

Article**Debjani Halder****Deconstruction of Men and Masculinities in the Post-Partition Alternative Indian Cinema (the 1950s to 1980s)**

“Fundamentally Popular Hindi cinema has been a hero-dominated discourse where the close psychological conflict between oppositional forces like the good (hero) and evil (bad) always extends through the narratives. In the context of early Indian cinema, especially in the forties, fifties and sixties, the hero represented an as masculine archetypal image. As an example, the mythological characters like Shiva Hanuman, Krishna, Narayana always symbolised as the archetypal Macho. Apparently, in between the 1930s to 1940s hero depicted as the pillar of unconditional love, those are criticised as the weak hero or feminine man (as of example Dilip Kumar in Devdas, Guru Dutt in Piyasa). In the 1960s, we observed the representation of a positive hero (like Shammi Kapoor), who was optimistic and believed that affluence was around the corner and the better things would go to happen immediately. But in the 1970s the scenario had been changed. It was depicted that the positive dream got shattered, which had created a kind of cynicism and anger. In the aspect of mainstream cinema, there is no similarity between the hero and a common man. The hero always depicted as larger than life. In the context of mainstream popular Hindi films while the hero depicted as the unidimensional subject, vis-à-vis heroine rendered as the submissive object. In the mainstream cinema, the hero has specific mystique images, which scaled to the star ladder. Like Rajesh Khanna represented as the eternal romantic. Jeetendra, depicted as the dancing wonder and Amitabh Bachchan,

visualised as the angry young man. Since we believe that cinema is important among all social groups and the image of hero has made an enormous impact on the psychology of spectators, so the alternative Indian Filmmakers tried to deconstruct the images of hero. Their hero characterised as emasculate. They depicted as the vanquisher of the contemporary socio-economic political vortex, more real like ordinary common...”

----- (Akhtar Javed: 2016)ⁱ

The representation of the hero in popular Indian cinema is more or less stereotypical. Popular culture, especially the cinema, is always distinguished as a male-dominated medium. The common trend of popular cinema is to construct masculinity through scopophilia. It is a global phenomenon that stars, especially the hero, heroine and others are the most noticeable insignia of the popular culture which recognisably compresses the icons of time-space and effects on geopolitics. The fascination with stardom and ceaseless machinery of celestial production both attached to the power of the plethora of media outlets. Since the investors of Popular Indian cinema, always deal with market value and considered film as part of the business, so always they look for a charismatic, romantic, masculine reluctant image of the hero. In the colonial period, when the superiority of Victorian manliness indicated Indian man as effeminate, then as a result of masculine anxiety Indian, especially Bengali Bhadrak (writers, poet, filmmakers) developed the iconic heroic male figure to respond of Indian effeminacy. In the early phase of Indian cinema hero portrayed from Nationalist-Brahmanic axis. Father of Indian cinema Dadasaheb Phalke argued that ‘while the life of Christ was rolling fast before my eyes I was mentally visualizing the Gods, Sri Krishna, Shri Rama Chandra, their Gokul and Ayodhya...could we the man of India, ever be able to see the real Indian

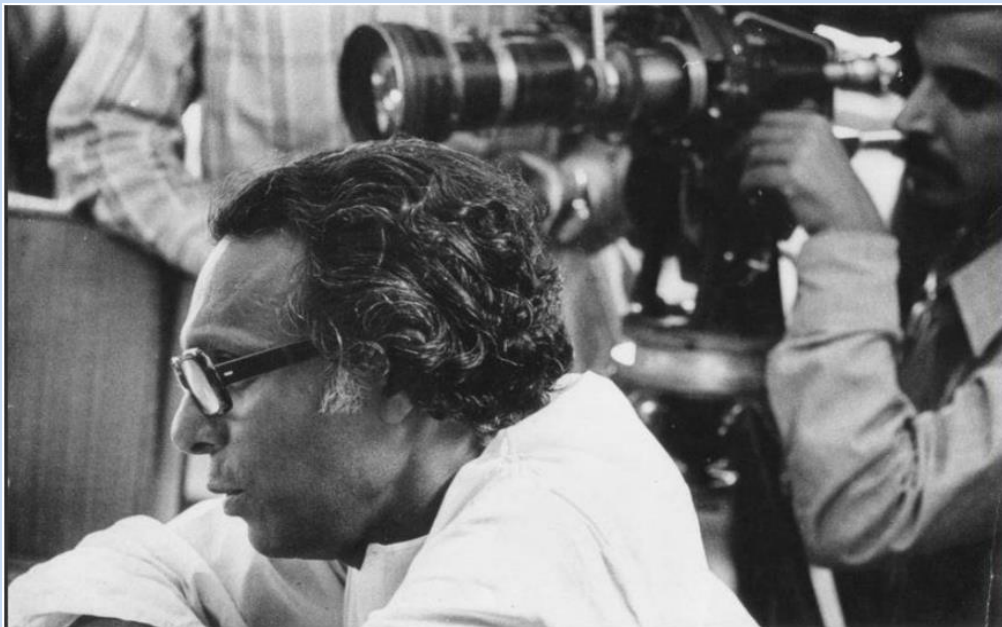
images on the screen?’ (Zuthshi Somnath: 1993)ⁱⁱ Phalke felt the need to set up industry in line with the nationalist call for Swadeshi.ⁱⁱⁱ

