപുരം

തിരുവനതപുരം	- ശ്രീപത്മനാഭ A/c	തൃശ്ശൂർ	- സപന A/c (4 Shows)
കോട്ടയം	- ആനന്ദ് A/c	പാലക്കാട്	- പ്രിയ A/c
ചങ്ങനാശ്ശേരി	- അഭിനയാ A/c	വടകര	- കേരള കായർമുഖിഹൗസ് A (4 Shows)
ആലപ്പുഴ	- സിതാസ് A/c	കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ	- എസ്സൽ
എറണാകുളം	- ലുലുസിനിമ A/c (4 Shows)	കോഴിക്കോട്	- രാധ
		തലശ്ശേരി	- ലോട്ടസ് A/c (4 Shows)
		കൊല്ലം	-

ഏഴുതാഴ്ചകൾ

സെൻസൽ പ്രൊഡക്ഷൻസ് സിബി മലയിൽ ലോപിതദാസ് സെൻസൽപിക്ചേഴ്സ് റിലീസ്

ഒരു ജനതയുടെ സംസ്കാരത്തിന്റെ ഔന്നത്യമറിയണമെങ്കിൽ സമൂഹത്തിൽ സ്ത്രീയുടെ സ്ഥാനമെവിടെയാണെന്ന് അന്വേഷിച്ചാൽ മതി. ഇന്ത്യൻ സ്ത്രീത്വം ഇന്നെവിടെ നിൽക്കുന്നു.....?

Taken from <https://www.facebook.com/groups/225173448806911/Cinema Nostalgia> posted on 2 June 2021

അക്ഷരത്തെറ്റിലെ സുമതിയുടെ അനുഭവം നിങ്ങളുടെ ദാവത്യജീവിതത്തിൽ ആവർത്തിക്കാതിരിക്കാൻ ഇന്നു തന്നെ കൂടുമ്പമായി കാണുക...

കൊട്ടം
വിദ്യാനന്ദപുരം
എറണാകുളം
തൃശ്ശൂർ
കൊല്ലം
ആലപ്പുഴ
ചങ്ങനാശ്ശേരി
പാലക്കാട്
കോഴിക്കോട്
തൃശ്ശൂർ
കണ്യാശ്ശേരി
കാസർഗോഡ്
പെരിന്തൽമണ്ണ
പാലക്കാട്

- ആനന്ദ് A/c
- അബ്ദുൾ A/c (4 Shows)
- സമീർ A/c
- രാധ A/c
- അനന്ത A/c
- തൈമ്മാൻശാന്തി A/c
- അനൂ A/c
- സുന്ദരരാജ A/c
- സുധ A/c
- മുകുന്ദ്
- ലിറ്റിൽ കവിത A/c
- ദീപാതക
- കണ്യക
- അനന്ത
- യൂണിബേഴ്സൽ



യോദ്ധാ ഫിലിംസ്
അക്ഷരത്തെറ്റി

I.V.ശശി
ശ്രീകുമാരൻ തമ്പി

007
yodha1983@gmail.com


യോദ്ധാ റിലീസ്

MURUGAN VARNASALE

Taken from <https://www.facebook.com/groups/225173448806911/Cinema>
Nostalgia posted on 15 June 2021

രണ്ടാം വാതം

കാലവസ്ത്രങ്ങൾ	— M. P. Cinema A/c	ചങ്ങനാശ്ശേരി	— അരു A/c
കോട്ടൺ	— ആനന്ദ A/c	തിരുവ	— സന്ദ A/c
കുടുംബ	— അർജുന A/c	വടകര	— കിരീട A/c
എറണാകുളം	— മെട്രോൾ സിനിമാ A/c	കണ്ണൂർ	— കവീത A/c
തൃശ്ശൂർ	— സാഹസ A/c	കോഴിക്കോട്	— ദാമ
പാലക്കാട്	— സിനിമാ A/c	തലശ്ശേരി	— സോളാർ
ആറന്മുള	— R. N. P. A/c	ആലപ്പുഴ	— സുബ്ബ
		കുഴപ്പം	— സി ഗാലക്സി



**നിങ്ങൾക്ക്
എന്നെ ഒന്നും
ചെയ്യാൻ
കഴിയില്ല
ഇവിടത്തെ
ചിത്രലഭിച്ച
നിയമത്തിന്
അതിനുള്ള
പഴയകളൊ
ക്കെയുണ്ട്**

K.P.കൊട്ടാരക്കര
അവതരിപ്പിക്കുന്ന
ഗണേഷ് പ്രൊഡക്ഷൻസ്

**ഇതു ശബ്ദം
ഇന്നത്തെ ശബ്ദം**

P.G.വിശ്വംഭരൻ
ജോൺപോൾ സെൻസർവിഷ്വലൈസ് റിലീസ്

007

007

yodha1983@gmail.com

Kite

Taken from <https://www.facebook.com/groups/225173448806911/Cinema Nostalgia> posted on 16 June 2021



20 ദിവസം

N.G. ജോൺ
L.V. ഗവർണി

സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യപ്രാപ്തിക്കുശേഷം നമ്മുടെ നാടിനെ സാമൂഹ്യ സാമ്പത്തിക രാഷ്ട്രീയരംഗത്ത് വന്നു ഭവിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള അപഭ്രംശങ്ങളെ ശക്തമായി തുറന്നു കാണിക്കുന്ന ഇതനാട് നാടുകാരുടെ കണ്ണിലുണിയായതിൽ തെല്ലും അതിശയിച്ചില്ലാ ഡിയാർ ബ്രദേഴ്സ് ഓരോ മുവിയുടെ

ഇതനാട്

<p>കോളം - അനൂപ A/c</p> <p>അഭ്യവനം - (ശ്രീപത്മ) A/c</p> <p>കോളം - കൃഷ്ണ</p> <p>ചങ്ങനാശ്ശേരി - അപസര</p> <p>കോളം - അപസര A/c</p>	<p>കോഴിക്കോട് - സാലം 70 ബസ് A/c</p> <p>കോളം - കവിത 70 ബസ് A/c</p> <p>കോളം - കോളം</p> <p>കോളം - നല്ല തമ്പകംസി</p> <p>കോളം - പ്രിയൻസി A/c</p> <p>കോളം - അപസര A/c</p>	<p>കോളം - സിന്ധു A/c</p> <p>കോളം - കൃഷ്ണ</p> <p>കോളം - കൃഷ്ണ A/c</p> <p>കോളം - അപസര</p> <p>കോളം - S. R.</p>
---	--	--

പലകേന്ദ്രങ്ങളിലും ബോക്സിംഗ് റിംഗിൽ ഇങ്ങനെയൊന്നു തന്നെ കഴിഞ്ഞു. മുകളിലുള്ള അതിരേ അലക്ഷ്യത്തിലേക്ക് മുന്നേറുന്നു.

ഇതനാട്



20 ദിവസം

N.G. ജോൺ
L.V. ഗവർണി

പതിനാലാം വാറും

<p>കോഴിക്കോട് - സാലം</p> <p>കോളം - സിന്ധു</p> <p>കോളം - (ശ്രീപത്മ) A/c</p> <p>കോളം - കൃഷ്ണ</p> <p>കോളം - ബിനിയർസി</p> <p>കോളം - അനൂപ</p> <p>കോളം - പ്രിയൻസി</p> <p>കോളം - അപസര</p> <p>കോളം - കൃഷ്ണ</p> <p>കോളം - 7-ാം വാറും</p> <p>കോളം - യൂണിവേഴ്സി</p> <p>കോളം - 8-ാം വാറും</p> <p>കോളം - (ശ്രീകൃഷ്ണ) A/c</p>	<p>കോളം - സാലം</p> <p>കോളം - സിന്ധു</p> <p>കോളം - (ശ്രീപത്മ) A/c</p> <p>കോളം - കൃഷ്ണ</p> <p>കോളം - ബിനിയർസി</p> <p>കോളം - അനൂപ</p> <p>കോളം - പ്രിയൻസി</p> <p>കോളം - അപസര</p> <p>കോളം - കൃഷ്ണ</p> <p>കോളം - 7-ാം വാറും</p> <p>കോളം - യൂണിവേഴ്സി</p> <p>കോളം - 8-ാം വാറും</p> <p>കോളം - (ശ്രീകൃഷ്ണ) A/c</p>
--	--

ഇതനാട്

കോളം - സിന്ധു

കോളം - കൃഷ്ണ

കോളം - കൃഷ്ണ A/c

കോളം - അപസര

കോളം - S. R.

25

20 ദിവസം

ഇതനാട്

Taken from <https://www.facebook.com/groups/225173448806911/Cinema>
Nostalgia posted on 14 June 2021

FILMOGRAPHY

Neelakuyil. Directed by P Bhaskaran and Ramu Karyat, T K Pareekutty, 1954, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie world Cinemas, April 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QAudmWoK8pU>.

Newspaper Boy. Directed by P Ramdas, Adarsh Kalamandir, 1955, *You Tube*, uploaded by Movie Mania, October 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/bwatch?v=8ix5QYfLxzM>

Nairu Pidicha Pulivalu. Directed by P Bhaskaran, T E Vasudevan, 1958, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, October 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lkf95YRI0u4>.

Unniyarcha. Directed by Kunchaco, Kunchaco, 1961, *YouTube*, uploaded by Harmony Malayalam Films, April 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gfi7Zz1Hjn8>.

Ummini Thanka. Directed by G Viswanath, P K Sathyapal, 1961, *You Tube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, August 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9OEMQCs-LY>.

Bharya. Directed by Kunchaco, Kunchaco, 1962, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film Library HD Movies, March 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qpLiQxB3ZWE>.

Kuttikupayam. Directed by K M Krishnan Nair, Jaya Maruthi, 1964.

Chemmen, Directed by Ramu Kariat, Babu Ismail Settu, 1965, *Youtube*. Malayalam Movie TV, September 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bGJrCK0y7Bw>.

Mynatharuvi Kolacase. Directed by Kunchacko, Kunchacko, 1967.

Thulabharam. Directed by A Vincent, Hari Pothen, 1968, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrQrHkrs1C4>.

Koottukudumbam. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, Excel Production, 1969.

Mooladhanam. Directed by P Bhaskaran, M Casam, 1969, *YouTube*, Uploaded by Universal Entertainers Malayalam, November 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vy1b_rtip1U.

Kallichellamma. Directed by P Bhaskaran, Shobhana Parameshwaran Nair, 1969, *YouTube*, Uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x-3zgMRcKQ0>.

Ningal Enne Communistaki, Directed by Thoppil Bhasi, Kunchaco, 1970, *YouTube*, Uploaded by Amrita Online Movies, June 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b2cQUQJaeXQ>.

Olavum Theeravum. Directed by PN Menon, P A Backer, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Amritha Online Movies, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LPAbkB663xc>.

Dhoorthuputhran. Directed by Kunchaco, Excel Production, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Amritha Online Movies, September 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fb4uSXSsHIBk&pbjreload=101>.

Mindapennu. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, V M Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RU8RVBLqNV0&t=68s>.

Vazhvemayam. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, M O Joseph, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A3-xrvV438I>.

Vivahitha. Directed by M Krishnan Nair, A L Sreenivasan, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, May 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oL9BmftDUP0>.

Lottery Ticket. Directed by A B Raj, T E Vasudevan, 1970.

Ammayenna Sthree. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S R Moorthi, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone, November 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SnVneJofVMo>.

Aranazhikaneram. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, Manjilas, 1970, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone, May 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NpoI_064H88&t=8s.

Kuttettathi. Directed by P N Menon, Ramesh Pisharody and P. N. Menon, 1971, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5WPenXmP6Vs>.

Anubhavangal Paalichakal, Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, M O Joseph, 1971, *YouTube*, Uploaded by Musiczonemovies April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b84gqVQ3Nik>.

Panchavankadu. Directed by Kunchaco, Kunchaco, 1971.

Thettu. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, C C Baby, 1971, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone, May 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F0S_JvIhwHU.

Oru Penninte Kadha. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, KSR Moorthy, 1971, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQOQXuGKhaU&t=315s>.

Marunattil Oru Malayali. Directed by A B Raj, Jayamathuri Productions, 1971, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, December 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nJ_edT5k8qI.

Akkarepacha. Directed by M N Nesan, M M Nesan/Sukumaran, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, November 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wbNLEgAQZeU>.

Swayamvaram. Directed by Adoor Gopalakrishnan, Chitralkha Film Cooperative, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Entertainment, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bAeIEVXI_aw.

Panimudakkam. Directed by P N Menon, P. N. Menon and M. B. Pisharadi, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8iEL8tz-riQ>.

Chembarathi. Directed by P N Menon, S Krishanan Nair, 1972, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscot Malayalam Movies, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nv8CkGGBMyw>.

Panitheeratha Veedu. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S R Moorthy, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, October 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tdpJxy8pe44>.

Interview. Directed by Sasikumar, Tirupathi Chettiyar, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pZhJ07hDQBQ>.

Achani. Directed by A Vincent, Raveendran Nair, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aVtUbQdsKng>.

Udayam. Directed by P Bhaskaran, Suchithramanjari, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_WuWbjTwXD8.

Chuzhi. Directed by Thriprayar Sukumaran, Hussain and Salim Karassery, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by MC Movies Malayalam, December 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QXIYfdZW_YM.

Swapanam. Directed by Babu Nanthamkodu, Sivan, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Bbsus 4, December 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qOgXd0o5-Ww>.

Nirmalyam. Directed by M T Vasudevan Nair, M T Vasudevan Nair, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by LAMAK PVT March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J2FYIQhwep0>.

Aaradhika. Directed by B T Pettekkad, G P Balan, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, November 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UBPYMOI--M>.

Kalachakram. Directed by K Narayan, Raghunath, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FgLg-LYAH0Y>.

Ladies Hostel. Directed by Hariharan, Dr. Balakrishnan, 1973, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dNDcF2skOTY>.

Ayalathe Sundari. Directed by Hariharan, G P Balan, 1974, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=42ENiKiY9KI&t=4537s>.

Chattakari. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, M O Joseph, 1974, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinema, March 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xVtj_Unk7Yg.

Kanyakumari. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S R Moorthy, 1974, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, September 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OrsOOQ2kMF0>.

Jeevikkan Marannu Poya Sthree. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S R Moorthy, 1974, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Super Hit Movies, March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R1fLJzeqM6I>.

Nellu. Directed by Ramu Karyatt, N P Ali, 1974, *YouTube*, uploaded by Universal Malayalam Movies, April 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4uAtRnJmgIc>.

Rajahamsam. Directed by Hariharan, Supriya Enterprises, 1974, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Channel, November 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pwBJhESyanE&t=4984s>.

Love Marriage. Directed by Hariharan, G P Balan, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ais0aPFKRRE&t=1682s>.

Prayanam. Directed by Bhrathan, Bharathan, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Entertainment, October 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hRUt6lKB6Qo>.

Picnic. Directed by Sasikumar, C C Baby and V M Chandy, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Hot and Sour Movie Channel, March 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5pVZI6jSF-Q&t=3838s>.

Ulsavam. Directed by I V Sasi, Ramachandran,1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OWmf_R24yj8.

Babumon. Directed by Hariharan, G P Balan,1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, June 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y4CC3ZH9dPE>.

Kabaninadhi Chuvannappol. Directed by P A Bakker, Pavithran, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Masters, March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o4WAqTv5vYc>.

Utharayanam. Directed by G Aravindhan, Pattathuvila Karunakaran, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Masters, March 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EITpskf9HAw&pbjreload=101>.

Sindhu. Directed by P Bhaskaran, R Somanath, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4LzX17oOw5M>.

Swapnadanam. Directed by K G George,P A Latheef, 1975, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HricOjiD-dE>.

Panchami. Directed by Hariharan, Supriya Enterprises 1976, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QB7zQHpQBo0>.

Ponni. Directed by Thoppil Bhasi, M O Joseph,1976, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, July 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O95gwWn69f4>.

Ayalkari. Directed by I V Sasi,A Reghunath, 1976, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=93XmfiSBSJc>.

Manimuzhakam. Directed by P A Backer, Cartoonist Thomas, 1976, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot , October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JgyCL3x0SXw>.

Theekanal. Directed by Madhu,N J Productions,1976, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o5wKq9bu4pY&t=45s&pbjreload=101>.

Ormakal Marikumo. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S R Moorthi and K S Sethumadhavan,1977, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mollywood Movies, October 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kkMns0Mlmfk>.

Madhanolsavam. Directed by N Sankaran Nair,R M Subyya, 1977, *YouTube*, uploaded by McMovies Malayalam, March 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mzn4RB_3TDI.

Kodiyettam. Directed by Adoor Gopalakrishnan, Kulathoor Bhaskaran Nair,1977, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, December 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BVVUKcYzuJU>.

Rathimanmadhan. Directed by Sasikumar, MA Rahman, Naseema Kabeer, 1977, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, May 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X8w8gAWG1Mg>.

Thambu. Directed by G Aravindhan, K Ravindran Nair, 1978, *YouTube*, uploaded by Boniv V, May 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Juw5R_kjyo.

Eetta. Directed by I V Sasi, Cherupushpam Films Pvt Ltd, 1978, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, January 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6lJcGCVbK7s>.

Kudumbam Namukoru Sreekovil. Directed by Hariharan, T E Vasudevan, 1978.

Aaravam. Directed by Bhrathan, Ameer and Bharathan, 1978, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=We6jZ9SXhjU>.

Bhandhanam. Directed by M T Vasudevan Nair, V B K Menon and P K Bhaskaran Nair, 1978, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M5Z3ypqr8DA>.

Avalude Ravukal. Directed by I V Sasi, K Ramachandran, 1978, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1mGCKU2Bk9Q>.

Lisa. Directed by Baby, Dhanya Productions, 1978, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World ent February 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nFWcGTf3QWo>.

Idavazhiyile Poocha Minda Poocha. Directed by Hariharan, K C Joy, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, April 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YGOH5DTXL_o.

Sayoojyam. Directed by G Premkumar, Sree Sukuprasad, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wnta-R9fpG8>.

Puthiya Velicham. Directed by Sreekumaran Thambi, S Kumar, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, February 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e2Pzz8alb6M>.

Lajjavathi. Directed by G Premkumar, Chandrika Movies, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=np43R3_ZGxM.

Avano Atho Avalo. Directed by Baby, R Somanath, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, November 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qP1qiYd0gmc>.

Sharapancharam. Directed by Hariharan, G P Balan, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E90ulN2Z0Bc>.

Kalliyankattu Neeli. Directed by M Krishanan Nair, M Mani, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie House, January 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y_FLuwrO8_I.

Itha Oru Theeram. Directed by P G Viswambharan, O M John, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GMKh-pTG0Rc>.

Peruvazhiyambalam. Directed by Padmarajan, Prem Prakash, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Lallu Movie World, August 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Y3BYINrrmc>.

Itha Ivide Vare. Directed by I V Sasi, Supriya Creations, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c5-SsDW93Vw>.

Kazhukan. Directed by A B Raj, Kalaranjini Films, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, November 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xDZ_zPkIveY.

Aavesham. Directed by Vijayand, C V Hariharan and R S Prabhu, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ynRLgg-dCZI>.

Anupallavi. Directed by Baby, Dheera, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Ent, February 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q_yHafF2iV0.

Ankkakuri. Directed by Vijayand, C V Hariharan, 1979, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SM3eCG-Bs54>.

Ishtamanu Pakshe. Directed by Balachnadra Menon, E J Peter, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Bravo Malayalam, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Vn8nD1XvXU>.

Nayyatu. Directed by Sreekumaran thambi, Hemnag Productions, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film Library hd movies, April 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MQ5B9aqQfYE>.

Thaliritta Kinakkal. Directed by P Gopakumar, Chitra Geethi, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, August 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PdXZ0_FmLGM.

Vilkanundu Swapangal. Directed by M Azad, V B K Menon, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, June 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ayCyx9Chu4>.