In post-colonial Indian popular cinema, hero projected from a sense of power and clarity of mind what captured to the spectators, especially youth. In the 1950s when alternative film movement had taken place in India and film-makers experimented with the concept, forms and techniques, they tried to represent alternative images of the male protagonists. They were not speculated as male mystique. The placebo personae and humour of the crowds in mainstream cinema like unemployed youth, factory workers, taxi drivers, coolies, dock-workers, those who always considered to be part of the marginalised masculinities they came forward from margin to centre of the script of alternative cinema. They opened up a new avenue in filmmaking, by representing men and masculinities as not monolithic, but diverse and plural. So the main argument of the present chapter is to discuss how did alternative film-makers (between the 1950s to the 1980s) deconstruct the stereotypical portrayals of the male protagonist on screen and criticised the hegemonic position of men in post partitioned patriarchal socio-political structure. Here I would like to discuss 1) The depiction of unemployed men in alternative cinema. (There I will discuss the socio-psychological crisis of masculinities in terms of unemployment.) and 2) How did alternative filmmakers depicted the crisis of marginalised aged father in post-partition family structure.

The paper is provided a comprehensive picture of the deconstruction of masculinities in Indian Alternative cinema. Discussing various theoretical frameworks of masculinities, this following paper will also criticise the representation of the hero in the backdrop of popular Indian cinema. Since I believe that alternative films act as the prism of society, so here the chapter will discuss a comprehensive understanding of the dynamic and dialectical position

of hegemonic and marginalised men. Theoretically, I would like to summarise my arguments in the aspect of a couple of Indian alternative films, like **Ritwik Ghatak's 'Nagarik' (1952), 'Meghe Dhaka Tara' (1960), Satyajit Ray's 'Mahanagar'(1963), 'Nayak'(1966) Pratidwandi(1970), 'Jano Aranya' (1975), Mrinal Sen's 'Interview'(1971), Adoor Gopalakrishnan's 'Swayamvaram' (1971), G. Aravindan's Uttarayanam (1974)**

'Nagarik' (1952) to 'Uttarayanam' (1974): the Depiction of Unemployed
Vanquish Hero



“Remembering Sen”

“In the first film of my Calcutta Trilogy, ‘Interview’ (1971), the protagonist Ranjit not depicted as a star or a hero... I wanted to depict him as a common ordinary man. His struggle associated with the hardships of thousands of jobless youth, who's future almost seems as gambling in the post-independence era. In the context of post-independence historical juncture, my initiative was not only fixed to depict the contemporary socio-economic problems, but I also seek to find a way out from the stagnancy, which, I

consciously delved deeply into the dreams of the lower middle class and disillusionment that followed. Especially Ritwik and I endorsed all the snags in post-colonial Bengal, which occurred by the conspiracies of the national bourgeois leadership, who engaged to accomplish their political and economic ambitions. We all acknowledged that the crisis of unemployment interconnected to the contemporary socio-economic and political vortex. Even including Satyajit Babu, he also articulated and criticised the several dimensions of socio-economic repressions in Bengal, which were engendered by policies of the central government. In the late 1960s, when Hindi mainstream cinema started to romanticise the crisis of unemployed youth and busy to make melodramatic love stories between a poor middle-class guy with a higher class girl, there we always tried to introduce an alternative storyline. Since our patriarchal society always specifies that man's place should be in the public and woman's position should be at home, so we objectified that what was the socio-psychological crisis of manhood when they trapped by unemployment, which was considered as the prominent problem in post-independence India ”