Benz Vasu. Directed by Hassan, Hassan, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, October 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zbcGdV6fn6Q>.

Deepam. Directed P Chandrakumar, Renji Mathew, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, October 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uCnYeSyjpxg>.

Kavalmadam. Directed by P Chandrakumar, Augustine Prakash, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mollywood Movies, December 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FkWG-H-_h3Y.

Salini Ente Kootukari. Directed by Mohan, Mitra, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, July 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PiwyEmWcUJ0>.

Mela. Directed by K G George, Prabhakaran, Saidu Muhammad and VK Sidharthan, 1980.

Swantham Enna Padham. Directed by Sreekumaran Thabmi, P K Kaimal, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aDFf8-y2zDQ>.

Ivar. Directed by I V Sasi, Manjilas, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, June 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c9NAs3YBtC8>.

Moorkhan. Directed by Joshi, Hassan, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, October 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ESxLo5VakAY>.

Manushya Mrigam. Directed by Baby, Thirupathi Chettiyar, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Superhit Movies, September 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NGAVgS1pH1I>.

Sakthi. Directed by Vijayand, Reghu Kumar, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, September 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k6p6jdoHYKs>.

Esthappan. Directed by G Aravnindhan, K Raveendran Nair, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Boniv V, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6gCGCSRNHn0> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AyzF7vnO1mc>.

Chandrasaham. Directed by Baby, Padmasree, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ua-SjHiHnwc>.

Chandrabimbam. Directed by N Sankaran Nair, P Govinda Menon, 1980, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2AQRnhjWxq8>.

Angadi. Directed by I V Sasi, P V Gangadhharan, 1980, Millenium Video Vision, Kozhikodu.

Thadavara. Directed by P Chandrakumar, Augustine Praksh, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Universal Malayalam Movies, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mfG7lzHrzTI>.

Venal. Directed by Lenin Rajendran, K N Ansari, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie House, July 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ycsv9Z_CA2c&t=5379s.

Vayal. Directed by Antony Eastman, M D Mathew, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, November 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-b_oODLXbs.

Munnettam. Directed by Sreekumaran Thambi, S Kumar, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, February 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EgNkigYccao>.

Arayannam. Directed by P Gopakumar, K Mohan Kumar, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, December 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I66pmMuJm8>.

Kadathu. Directed by P G Vishwambharan, M Mani, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mollywood Movies, July 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B9C_ORaK1c4.

Oothikachiya Ponnu. Directed by P K Joseph, Shanmugha Priya Films, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Lallu Movie World, November 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c6pBb55YQXY>.

Ariyappedatha Rahsayam. Directed by Dr. Venu, Raji Philip, Koshy Philip, Koshy Ninan and John Mathew, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Universal Malayalam Movies, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qdYKNMM34pQ>.

Archana Teacher. Directed by P N Menon, Madhu, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, February 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nc_Y28Qfkjk.

Nidra. Directed by Bharathan, K J Joseph, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, April 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jJOeG_SR9dk.

Kodumudikal. Directed by Sasikumar, T K K Nambiar, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional September, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_xT_NbRfZpQ.

Sreeman Sreemathi. Directed by Hariharan, Gopi, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Ent, February 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CQSkMG77fDE>.

Chatta. Directed by Bharathan, George, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wZAD6pndaOg>.

Oridathoru Phayalvaan. Directed by Padmarajan, Suresh Babu, 1981.

Vida Parayum Munpe. Directed by Mohan, David Kachappally, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q-cGpZEUxZY>.

Palangal. Directed by Bharathan, Anand Brothers, 1981, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, November 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u8aRzKSU5Ew>.

Kilukilukm. Directed by Balachandra Menon, S Kumar, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1HeXqDzwDAU>.

Ee Nadu. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jt7SN5kbrsI>.

Sindooru Sandhyakku Mounam. Directed by I V Sasi, V B K Menon, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4khHgM-0UI4>.

Thadakam. Directed by I V Sasi, Arifa Hassan, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Hungama Malayalam, April 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l-sWz94X_xU&pbjreload=10.

Ithirineram Othirikaryam. Directed by Balachandra Menon, O M John and Balan, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Silly Monks Malayalam, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CEw69sfPQmE>.

Chillu. Directed by Lenin Rajendran, Hayyath Movies, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, June 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bu2Y8UimqUE>.

Marmaram. Directed by Bharathan, Vijayan Karottu, Kallikad Ramachandran, V.P. Karunan and Sanal Kumar, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, November 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ypSLctOnu_g.

Kayam. Directed by P K Joseph, Bhavana Arts, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, July 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0YbQ-TvTFGM>.

Baloon. Directed by Ravi, Sree Lakshmi Priya, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Universal Malayalam Movies, June 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LAZPrHR76VI>.

Pokkuveil. Directed by G Aravindan, K Raveendran Nair, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Masters, March 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EG9hjj0_5Ls and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WmTSIyTYCUU>.

Idavela. Directed by Mohan, Shreyas Films, 1982.

Ilakkngal. Directed by Mohan, David Kachappally and Innocent, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eFK8cIGtmII>.

Yavanika. Directed by K G George, Henry, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Music Zone Movies, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SnwdhIHKiUQ>.

Ina. Directed by I V Sasi, Ramachandran, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, June 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aVoNtii2zeI>.

Kattile Pattu. Directed by K P Kumaran, Prakruthi films, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Ent, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DOEhABqYiI0>.

Aalolam. Directed by Mohan, O M John and Mohan, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Evergreen Movie, October 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f-CO_BVLCOc.

Innalenkil Nale. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-1IKt8oS5WQ>.

Veedu. Directed by Rasheed Karampuzha, K J Joseph, 1982, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, February 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uZZ3BmVy2ag>.

Oru Madapravinte Katha. Directed by Alleppey Ashraf, Indukala, 1983. *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, April 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kWb_XomTkUY.

Kathirunna Divasam. Directed by P K Joseph, Paulson, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mollywood Movies, December 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GoLCUFsMYEE>.

Kadamba. Directed by P N Menon, P V George, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam, September 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z2aIhLQvvCM>.

Kattathe Kilikoodu. Directed by Bharthan, P V Gangadaran, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Scube Films, November 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AyPZF1z-nGA>.

Rachana. Directed by Mohan, Sivan Kunnappally, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NBVeONNYqBk>.

Sandhyamayaganam Neram. Directed by Bharathan, Boban Kunchaco, 1983. *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie Mania, September 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N8mYserAvXg>.

Sagaram Shantham. Directed by P G Viswambharan, P G Vishwambaran, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Amritha Online Movies, March 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kKtQWUuYiio>.

America America. Directed by I V Sasi, Vijayatarra Movies, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ZbeDqKDrhA>.

Iniyenkilum. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AT68AMdXCpM>.

Kinnaram. Directed by Sathyan Anithikadu, Pratheeksha, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WOODGu7rCPs>.

Naanayam. Directed by I V Sasi, C S Productions, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Lallu Movie World, July 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXbA7IJJ1MM>.

AA Rathri. Directed Joshi, Joy Thomas, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I-ITOBtutwA>.

Koodevide. Directed by Padmarajan, Prakash Movietone, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayali Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3YwQJIp2XT4>.

Adaminte Variyellu. Directed by K G George, Vincent Chittilappally, 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fYbVnQVstZE>.

Asthram. Directed by P N Menon, Menon Films 1983, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, May 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lxZzI73HGj0>.

Idavelakku Shesham. Directed by Joshi, Evershine Productions, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aGLHmIMMrQU>.

Ente Mammattukuttiyammaku. Directed by Fasil, Navodaya Appachan, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Club Cinema-Malayalam, December 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZLYbR45rITQ>.

Akkare. Directed by K N Sasidaran, K N Sasidaran, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Club Malayalam Chitram, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sBRr2IFV4A0>.

Poochakkoru Mookuthi. Directed by Priyadarshan, Suresh Kumar and Sanal Kumar, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional September, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GNVnbnykqaw>.

Oodaruthammava Alariyam. Directed by Priyadarshan, Suresh Kumar and Sanal Kumar, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Speed Audio and Video October 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ek1eoApWeZc>.

Panchavadipalam. Directed by K G George, Gandhimathi Balan, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinema, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sq75BJODymA&t=884s>.

Ente Upasana. Directed by Bharathan, Joy Thomas, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movie, August 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7AFmM>.

Aalkoottathil Thaniye. Directed by I V Sasi, Century, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ueVMzX7AFmM>.

Oru Kochu Swapnam. Directed by Vipin Das, A M Shereef, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1NXeRprNFFQ>.

Uyarangalil. Directed by I V Sasi, S Pavamani, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Superhit Movies, January 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4raN_sNKVok&t=2872s.

Ariyatha Veedhikal. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, K S Sethumadhavan, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movie, June 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AOKMfCpFdbY>.

Parannu Parannu Parannu. Directed by Padmarajan, Thomas Korah, N J Cyriac and Prem Prakash, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by malayalammoviehits, March 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cVWC-jrptZw>.

Athirathram. Directed by I V Sasi, John Paul, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movies, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yOzZ2PTfAr8>.

Adiyozhukkukal. Directed by I V Sasi, Casino Films 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2AXGOrwvprQ>.

Nokketha Doorathu Kannumnattu. Directed by Fasil, Bodhichitra, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, January 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LojDuoLSs9I>.

Sreekrishnaparunthu. Directed by Vincent, Mani Malliath, 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by Speed Audio and Video, October 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RHJblgl3hxo>.

Kanamarayathu. Directed by I V Sasi, Casino Films 1984, *YouTube*, uploaded by VICI Films, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mx7z16MoHw>.

Ithiripoove Chuvannapoove. Directed by Bharatan, P V Gangadharan, 1984,

Iniyum Katha Thudarum. Directed by Joshy, Poorna Chandra Rao, 1985. *YouTube*, uploaded by mcmoviesmalayalam, December 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CVU_I73y-uw&t=2772s.

Idanilangal. Directed by I V Sasi, K Balachandar, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film library hdmovies, March 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YV-UwnZgrrA>.

Koodum Thedi. Directed by Paul Babu, Siyad Kocker 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=62tbSZuZFIU&t=3518s>.

Choodatha Pookal. Directed by M S Baby, V Gopalakrishanan Nair, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, December 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G_cIRFqZ0vc.

Karimpin Poovinakkare. Directed by I V Sasi, Casino, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, February 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jVcWeZ8P0LA>.

Vannu Kanduk Keezhadakki, Joshy, Sajan, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bWQkKbGf0LQ>.

Yatra. Directed by Balu Mahendra, Joseph Abraham 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie T V, October 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3IxzgGguMMs&t=174s>.

Muhoortham 11.30. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nmcwSCLPOBM>.

Akkare Ninnoru Maran. Directed by Priyadarshan, Suresh Kumar and Sanal Kuamr, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Vinod Kumar G, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0mfY23QifhY>.

Aa Neram Alpa Dooram. Directed by Thampi Kannamthnam, T Balamurukan and T Kalayan Kumar, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZxlcInm5pZM>.

Kathodu Kathoram. Directed by Bharathan, M G Gopinath, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zpVZApboigo>.

Ee Thanalil Ithiri Neram. Director P G Viswambharan, Hameed and K T Kunjumon, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, December 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qXmpWi6yFfk>.

Gayathridevi Ente Amma. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, Prathap S Pavamani and Leela Reghunath, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZysP9lkOVZw>.

Eeran Sandhya. Directed by Jeassy, Prem Prakash 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A8nmRS_vcto.

Makan Ente Makan. Directed by Sasikumar, Joy Thomas, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uzqr70FDIKc>.

Aviduthe Pole Ivideyum. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, Raju Mathew, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, June 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V8ReurUlyeQ>.

Thinkalazhcha Nalla Divasam. Directed by Padmarajan, M Mani, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ormR3QpzNC0>.

Arappatta Kettiya Gramathil. Directed by Padmarajan, Supriya Pictures 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movieworld Ent, February 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vP2CehvMrZQ>.

Oru Kudakeezhil. Directed by Joshy, Saj Productions, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHV-8A73vAM>.

Uyarum Njan Nadake. Directed by P Chandrakumar, Kuttiyil Balan 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by mcmoviesmalayalam, March 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kZO13J2uHP0>.

Ee Lokam Ivide Kure Manushyar. Directed by P G Visvambharan, Sajan, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, January 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fqCpww9_6zM.

Ente Kanakuyil. Directed by Sasikumar, Prem Prakash, 1985. *YouTube*, Uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam Movies, November 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qZbOgxRIQadwaithamr0>.

Mutharamkunnu P O. Directed by Sibi Malayil, G Subrahmanyam 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HbK-JQQnDt8>.

Anubhandham. Directed by I V Sasi, Century, 1985, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HbJ1mo_q4tU.

Onnu Muthal Poojyam Vare. Directed by Reghunath Paleri, Appachan, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IwGbkQv29fg>.

Hello My Dear Wrong Number. Directed by Priyadarshan, Thripathi Films, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T7mj2Zttt2A>.

Deshadanakilikal Karayarilla. Directed by P Padmarajan, Burton Movies, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by ZAAS MOVIES, April 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=waR5KepjSU4>.

Boeing Boeing. Directed by Priyadarshan, Evershine Productions, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Harmony Malayalam Films, March 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JPQrAjC16y4>.

Chekkeran Oru Chilla. Directed by Sibi Malayil, T Krishna Kumar and T Chandran, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by MovieworldEnt, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WCM8NdVnuhY>.

Poovinu Puthiya Poonthennal. Directed by Fasil, Appachan, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XqdUbLXR6RM>.

Pranamam. Directed by Bharthan, Joy Thomas, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KOWj21QZ6D0>.

Ayalvasi Oru Daridravasi. Directed by Priyadarshan, Suresh Kumar and Sanal Kumar, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mollywood Movies, January 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rNKZeoVAcn4>.

Nyayavidhi. Directed by Joshi, Joy Thomas, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZYJrM6euc8E>.

Oru Yugasandhya. Directed by Madhu, P K R Pillai, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Choice Network, July 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4igl9lqmAhw>.

Sunil Vayasu 20. Directed by K S Sethumadhavan, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NK-cG9uc9-o>.

Rajavinte Makan. Directed by Thambi Kannamthanam, Thambi Kannamthanam, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie Pulse, April 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-2iJLtey4Ik>.

New Delhi. Directed by K Madhu, Joy Thomas, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalammoviehits, January 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=McMsia1xC0I>.

Sukhamo Devi. Directed by Venu Nagavalli, Balan, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by mollywood movies, December 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QPI9-Xt7VCk>.

Shyama. Directed by Joshi, Joy Thomas, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Universal Entertainers Malayalam, October 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tHIkceYgjRU>.

Oru Katha, Nunakatha. Directed by Mohan, David Kachappally and Innocent 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, July 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3HsNTAvwWW0>.

Irupatham Nootandu. Directed by K Madhu, M Mani, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, May 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XHWDYpl9X_8.

Meenamasathile Sooryan. Directed by Lenin Rajendran, Siji Bhaskar, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, July 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eL0DSYa_9TE.

Pappan Priyapetta Pappan. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, G S Harindran, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=em1AB_8dUuY.

Sanmanasullavarkku Samadhanam. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, Siyad Koker, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ITiC0Axmhc>.

T P Balagopalan M A. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, T K Balachandran, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5zyfb8vEks0>.

Poomughapadiyil Ninneym Kathu. Directed by Bhadran, Jose Padinjarekara and K B Peethambaran, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fXzmLbvj9P0&t=65s>.

Kariyilakattu Pole. Directed by Padmarajan, Thankachan, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pr22wV7ZWVM>.

Dhim Tharikida Thom. Directed by Priyadarshan, Anand, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Comedy Movies, May 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=On9HQB6y3Oc&t=4s>.

Aavanazhi. Directed by I V Sasi, Saj Productions, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movieworld Ent, June 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8896pgGqrtY>.

Amma Ariyan. Directed by John Abraham, Odessa Collectives, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Pelicula, April 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nhja2BgYuII>.

Panchagni. Directed by Hariharan, Shaji, 1986, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, May 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B67LwPaR01A>.

Adimakal Udamakal. Directed by I V Sasi, Century, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z1iNKQ-q2nc>.

Sarvakalasala. Directed by Venu Nagavalli, Anand, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczone Movies, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sFJyYLqNK8M&t=5452s>.

Thaniyavarthanam. Directed by Sibi Malayil, Nandakumar, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wXBT1830lhs>.

Idanazhiyil Oru Kalocha. Directed by Bhadran, Bhadran, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, May 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qPi6O9MurQY&t=1415s>.

Neelakurinji Poothappol. Directed by Bharathan, Bharathan, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Super Hit Movies, July 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=op1kIvInlkw>.

January Oru Orma. Directed by Joshy, Tharangani Films, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FMWVUOefj2Y>.

Boomiyile Rajakkanmar. Directed by Thambi Kannamthanam, Joy Thomas, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Chitram, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vZWzqM02rDE>.

Nombarathipoovu. Directed by Padmarajan, Balan, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, November 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z8eL_jkdbu4.

Sreedharante Onnam Thirumurivu. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, Century, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, February 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WflalJH8Lmg>.

Veendum Lisa. Directed by Baby, Baby and London Mohan, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, June 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jD4o86_u-wc.

Manivathoorile Ayiram Sivarathrikal. Directed by Fasil, Appachan, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mollywoodmovies, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-pmyUVSn4bU>.

Cheppu. Directed by Priyadarshan, Thiruppathi Chettiyar, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movies, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H2icQFQgx5s>.

Neeyallenkil Njan. Directed by Vijayakrishanan, Chirayinkeezhu Hassan, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, February 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IrXAkEy5wec>.

Kayethum Doorathu. Directed by K Ramachandran, K Ramachandran, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, September 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fuxt8Q3ymWQ&t=2108s>.

Ezhuthapurangal. Directed by Sibi Malayil, Mathew George, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Kiprajod225, December 2009. Part I-XIV.

Ithrayum Kalam. Directed by I V Sasi, N G John, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, August 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=awKiDEmqLW4>.

Nalkavala. Directed by I V Sasi, K V Abraham, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movie, May 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fR2LL2XTV2g>.

Naradan Keralathil. Directed by Crossbelt Mani, Crossbelt Mani and Jayasree Mani, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-CmUZ9q8v8M&t=8124s>.

Oru Minnaminuginte Nurunguvettam. Directed by Bharathan, Gopinath Panthalam and Babu Tiruvalla, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Film World, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tx9HUU-pyAE&t=1999s>.

Nadodikattu. Directed by Sathyan Anithikad, Casino, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Hungama Malayalam, December 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6ftMfLhro3E>.

Thoovanathumbikal. Directed by P Padhmarajan, P Stanly, 1987, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, June 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q0FcohtjXcM>.

Abkari. Directed by I V Sasi, George Mathew, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Horizon Movie Channel, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1pajvcBrd0k>.

Manu Uncle. Directed by Dennis Joseph, Joy Thomas, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Regional, September 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jMisVKI1N_U.

Oohakachavadam. Directed by K Madhu, Shoba Anand , 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, December 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h-nhwAHMCBw>.

Chitram. Directed by Priyadarshan,P K R Pillai,1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Choice Network, November 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=THew2hCgCDs&vl=en>.

Onninguvannenkil. Directed by Joshi,Sajan, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Movie World Cinemas, July 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8SWiP3ZwL7U>.

Dinarathrangal. Directed by Joshi, Sree Venkiteshwara Movies, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by mcmoviesmalayalam, December 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QZGY-LJp9Lc>.

Daisy. Directed by Prathap Pothen, Mani Nair, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n6IERZPbIW0>.

Kakkothikavile Appoopanthadikal. Directed by Kamal, Fasil and Ouseppachan, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie House, March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KZazkK8xVv8>.

Dwani, Directed by A T Abu, Mac Productions, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, July 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eVzfFOIFsEQ>.