----- (Sen:2012)^{iv}

Patriarchy creates and consolidates male power in both the public and private domain. In a very large way, masculinity^v perceived and processed inferiority and subordination over women. Patriarchy determines the disunion of power between men- women. On the basis of power relations, it specifies subversion of gender roles^{vi} and creates a binary of performance too. Patriarchy appreciates male's relationship to the public sphere, especially at work-place, where he not only gets economic independence, it has given him a social recognition, dominance and superior identities in both the 'Bahir' (public) and Ghar (private) spheres.

It was the common trend of mainstream Indian cinema that it not only visualise the division of gender roles, simultaneously glorifies the man's roles as breadwinner, and objectified women's identity as pure, divine, 'Patribrata Bharatiya Nari, whose identity is confined the in-between four walls of home and roles define as caregiver and caretaker of the families.^{vii} In the interview since the Director, Mrinal Sen argued that as an experimental filmmaker he was not only negated the 'macho' image of the hero, his main agenda was to specify when the main breadwinner has gone through the hardship of economy what socio-economic and psychological crisis they had to face. So here, in the context of alternative Indian cinema, I would like to discuss that in terms of economic hardship: how did Bengali middle-class men re-construct their masculine identities? (when work has historically been a defining variable in terms of manhood). Simultaneously I would like to explore that within patriarchy when men's control determine over women's sexual and reproductive ability as a mechanism of rituals so how did women behave towards men when they failed to perform the role of breadwinners? So here I would like to depict my arguments in the context of seven alternative Indian films like Ritwik Ghatak's 'Nagarik' (1952), 'Meghe Dhaka Tara' (1960), Satyajit Ray's 'Mahanagar'(1963), 'Pratidwandi'(1970), 'Janoaranya'(1975), Mrinal Sen's Interview'(1971), Adoor Gopalakrishnan's 'Swayamvaram' (1971), G. Aravindan's 'Uttarayanam' (1974).

Father: Khoka, Did the interview take place?

Ramu: Yes A gentleman over there said, within a month.

Father: Well, I have discussed with Sita, I too used to buy lottery tickets to become a millionaire all of a sudden. I no longer buy them. Your hope of getting the job is like gambling.

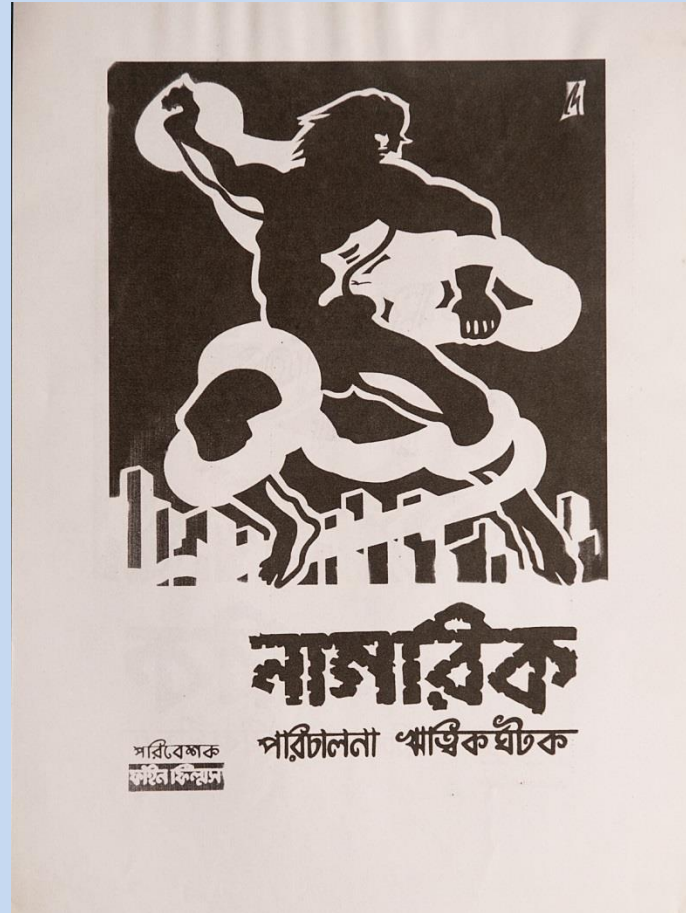
Ramu: What do you mean?