August 1. Directed by Sibi Malayil, M Mani, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, April 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ojWmhO2PPs>.

Ayitham. Directed by Venu Nagavalli, A. R. S, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Super Hit Movies, July 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jynXWj43m-U>. babumon

Mattoral. Directed by K G George, Swapnachitra, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, October 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yazlee2rqnl>.

Kudumbapuram. Directed by Sathyan Anthikadu, Mathew George, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_EW3cocra3c.

Vicharana. Directed by Sibi Malayil, Ranjini, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczone Movies, July 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y9GzdD-37sw>.

Aryan. Directed by Priyadarshan, Cheers, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, June 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vy2mogMhPC4&t=1461s>.

Ponmuttayidunna Tharavu. Directed by Sathyan Anthikad, B Sasikumar, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, February 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7G3tgdSJi6k>.

Pattanapravesham. Directed by Sathyan Anthikad, Siyad Koker, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by universal malayalam movies, February 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SdKTfZRpR2I&t=5750s>.

Mahayanam. Directed by Joshi, C T Rajan, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Biscoot Malayalam, September 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GFPA7dzbcvI>.

Moonam Pakkam. Directed by P Padmarajan, Balan, 1988, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FeCqvpfddmg>.

Aksharathettu. Directed by I V Sasi, Babu, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, March 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h-YuachvbJw>.

Oru Vadakkan Veera Gatha. Directed by Hariharan, P V Gangadharan, 1989.

Muthukudayum Choodi. Directed by Baiju Thomas, B. R.R Cine Arts, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FaFwRvDH6uw>.

Dhouthyam. Directed by I V Sasi, Safforon Movie Makers, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, August 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y4sbszp3Rb8>.

Artham. Directed by Sathyan Anthikad, Chanthu Films, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, May 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VeY4KPUiFAM>.

Season. Directed by Padmarajan, Santhi Cine Arts, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Speed Audio and Video, August 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l6B3MVDUk9k>.

Dasharatham. Directed by Sibi Malayil, Saga Appachan, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Mohanlal Movies, February 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k5wFJr5UJuU>.

Vadakkunokki Yantram. Directed by Sreenivasan, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movies, October 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xONg3Zt0_9A.

Adhipan. Directed by K Madhu, Geethika, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, November 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TDFhrD7FGqc>.

Moonnammura. Directed by K Madhu, G P Vijayakumar, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, April 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KcPp2wjrxZ0>.

Adhravam. Directed by Dennis Joseph, Elias Eraaly, 1989.

Mazhavilkkavadi. Directed by Sathyan Anthikad, Siyad Kokkar, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yqGffhO8l9Y>.

Pradeshika Varthakal. Directed by Kamal, S Sivaprasad, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uNz4A-b147Y&t=1644s>.

Peruvannapurathe Visheshangal. Directed by Kamal, Castle, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, December 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CHgSJp_raMM.

Varavelppu. Directed by Sathyan Anthikadu, K Rajagopal, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Cinecurry Malayalam, October 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QbjHywFlefc>.

Vandhanam. Directed by Priyadarshan, P K R Pillai, 1989, *YouTube*, uploaded by Choice Network, November 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uhu-7eV5cPs>.

Vachanam. Directed by Lenin Rajendran, DR. Jayan Itty George, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Superhit Malayalam Movies, March 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wzQxH4sjcSo>.

Iyar The Great. Directed by Bhadran, Ratheesh, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, December 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZfhGn4Ty7aQ&t=6005s>.

Dr. Pashupathi. Directed by Shaji Kailas, Saga Films, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Speed Audio and Video, February 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dN8uR8aY__A.

Ee Thanutha Veluppan Kalathu. Directed by Joshy, Adipoli Biscoot, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Adipoli Biscoot, November 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nfcfPttx9vY>.

Kottayam Kunjachan. Directed by T S Suresh Babu, M Mani, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Musiczonemovies, April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zy2TmSTNpqA>.

Arhatha. Directed by I V Sasi, P K R Pillai, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Choice Network, December 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VIDXWy05IMg>.

Nammude Nadu. Directed by K Suku, P V R Kutti Menon, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Simply South, March 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QjXrYyK1KvM>.

Malayogam. Directed by Sibi Malayil, N Krishnakumar, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Full Movies, June 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H8Gqr9NpYiQ>.

Lal Salam. Directed by Venu Nagavalli, K R G, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, June 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MeVb5EOiCPo>.

Nagarangalil Chennu Raparkkam. Directed by Viji Thampi, J Peter, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by universal malayalammovies, June 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ac-zvrdwyjw>.

Godfather. Directed by Siddique Lal, Appachan, 1990, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium Cinemas, August 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f331Bnk0f6w>.

Abhimanyu. Directed by Priyadarshan, V B K Menon, 1991, *YouTube*, uploaded by Malayalam Movie Club, February 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U2xVozW3LRI>.

Nayam Vyakthamakunnu. Directed by Balachandra Menon, R Mohan, 1991, *YouTube*, uploaded by Millennium cinemas, January 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OrHSQA76oaY>.

Apoorvam Chilar. Directed by Kala Adoor, Akbar, 1991, *YouTube*, uploaded by Latest Malayalam Movies, July 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cCx2uCih11Y>.

Druvam, Directed by Joshi, M Mani, 1993, *YouTube*, Uploaded by Saina Movies, February 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zcDzkkEe48I&t=4s>.

Mahathma. Directed by Shaji Kailas, Vandothra International,1996, *You Tube*, Uploaded by Malayalam Super Hit Movies, February 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xtf2vFha1oY>.

Celluloid. Directed by Kamal, Kamal and Ubaid, 2013, *YouTube*, uploaded by TVNXT MALAYALAM, February 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tWY7fBUGBfQ>.

Danielinte Makkal. Created by Munjinad Padmakumar, Asianet News, 21 June 2018.

....., 28 June 2018.

....., 12 July 2018.

.....,26 July 2018.

....., 2 August 2018.

....., 9 August 2018.

....., 30 August 2018.

....., 6 September 2018.

....., 13 September 2018.

....., 20 September 2018.

....., 4 October 2018.

....., 11 October 2018.

....., 18 October 2018.

....., 25 October 2018.

....., 1 November 2018.

....., 1 November 2018.

....., 22 November 2018.

....., 29 November 2018.

....., 29 November 2018.

....., 6 December 2018.

....., 13 December 2018.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

English Books

Adorno, Theodor W, *The Culture Industry*, Routledge Classic, New York,2001.

Aldgate, Anthony and Jefferey Richard, *Britain Can Take It: British Cinema in the Second World War*, Blackweel, Oxford,1986.

Ali, Zaheer, (ed.), *Secularism Under Siege: Revisiting the Indian Secular State*, Aakar, Delhi,2016.

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised edition, Rawat Publication, Jaipur,2015.

Anderson, Perry, *The Origins of Post Modernity*, Verso, London, 2002.

Arunima, G, *There Comes Papa: Colonialism and The Transformation of Matriliny in Kerala, Malabar C. 1850-1940*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2003.

Bandyopadhyay, Sekhar, (ed.), *Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader*, OUP, New Delhi,2009.

Baradat, Leon P and John A Phillips, (ed.), *Political Ideologies: Their Origins and Impact*, 12th edition, Routledge, New York,2017.

- Baskaran, S Theodore, *History Through the Lens: Perspectives on South Indian Cinema*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2009.
- Bazin, Andre *What is Cinema?* Volume 1, Trans. Hugh Gray, University of California Press, California, 1967.
-, *What is Cinema?* Volume 2, Trans. Hugh Gray, University of California Press, California, 1971.
- Benjamin, Walter, *The Arcades Project*, Trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2002.
- Berger, John, *Ways of Seeing*, British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, New Delhi, 1972.
- Bhagawat, Vidyut, *Feminist Social Thought: An Introduction to Six Key Thinkers*, Rawat Publication, Delhi, 2010.
- Bhargava, Rajeev, (ed.), *Secularism and Its Critics*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2004.
- Brown, Jeffrey A, *The Modern Superhero in Film and Television: Popular Genre and American Culture*, Routledge, New York, 2017.
- Burgoyne, Robert, *The Hollywood Historical Film*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2008.
- Butler, Judith, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and Subversion of Identity*, Routledge Classic, New York, 2010.

- Carel, Havi, and Greg Tuck, (ed.), *New Takes in Film- Philosophy*, Palgrave Macmillan, London,2011.
- Chackraborty, Chandrima, *Masculinity, Asceticism, Hinduism: Past and Present Imaginings of India*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2011.
- Chakravarthy, Sumita S, *National Identity in Indian Popular Cinema 1947-1987*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi,1998.
- Chakravarti, Uma, *Gendering Caste: Through a Feminist Lens*, Sage, New Delhi,2018.
- Chandra, Bipin, Adhithya Mukherjee, and Mridula Mukherjee, *India After Independence*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2000.
- Chandrasekhar, C P, and Jayathi Gosh, *The Market that Failed: A Decade of Neoliberal Economic Reforms in India*, Left Word Books, New Delhi, 2002.
- Connell,R W, *Masculinities*,2nd edition, University of California Press, Berkeley,2005.
- Davis, Natalile Zemon, *Slaves on Screen: Film and Historical Vision*, Vintage Canada, 2000.
- Debord, Guy, *Society of the Spectacle*, Black and Red, Detroit, 1983.
- Deshpande, Anirudh, *Class, Power and Consciousness in Indian Cinema and Television*, Primus Books, New Delhi,2009.

- Devika, J, *En-gendering Individuals: The Language of Reforming in the Early Twentieth Century Keralam*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad,2007.
- Dyer, Richard, *Stars*, BFI Publishing, London,1998.
- Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Trans. Ernest Untermann, Pantianos Classic,1891.
- Ferro, Marc, *Cinema and History*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit,1988.
- Fischer, Steven Roger, *History of Writing*, Reaktion Books, London,2003.
- Fisher, Lucy and Marcia Landy, (ed.), *Stars: The Film Reader*, Routledge, New York, 2004.
- Fulbrook, Mary, *Historical Theory*, Routledge, New Delhi,2008.
- Geetha, V, *Patriarchy*, STREE, Kolkata, 2015.
- Gramsci, Antonio, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, ed., Orient BlackSwan, Hyderabad,2014.
- Green, Marcus, *Gramsci Cannot Speak*, Critical Quest, New Delhi,2016.
- Greer, German, *The Female Eunuch*, HarperCollins,e book,2008.
- Guha, Ramachandra, *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*, Macmillan, London,2007.

- Guha, Ranjith, (ed.), *Subaltern Studies 1: Writing on South Asian History and Society*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1982.
- Guynn, William, *Writing History in Film*, Routledge, New York, 2006.
- Habermas, Jurgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Trans. Thomas Burger with assistance of Frederick Lawrence. The MIT Press, Massachusetts, 1991.
- Hayward, Susan, *Cinema Studies: Key Concepts*, Routledge, London, 2000.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, (ed.), *Nationalism Since 1789: Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2 ed, Cambridge University Press, London, 2002.
- Hooks, Bell, *Reel to Real*, Routledge Classic, New York, 2009.
- Hughese-Warrington, Marnie, *History Goes to the Movies: Studying History on Films*, Routledge, Oxon, 2007.
- Jameson, Fredric, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*, Routledge, New York, 2012.
-, *Post Modernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 2012.
- Jayakumar, Priya, *Cinema at the End of Empire: A Politics of Transition in Britain and India*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 2006.

- Jeffery, Robin, *Politics, Women and Well-being: How Kerala Became a Model*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 1992
- Jenkins, Keith, *Re-Thinking History*, Routledge, New York, 2003.
- Jenkins, Keith, Sue Morgan, and Alan Munslow, (ed.), *Manifestos for History*, Routledge, London, 2007.
- Kawashima, Koji, *Missionaries and a Hindu State: Travancore 1858-1936*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998.
- Kracauer, Siegfried, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film*, edited and introduced by Leonardo Quaresima, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2004.
- Kuhn, Annette, *The Power of the Image: Essays on Representation and Sexuality*, Routledge, New York, 1985.
- Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space*, Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 1991.
- Lehman, Peter, (ed.), *Masculinity: Bodies, Movies, Culture*, Routledge, New York, 2001.
- Ludtke, Alf, (ed.), *The History of Everyday Life: Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*, Trans. William Templer, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1995.
- Metz, Christian, *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema*, Trans. Michal Taylor, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991.

- Mohan, Sanal P, *Modernity of Slavery: Struggles Against Caste Inequality in Colonial Kerala*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2015.
- Monk, Claire, and Amy Sargeant, (ed.), *British Historical Cinema*, Routledge, London, 2002.
- Mukhopadhyay, Swapna, (ed.), *The Enigma of the Kerala Women: A Failed Promise of Literacy*, Social Science Press, New Delhi, 2007.
- Mukhopadhyay, Urvi, *The 'Medieval' in Film: Representing a Contested Time on Indian Screen (1920s-1960s)*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad, 2013.
- Nair, Uma J, *Economic Aspects of Film Industry in Kerala*, C-Dit, Tiruvanathapuram, 1999.
- Nowell-Smith, Geoffrey, (ed.), *The Oxford History of World Cinema*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1997.
- O'Connor, John E, *Image as Artifact: The Historical Analysis of Film and Television*, Robert E Krieger Publishing Co., inc., Florida, 1990.
- Pandian, M S S, *The Image Trap: M G Ramachandran in Film and Politics*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1992.
- Pannikar, K N, *History as a Site of Struggle: Essays on History, Culture and Politics*, Three Essays Collective, New Delhi, 2013.

- Pillai, Meena T, (ed.), *Women in Malayalam Cinema: Naturalising Gender Hierarchies*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad,2010.
- Plamper, Jan, *History of Emotions: An Introduction*, Trans. Keith Tribe, Oxford University Press, Oxford,2015.
- Prasad, Madhava, *Cine- Politics: Film Stars and Political Existence in South India*, Orient Blackswan, Hyderabad,2014.
-, *Ideology of the Hindi Film*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi,2000.
- Rajadhyaksha, Ashish, *Indian Cinema in the Time of Celluloid: From Bollywood to the Emergency*, Tulika Books, New Delhi, 2009.
- Roberge, Gaston, *Another Cinema for Another Society*, Seagull Books, Kolkata,2005.
- Rosen, Philip, *Change Mummified: Cinema, Historicity, and Theory*, Minnestota Press, Minneapolis,2001.
- Rosenstone, Robert A, (ed.), *Revisioning History: Film and The Construction of a New Past*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1995.
- Rosenstone, Robert A, *History on Film/ Film on History*,2nd edition, Routledge, New York, 2011.
- Roy, Srirupa, *Beyond Belief*, Permanent Black, Delhi,2007.
- Sakthidharan, A V, *Antigod's Own Country: A Short History of Brahmanical Colonisation of Kerala*, Navayana, New Delhi, 2019.

- Sarkar, Sumit, *Modern Times: India 1880s-1950s*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2014.
- Short, K R M, (ed.), *Feature Films as History*, Routledge, Oxon, 2014.
- Silverman, Kaja, *Male Subjectivity at the Margins*, Routledge, New York, 1992.
- Singh, Hira, *Recasting Caste: From the Sacred to Profane*, Sage, New Delhi, 2014.
- Sklar, Robert, *Movie Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies*, Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, New York, 2012.
- Smith, Paul, (ed.), *The Historian and Film*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976.
- Sorlin, Pierre, *The Film in History: Restaging the Past*, Barnes & Noble Books, New Jersey, 1980.
- Sontag, Susan, *On Photography*, Penguin Classics, New York, 2008.
- Stubbs, Jonathan, *Historical Film: A Critical Introduction*, Bloomsbury, New York, 2013.
- Thapar, Romila, *The Penguin History of Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 2002.
- Toplin, Robert Brent, *Real History: In Défense of Hollywood*, University Press of Kansas, Lawrence, 2002.

- Trentmann, Elizabeth Shove Frank, and Richard Wilk, (ed.), *Time, Consumption and Everyday Life: Practice, Materiality and Culture*, Berg, Oxford, 2009.
- Tudor, Andrew, *Image and Influence: Studies in the Sociology of Film*, Routledge Library Editions: Cinema, New York, 2014.
- Vasudevan, Ravi, *The Melodramatic Public: Film Form and Spectatorship in Indian Cinema*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2010.
- Vaughan, Hunter, and Tom Conley, (ed.), *The Anthem of Screen Theory*, Anthem Press, London, 2018.
- Verstraten, Peter, *Film Narratology*, Trans. Stefan van der Lecq, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2009.
- Virdi, Jyothika, *The Cinematic Imagination: Indian Popular Films as Social History*, Permanent Black, Ranikhet, 2008.
- Villarejo, Amy, *Film Studies: The Basics*, Routledge, Oxon, 2013.
- Wildfeuer, Janina, and John A Bateman, (ed.), *Film Text Analysis: New Perspectives on the Analysis of Filmic Meaning*, Routledge, New York, 2017
- Williams, Raymond, *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists*, Verso, London, 1996.
-, *Culture and Materialism*, Verso, London, 2005.
- Woodward, Kath, *The Short Guide to Gender*, Rawat Publication, New Delhi, 2012.

Zacharia, K C, and S Irudaya Rajan, *Kerala's Gulf Connection, 1998-2011: Economic and Social Impact of Migration*, Orient BlackSwan, New Delhi, 2012

Zacharia, K C, K P Kannan and S Irudaya Rajan, (ed.), *Kerala's Gulf Connection: CDS Studies on International Labour Migration from Kerala State in India*, Centre for Development Studies, Tiruvanathapuram, 2002.

Unpublished Ph.D Thesis

Joseph, Jenson, *Industry, Aesthetics, Spectorial Subjectivities: A Study on Malayalam Cinema of the 1950s*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Hyderabad, 2012.

Menon, Bindu M, *Re- Framing Vision: Malayalam Cinema and The Invention of Modern Life in Kerala*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2014.

Radhakrishnan, Ratheesh, *Masculinity and The Structuring of the Public Domain in Kerala: A History of the Contemporary*, Centre for the Study of Culture and Society, MAHE-Deemed University, 2006.

Rowena, Jenny, *Reading Laughter: Popular Malayalam Comedy Films of the Late 80s and Ealy 90s*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad, 2002.

English Articles

Agamben, Giorgio, "What Is the Contemporary?" *What is an Apparatus? and Other Essays*, trans. David Kishik and Stefan Pedatella , Stanford University Press, 2009, pp.39-54.

Anderson, Perry, "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci", *New Left Review*, London, November 1976-January 1977, pp. 5-78.

Ashok, Rajarajeshwari, 'In Retrospect: The Spatial Shift of the Film Publicity Industry in Kerala During the 1980s', *South Asian History and Culture*, DOI: 10.1080/19472498.2020.1755125. To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19472498.2020.1755125>.

Benjamin, Walter, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Illuminations*, Hannah Arendt, (ed.), trans. Harry Zohn, Schockenbooks, New York, 2007, pp. 217-252.

Bhatt, Mahesh, 'Our Cinema Will Emerge Stronger', *Frontline*, vol.30, no 20, 2013, pp. 28-29.

Capussotti, Enrica, Giuseppe Lauricella, and Luisa Passerini, 'Film as a Source for Cultural History: An Experiment in Practical Methodology', *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 57, Spring 2004, pp. 256-262.

Chatterjee, Partha, 'Whose Imagined Community?', Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, (ed.), *Nationalist Movement in India: A Reader*, OUP, New Delhi, 2009, pp. 3-13.

....., 'The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question', Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, (ed.), *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History*, Kali for Women, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 233-253.