Father: What I mean is that nowadays, finding a job and a secure life is like gambling. Thousands are looking for a job. One is certain to get it, but not because of talent or any special skill. It will happen that all of a sudden his number has turned out to be the winning number. Yesterday's Bengal was a creative Bengal. Now what we are doing is undoing whatever good is left of Bengal of yesteryears.

Ramu: What are you trying to get at? Won't I try?--- (Nagarik: 1952)^{viii}

The above dialogue has taken from the film 'Nagarik'(1952)^{ix}. Ritwik was the first Indian filmmaker who deliberately depicted the crisis of unemployed men in post partitioned Bengal. Thus, '*Nagarik*' (1952) presumably is the day-to-day narrative of the struggle for existence of a Bengali lower-middle-class family, so, within this very narrow space, Ritwik succeeded, fluently and powerfully, in giving form to reality and indicated the trend of evolution of history. At the beginning of the film, the camera pans over small houses and shops, followed by huge buildings, slums and the maze of electric wires spread over the city, and then descends among numerous people in the busy streets, among whom Ramu, the central character, makes his appearance, as if he is one of the people, a very familiar face, accompanied by the voice-over: **'I know him, I've seen him. There lies the metropolis, and the river flows silently under the heavy iron structure of the bridge, beside which flow lives of people of the metropolis in an endlessly repeated cycle of laughter and tears. Another day's work is over, and another sunset in the lives of lakhs and lakhs of work-weary people. The sky is a maze of wires from end to end. I've seen him under that sky.'** (Nagarik: 1952)^x When Ritwik depicted Ramu's face in a close-up, while the camera captured the shots of dirty narrow lanes, beggars, the violinist, travelling vendors and his decrepit damp house, we at once get to know that the protagonist of '*Nagarik*' is neither rich nor handsome. He is one

of those ordinaries lower-middle-class young men, whose sole dream is to secure a job, to nurture any other dream is a fantasy for them.



‘Nagarik’: the Struggle of a Common

Within patriarchy, the roles of men in the workplace have not only revealed how masculine values are structured, but it is also locating the embeddedness of masculine values and assumptions in the social structure, which has developed a critical perspective of the man both in public and private sphere. Analysing the centrality of the masculine model in continuous employment and of the family breadwinner it is emphasised the importance of men’s continued domination of power relation in kinship. Paid work always determines the central source of masculine identity, status, power and authority of decision maker. So in the film ‘Nagarik’ there Ghatak tried to depict the aspiration of a graduate Bengali middle-class graduate young man who is a

desperate to find a job since the ‘paid work’ always constructed compared and evaluated men’s identity by self and others according to the whole variety of criteria indicating the personal access at the workplace. Ritwik discounted rosy dreams amidst socio-economic and political uncertainty in post-Independence Bengal as patently unrealistic, which is illustrated by the conflict between Ramu’s dreams and his father’s pragmatic view about reality. Ramu’s father repeatedly tells him to draw the line between the harsh reality of day-to-day existence and the emotional excess of a romantic dream. But his words fall on deaf ears. When his father compares the hope of finding a job and ensuring financial security and prosperity in life to winning a lottery or earning money by speculation, Ramu contests his views and refuses to come out of the shell of his dream world. The following extract of a dialogue between the father and son bring out the rift between Ramu’s romantic imagination and his father’s realistic thinking. In fact, this father-son contradiction is a reflection upon the conflict between reality and desire/imagination in life, reiterated by Ritwik in the dialogue, what already I have mentioned.



‘Ramu’: A Marginalised unemployed Protagonist

It is not only Ghatak, in fact, most of the eminent Indian alternative filmmakers they had depicted the crisis of masculinity in the complex histories of social oppression, and economic complex. The director of the film ‘Sawamvaram’ (1971) Adoor Gopalakrishnan has explained in an interview, that “It is a common trend that with the force of materialism and consumerism money is not only the medium of survival it is the symbol of success and power. In fact, "Male success in patriarchal society tends to be measured by material standards -how much money a man makes, what kind of car he drives or even the looks of the babe on his arm". In the post-colonial India when the Fourth-Five years plan failed to govern the causes of unemployment and jobless youth were unable to provide the roles of breadwinners, it was not only questioned about their ability as protector and provider, it has also prevented them from reaching the position of power and dominance. I tried to depict through my first film ‘Swamvaram’ (1971) not the sense of responsibility; nonetheless, how unemployment decreases a man’s ability to provide for himself and his family if he has one. I depicted the issue of unemployment to condemn the traditional masculine identities, while jobless Viswanathan depicted as the symbol of duality between pessimism and optimism...” (Gopalakrishnan: 2019).^{xi}



Ray and Adoor: Pillars of Indian Cinema

Perhaps ‘Swayamvaram’ (1971) was Adoor’s most conventional narrative; nonetheless, Gopalakrishnan’s perennial concern was to specify three majors psychological adjustment of unemployed people. That unemployed men move through overtimes.^{xii} He tried to narrate that unemployment has usually been related to attitudes, self-image, and sex role socialisation. In fact, he criticised that the use of institutional economies operated from a perspective which made predictions about the ways in which unemployed individuals might be affected by the degree of poverty. The hero of Adoor’s movie depicted as tramps, losers, vacillate, unwilling to take responsibility and plagued by the psychological fear of personal and social commitment. In the film, Adoor depicted the crisis in masculinity as results in a regressive phenomenon of emasculation of the public and the feminisation of private, where tradition is powerfully invoked to restructure family and sexuality. ^{xiii}Director articulated through the character Viswanathan that the greatest fear of man is the failure of not measuring up or not being a “real man”.



‘Swayamvaram’ (1971) Adoor’s most conventional narrative on unemployment

The alternative Indian filmmakers (from the 1950s to the 1980s) they tried to depict ‘unemployment’ as a greater awareness of the social and historical dynamics within the construction of roles, maybe it has criticised that most of the filmmakers they focused on male unemployment. Film director Mrinal Sen has tried to explain in the interview that as a committed filmmaker he always tried to problematize and deconstruct the issues around masculinities and power relations on the gender. He explained that “I tried to focus in the film ‘Interview’ (1971) that in our social domain, unemployed man always described as the implicit norm it is completely overlooked in Indian mainstream cinema. Increasing numbers of Indian youths reach manhood every year after receiving a higher school, college or university education, complete or otherwise. Men are so turned outlook for openings in the learned professions and the clerical occupations and find that such openings, but from the end of the 1960s it was gradually difficult to get a job in government and non-government sector. I found that unemployment is not only an economic burden. Unemployment has more profound socio-psychological effects on men, because, his inefficiency and incapability were not only challenged by patriarchal society, his performance and role was also questioned and criticised by women too...” (Sen: 2012)^{xiv}



‘Interview’ (1971): the unemployed protagonist described as the implicit norm...

Alternative Indian filmmakers like Ray, Sen, Ghatak, G. Aravindran, Adoor Gopalakrishnan and others they tried to depict the concept of unemployment as a failure of the state since the absence of opportunities for people to engage in productive activities which could serve as their basic source of income were they available. Simultaneously from a social perspective, they depicted that the term 'Unemployment' concerned with the presence in society of a group of people which is purposeless from its own point of view, though from that of the upper classes it may serve as a "reserve army." And psychologically depicted the term unemployment, which may do to an individual's mind and personality: loss of self-confidence, feeling of being unwanted and useless, rebellion alternating with apathy, in extreme cases permanent harm to the personality structure. There the main emphasis was to locate that is unemployment perpetuates the real crisis of masculinity? (Since the gender roles are played at three different levels, production, emotional attachment and power)^{xv} or in the ground of economic crisis, the public-private binaries and power relations have seemed to be changed.