- Christie, Ian, 'What Do We Really Know About Film Audience?', *Audiences*, Ian Christie, (ed.), Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2012, pp. 225-234.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon, ' " Any Resemblance to Persons Living or Dead": Film and The Challenging of Authenticity', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, vol.8, no 3, 1988, pp. 269-283.
- Deshpande, Anirudh, ' Film as Historical Source or Alternative History', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol 39, no 40, 2004, pp. 4455-4459.
- Devika, J, ' 'A people United in Development': Developmentalism in Modern Malayalee Identity', *Working Paper 386*, CDS, 2007, pp. 1-56.
- Fantoni, Gianluca, 'A Very Long Engagement: The Use of Cinematic Texts in Historical Research', *Film, History and Memory*, Jennie M Caristeen and Fearghal McGarry, (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2015, pp. 18-31.
- Ferro, Marc, 'Film as an Agent, Product and Source of History', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.18, no 3, July 1983, pp.357-364.
- Guha, Ramachandra, 'The Challenges of Contemporary History', *Historia*, 54,1, 2009, p.112-128.
- Khatun, Nadira, 'Imagining Muslims as the 'Other' in Muslim Political Films', *Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research*, vol 9, no 1, 2016, pp. 41-60.

- Leveratto, Jean-Marc, 'Pierre Bourdieu and the French Sociology of Film Consumption: The Making of an Elitist Vision of Film Consumption in France from the 50s to Present', *Conference Money – L'argent*, New York City, March 6-8,2014.
- Menon, Bindu M, 'Romancing History and Historicizing Romance', *Seminar*, 598,2009, pp. 28-35.
- Mouffe, Chantal, 'Introduction; Gramsci Today', in Chantal Mouffe, (ed.), *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1979, pp.1-9.
- Mulvey, Laura, '*Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*', *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Reading*, Leo Braundy and Marshall Cohen, (ed.), Oxford University Press, New York, 1999, pp. 833-44.
- Muraleedharan, T, 'National Interests, Regional Concerns: Historicizing Malayalam Cinema', *Deep Focus*, Jan-May 2003, pp. 85-93.
- Musser, Charles, 'When did cinema become cinema? Technology, History and The Moving Pictures', *Technology and Film Scholarship: Experience, Study, Theory*, Santiago Hidalgo, (ed.), Amsterdam University press, Amsterdam, 2018, pp. 33-50.
- Osella, Caroline, and Fillippo Osella, 'Malayali Young Men and Their Movie Heroes', *South Asian Masculinities*, Carolina Osella and Fillippo Osella, (ed.), Kali for Women/Women Unlimited, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 1-44.

- Port, Andrew I, 'History from Below, The History of Everyday Life, and Micro History', *International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioral Science*, 2nd edition, vol 11, 2015, pp.108-113.
- Radhakrishnan, Ratheesh, 'Thiruvithamkoor, Malabar, Kerala: Speculations on the Regions in "Regional Cinema"', *Bioscope*, Sage, 6 (2), 2015, pp. 126-144.
- Rajadhyaksha, Ashish. 'The "Bollywoodization" of the Indian Cinema: Cultural Nationalism in a Global Arena', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, vol 4 no 1, 2003, pp. 25-39.
- Salam, Ziya US, 'Opiate of the Masses', *Frontline Special Issue*, vol 30, no 20, 2013, pp. 17-27.
- Schwartz, R, 'Film and History', *The Sage Handbook of Film Studies*, James Donald and Michael Renov, (ed.), Sage, London, 2008, pp.199-215.
- Sen, Amartya, 'Secularism and its Discontents', Rajeev Bhargava, (ed.), *Secularism and Its Critics*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2004, pp. 454-485.
- Srinivasulu, K, 'Discourses on Nationalism and Question of Secular State', Zaheer Ali, (ed.), *Secularism Under Siege: Revisiting the Indian Secular State*, Aakar, Delhi, 2016, pp. 194-204.
- Sasikumar. 'Contemplating a Century', *Frontline*, vol 30, no 20, 2013, pp. 8-16.
- Venkiteswaran, C S, 'New Trails of Discovery', *Frontline*, vol.30, no,20, 2013, pp. 49-51,56-57,59-60.

Westwell, Guy, 'Critical Approaches to the History Film- A Field in Search of a Methodology', *Rethinking History*, vol 11, no 4, 2007, pp. 577-588.

White, Hayden, 'Historiography and Historiophoty', *The American Historical Review*, vol.93, no 5,1988, pp. 1193-1199.

Malayalam Books

Abraham, John, *Cinemayanenteyellam*, Mythri Books, Tiruvnathapuram, 2014.

Ajitha. *Ormayile Theenalangal*, D C Books, Kottayam,2019.

Ali, Muhammad Fakaruddin, *Tharashareeravum Desha Charitravum*,Chintha Publications, Tiruvanathapuram,2012.

Ashokkumar, P K, (ed.), *Subrahmaniyadas Innum: Leghanagal, Samvadham,Kathukal*, Prasakthi Book House, Pathanamthitta,2013.

Balakrishnan, C V, *Vathil Thurannitta Nagarathil*, DC Books, Kottayam,2015.

Chakravarthy, Uma, *Jathiye Lingavalkarikkumpol*, Trans.P S Manojkumar, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2008.

Chandran, Bipin, (ed.), *Mammootty : Kazhchayum Vayanayum*, D C Books,Kottayam,2014.

Chandrasekharan,A, *Cinema: Karutha Yatharthyangalude Drishyakamanakal*, Don Books, Kottayam, 2013.

-, *Cinema: Athimadhyamathinte Drishyalavanyam*, Don Books, Kottayam,2016.
- Chandrika,C S, *Keralathinte Sthree Charitrangal, Sthree Munnettangal*, D C Books, Kottayam,2017.
- Damodaran, Dedi, (ed.), *T Damodaran: Jeevithavum Rachanayum*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2015.
- Devika, J, *Kulasthreekalum Chanthapennum Undayathengane?*, 2nd Edition, Kerala Sastra Sahithya Parishad, Trissur, 2018.
- E M S, and P Govindapillai, *Gramscian Vicharaviplavam*,4 th edition, Chintha Publication, Tiruvanthapuram,2008.
- Ganesh, K N, *Keralathinte Innalekal*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Tiruvanathapuram,2015.
-, *Arivinte Vinimayam Keralathil*, Kerala Sahithya Academy, Trissur,2017.
- George, K K Dr., (ed.), *Kerala Mathrukayude Parimithikal*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, 2001.
- Gopalakrishnan, Chellangattu, *Malayala Cinema: Charithram Vijitram*, Chintha Publication, Tiruvanthapuram,2013.
-, *Chalachitra Vyavasayam Keralathil*, Chintha Publications, Tiruvanthapuram,2013.
- Gopinathan, K, *Cinemayude Nottangal*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu,2012.

- Gopinathan, R, *John Abraham: Ammayethedi*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2010.
- Hussain, Sakir P, (ed.), *Thirayum Kalavum: Nammude Hridayathil Oppu Charthiya Cinema Sarathikal*, Green Books, Thrissur,2017.
- Illayidom, Sunil P, *Vendeduppukal: Marxisavum Adhunikathavimarshanavum*,3rd edition, Kerala Sastra Sahithya Parishad, Trissur, 2013.
- Jayakumar, K P, *Udalil Kothiya Charitra Smarankal: Malayala Cinemayile Viplava Bhoothakalam*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2011
-, *Jathi Vyavasthayum Malayala Cinemayum*, Olivu Publications, Kozhikodu, 2014.
- Jayanthi, J, DR. J C Daniel: *Malayala Cinemayude Pithavu*, Chintha Publication, Tiruvanthapuram, 2016.
- Jayaraj, M, *Malayala Cinema Pinnitta Vazhikal*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu,2018.
- Jeffrey, Robin, *Nayar Medhavithathinte Pathanam*, Trans. Puthupally Raghavan and M S Chandrasekhara Warier, D C Books, Kottayam, 2013.
- Joseph, V K, *Kazchayude Samskaravum Pothubodha Nirmithiyum: Chalachitra Padangal*, SPCS, Kottayam,2013
- Kathiravan, Ethiravan, *Cinemayude Samoohikavelippadukal*, D C Books, Kottayam,2018.

- Krishnakumar, T K, *Jayan: Abralokathinte Ithihasa Nayakan*, 2 nd Edition, Olivu Publications, Kozhikodu,2014.
- Mani, Kunnukuzhi S, *P K Rosi*, Mythri Books, Tiruvanthapuram,2014.
- Mankottil, Rajeev, *Oru Vadakkan Veeragatha: 25 Varshangal*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu,2015.
- Manuel, Jose K, *New Generation Cinema*, D C Books, Kottayam,2012.
- Menon, Nivedita, *Akame Pottiya Kettukalkkapuram Indian Feminisathinte Varthamanagal*, Trans.J Devika, SPCS, Kottayam, 2017.
- Mohanakrishnan, V, *Cinema Kanum Deshangal*, Chintha Publication, Tiruvanathapuram, 2017.
- Nair, Dr.Mini, *Ulkadal @ 40*, Current Books, Kottayam,2016.
- Nath, Rakesh, *Aravindan: Kalayum Darshanavum*, Olivu, Kozhikodu,2016.
-, (ed.), *Padmarajan: Cinema Orma Padanam*, Olive Publications, Kozhikodu,2013.
- Palkulangara, Suku, *P Bhaskaran: Malayalathinte Neelakuyil*, Lipi Publication, Kozhikodu,2016.
- Pannikar, K N, *Samskaravum Deshiyathum*, Trans. P.N Gopikrishnan and P S Manoj Kumar, Current Books, Thrissur,2010.
- Paul,John, *P N Menon: Vighrabhanjakarkoru Prathishda*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu,2012.

-, *Adayalanakshatramai Gopi*, Green Books, Trissur,2013.
- Philip, Cherian, *Kaal Nootandu*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2010.
- Pillai, Thakazhi Sivasankaran, *Thyagathinte Prathiphalam*, Poorna Publication, Kozhikodu,2006.
- Premchand, *Noottandinte Mounangal*, Red Cherry Books, Calicut, 2017.
- Premlal, D, and Dr. S R Chandramohanan, (ed.), *J C Daniel: Malayala Cinemayude Vigathakumaran*, Raivan Publications, Tiruvanathapuram,2013.
- Radhakrishnan,P S, *Samskara Desheeyathayude Chalachitra Padangal*, Chintha Publications, Tiruvanthapuram,2016.
- Raj, Dileep, *Navacharitravadham*, DC Books, Kottayam,2000.
- Raj, Dileep, (ed.), *Ranimar, Padminimar: Malayala Sthreekalude Kaivitta Sancharangal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2016.
- Rajasekharan, P K, *Cinema Sandarbhangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2019.
- Rajasekharan, Thottam, *Cinema: Kalayum Jeevithavum*, Thottam Books, Tiruvanthapuram, 2010.
- Rajasekharan, S, (ed.), *Antonio Gramsciyum Samsarikapadanavum*, Chintha Publications, Tiruvanthapuram, 2008.
- Rajeev, U, *Janapriya Cinemayile Malayali Sreenivasan Cinemakalil*, Likhitham Books, Kannur,2012.

- Ramachandran, G P, *Malayala Cinema: Desham, Bhasha, Samskaram*, 2 edition, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Tiruvanthapuram,2017.
-, *Cinemayum Malayaliyude Jeevithavum*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2010.
- Ramachandran, G P, and Radhakrishnan Cheruvalli, (ed.), *Celluloid: Charitrathil Illatha Jeevithavum Cinemayum*, Chintha Publication, Tiruvanathapuram, 2013.
- Ramakrishnan, A K, and K M Venugopalan. *Sthreevimochanam: Charitram, Sidhandham, Sameepanam, Prasakthi, Pathanamthitta*,2016.
- Ranjini, Beena, *Hittukalude Katha: Jeevithnouka Muthal Meeshamadhavan Vareyulla Cinemakalude Vijayarahasyam*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2015.
- Raveendran, *Cinema Samooham Prathyasastram*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu, 2011.
- Reghuvas, A R, (ed.), *Mohanlal Padangal*, J R Books, Kottayam, 2011.
- P P Shanavas, (ed.), *Charitrathinu Sambavikunnathu*-K N Pannikar, Progress Publication, Kozhikodu,2016.
- Sasi, K V, (ed.), *Malayala Chalachitraganam: Kamana, Shareeram,Desham*, SPCS, Kottayam,2012.
- Sreekumar, T T, and S. Sanjeev, (ed.), *Katha Ithuvare: Kerala Vikasana Samvadhanga*,D C Books,Kottayam,2003.
- Sunil, R, *Harisons: Rekhayillatha Janmi*, Keraleeyam, Trissur, 2019.

Thambi, Sreekumaran, *Prem Nazeer Enna Premaganam*, Lipi Publication, Kozhikodu,2011

Thomas, M F, *Adoorinte Chalachitra Yatrakal*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2015.

Varghese, P T, *Jayan: Jeevithavum Cinemayum*,3 edition, Lal Books, Trissur,2014.

....., *Prem Nazeer: Jeevithavum Cinemayum*, Lal books, Trissur, 2013.

Venkiteshwaran, C S, *Udalinte Thara Sancharangal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2011.

....., *Malayala Cinema Padangal*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2011.

....., *Cinema Talkies*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2011.

....., *Cinema Ticket: Prameyangal, Vyakthikal, Chitrangal*, Pranitha Books, Kochi, 2019.

Venu, K B, *K G Georginte Chalachitra Yatrakal*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikodu,2015.

Vijayakrishnan. *Malayala Cinemayude Katha*, Poornna Publications, Kozhikodu,2017.

....., *Chitrasala*, Chintha Publication, Tiruvanathapuram, 2012.

Malayalam Articles

Baburaj, K K, ‘Marananathara Jeevithathile Mani Enna Tharam’, *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 94, no 3,2016, pp, 46-49.

- Bhaskaran, P, 'Vasanthathinte Idimuzhakam', *India Today*, Literary Annual edition, 2000, pp. 105-117.
- Geetha. 'Cinema Srishticha Pothujanam', *Pachakuthira*, vol. 13, no 7, 2017, pp. 44-51.
-,'Bhayakunna Purushan: Cinemayile Penkazchakal', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 86, no 14, 2008, pp. 60-65.
- Harikumar, E R, 'M T yum Malayala Cinemayude Bhavukatwaparitamavum', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 84, no 13, 2006, pp. 33-37.
- Jayakumar, K P, 'Udalnilayum Nilapadum: Keezhadangalinte Drishya Charitram', *Madhyam Weekly*, no 17, 23 June 2014, pp, 27-35.
-, 'Vellithirayile Kudiyozhikal', *Madhyamam Weekly*, vol 20, 27 March 2017, pp, 26-35.
- Jayamohan, 'Tamil Cinema Arude Kannadiyanu',*Mathrubhumi Annual Issues*,2013, pp. 144-149.
- Johny, K, 'Indian Nava Tharangathinu Mariyepattu', *Mathrubhumi Annual Issue*,2013, p. 93.
- Joseph, Jossy, 'Kazchayude Keraleeyatha M T Cinemakalil', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 84, no 17, 2006, pp. 26-32.
- Kannan, K, 'Gangamarude Karuppu ' Shuddhamakka'petta Veluppanu', *Madhyamam Weekly*, vol 20, 27 march 2017, pp. 10-19.
- Kattor, Domenic J, 'Vigathakumaran-Celluloidinu Appuram', J C Daniel:Malayala Cinemayude Vigathakumaran, Prof.Premlal and

- Dr.S.R Chandramohan, (ed.), Raiwan Publication, Tiruvanthapuram,2013, pp. 97-112.
- Kathiravan, Ethiran, ‘‘Aanatha’thinu Marayidunna Malayali’, *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 94, no 9,2016, pp. 50-59.
- Mathubhumi Varshikapathippu*, Mathrubhumi,2013.
- Mohan, Sanal, ‘Adimajathikaludethalla Aa Suvarna Bhoodakala Myth’, *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol.93, no.29, 2015. pp.32-43.
-, ‘Keralathinte Adhunika:Charitrarachana Sastraparamaya Prashangal’, *Kerala Navodhanam: Puthuvayankal*, Dr. Ajay Sekhar and Dr. S R Chandramohan, (ed.), Raven Publications, Tiruvanthapuram,2017, pp. 218-230.
- Mohandas, Shika, ‘Chathunni Mastere Chathichathu Arokke?’, *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 92, no 34, 2014, pp. 12-31.
- Muraleedharan, T, ‘Aanshareerangalum Aduppangalum Malayala Cinemayil’, *Pachakuthira*, vol 1, no 2,2004, pp. 6-13.
- Navaneetha, M, ‘Deshadanakilikal Paranjathum Sancharam Parayathathum’, *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 87, no 42,2009, pp. 38-45.
- Paul, Beena, ‘Delegate Pass Cinema Ticket Alla’, *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 92,no 39,2014, p. 98.
- Paul, John, ‘Drishyadha Kootichertha aa Entho Onnu!’, *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 93, no 5, 2015, pp. 42-49.

- Premkumar, E K, 'Charithram Thiruthi Chalikum Padam', *Malayala Manorama Sunday Supplement*, 23 June 2013.
- Rajendrababu, S, 'K S Sethumadhavan: Tirayum Kalavum', *Madhyamam Weekly*, 23 June 2014, pp. 36-43.
- Ramachandran, G P, 'Kalayude Swathanthrya Bodhathe Maraviyil Ninum Tirichedukumpol', *Celluloid: Charitrathilillatha Jeevithavum Cinemayum*, G.P Ramakrishnan and Radhakrishnan Cheruvalli, (ed.), Tiruvanathapuram:Chintha,2013, pp. 81-86.
- Raj, Rekha, 'Cinemayum Njanum Thammil', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 92,no 39,2014, pp. 76-81.
- Rowena, Jenny, 'Aanathangalekurichu', *Pachakuthira*, vol 1, no 2, 2004, pp. 14-18.
-, 'Karutha Sreeniyum Vellutha Lokavum', *Pachakuthira*, vol 1, no 5,2004, pp 5-10.
-, ' "Evan Puliyanu ketta" Mammoottyum Anathangalum', Bipin Chandran, (ed.), *Mammootty : Kazhchayum Vayanayum*,DC Books,Kottayam,2014, pp. 49-62.
- Samakalika Malayalam Varika: Indian Cinema 100 Varsham*, New Indian Express Group,31 May 2013.
- Sajeesh, N P, 'Vellithirayil Marupachayude Adayalanganal', *Bhashaposhini Varshikapathippu*,2016, pp. 120-142.
-, 'Malayala Cinemayile 'Mathethara Muslim'', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 84, no 18, 2006, pp. 72-76.

- Sekhar, Ajay, 'Savarnna Charitra Nirmithikal Nilam Parchakumpol', *J C Daniel: Malayala Cinemayude Vigathakumaran*, Premlal, D and Dr. S R Chandramohanan, (ed.), Raivan Publications, Tiruvanathapuram, 2013, pp.125-129.
- Sethumadhavan, K, 'Poonam Ki Rath', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 92, no 39, 2014, pp. 66-75.
- Thomas, Jeevan Job, 'Drishyangal Vakkine Pakaram Veikumpol', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 87, no 43, 2009, pp. 8-17.
- Venkiteshwaran, C S, 'Malayala Cinemayude Studio Kalam', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 87, no 7, 2009, pp. 76-77.
-, 'Samanthara Cinema Ini Venno?', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 92, no 34, 2014, pp. 22-31.
-, 'Chemmeen Adhyathe 50 Varshangal', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol.93.no.5, 19 April 2015, pp. 4- 19.
-, 'Cinema Sahityam: Malayala Padangal', *Samskarapadanam: Charitram, Sidhandham, Prayogam*, Vallathol Vidhyeedam, Sukapuram, 2011, pp. 386-413.
- Venu, Chelavoor, 'Cinemayil Illatha Cinemakaran', *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, vol 92, no 39, 2014, pp. 30-41.
- Vijayakrishnan, 'Vigathakumarante Charitram Vykhyavanum', *Celluloid: Charitralillatha Jeevithavum Cinemayum*, G.P Ramachandran and Radhakrishnan Cheruvalli, (ed.), Chintha, Tiruvanathapuram, 2013, pp. 36-40.