In '*Nagaraik*' (1952) Ritwik treated unemployment as a social disaster while portraying the complex facets of the socio-economic crisis among the Bengali middle class in the post-Independence Bengal. As a sensitive artist, he empathised with the mental depression, moral degradation and despair of the unemployed youth and blamed it on the contemporary government and the national leadership. And he came to the conclusion that all the socio-economic ills had their roots in the economic policy pursued by the government. It was not only Ghatak others alternative filmmakers tried to depict that in a hyper-competitive country, where aspirations were sky-high but economic growth was sluggish, and imbalanced there the achieved identity of the Indian male was threatened. In the post-partition, India, especially at the beginning of the 1950s, it was significant that West Bengal positioned second after Kerala in 1952, but

the number of educated people and in the production of food also grains its position was next to Uttar Pradesh. It has known from government statistics that in 1951 West Bengal had the highest number of factories, about 1,493, compared to 1,473 in Madras and 1,426 in Bombay. The number of workers engaged in the factories of West Bengal was 4,75,084.^{xvi} Hence, it was relevant to raise the question: Was the influx of refugees from East Pakistan or the steps taken by the central and state governments from the end of the 1950s to the 1970s responsible for the unemployment among the educated youth? In 'Nagarik' Ritwik compared the scarred face of Bengal in the 1950s in socio-economic decline to 'an old collapsed edifice'. Destruction incarnate Bengal had turned into an alien land. It was as if a pawnshop, Ritwik felt, and everybody was wallowing in self-complacency. In his words, 'One is bewildered by what is happening. Prices of commodities keep rising, unemployment is rampant and industries remain stagnant despite so many words spent on it. Wherever one looks, there is no ray of hope.'^{xvii}

After Independence, the Nehru government adopted five-year plans to overhaul the country's economic infrastructure on a socialist mould. The first (1950-51 - 1955-56) and second (1955-56 - 1960-61) five-year plans were a success, registering an average of 1.8 per cent and 2.8 per cent growth per capita production respectively. But, in the third five-year plan, it dropped to 0.35 per cent, and, in other successive five-year plans, the average annual growth rate exceeded that of the second, or, for that matter, the first five-year plan. On the other hand, in 1960-61, considering the GDP, there was an increasing devaluation of currency: from 325.1 rupees to 310.9 rupees in 1964-64, and then to 307.1 rupees in the next year. The central government, however, decided to curtail funds for development on the plea that it had to allocate more funds for defence purpose to tide over the depredations of the Sino-Indian war. But, significantly enough, the policy of crunch in investment was restricted to the

states of eastern India, particularly West Bengal, whereas, states like Maharashtra, Madras, even Gujarat, Haryana and Punjab, were far ahead of West Bengal in terms of GDP and industrial development by the beginning of the 1960s. We can get a picture of Bengal's backwardness from the 1960-61 survey.^{xviii}

In Post-independence India unemployment was particularly rife among educated youth, and regardless, patriarchal masculinity is closely related to men's ability to provide for their families. In the film, 'Uttarayanam' (1975) director G. Aravindran tried to depict that unemployment how therefore provokes emotional pain for men not to be able to fulfil their roles in a particular manner.^{xix} He depicted that how patriarchal socialisation specified the men's responsibility is only to get a job, bring wages home and provide for your family's material well-being. Yet in the post-independence socio-economic scenario (end of 1960s'to mid of the 1970s) poverty and a lack of job opportunities have prevented much-educated youth from being responsible (patriarchal term), nonetheless, they found their manhood is in crisis and failure and their self-esteem is assaulted and assailed on all sides because they cannot acquire the means to fulfil their roles.



'Uttarayanam' (1975): Ravi as a symbol of the product of historical divergence.

In the film ‘Mahanagar’ (1963), director Satyajit Ray has depicted the socio-psychological crisis of a man that how the loss of formal employment impacts on masculinity at different levels. How do they see themselves in relation to the expectation of men as breadwinners? In the film, Ray not only criticised the traditional performance of man, that the man should be the out of the house for almost a whole day and the wife positioning in the household, whatever the most traditional and basic social division of patriarchy. Simultaneously he depicted that the binaries between the social conservatism and the lure of modernity. Ray depicted that the unemployment therefore not only altered what the protagonist Subrata served for maintaining the family, but it was challenged his masculine identity. Ray depicted that when the power to control one’s own (and others) activities in the public sphere stem in part from social and financial kudos associated with a job. When an ordinary bank clerk Subrata had no job, he lost a degree of control over his own ability to go out or to accomplish his basic needs when he wanted. His partner Arati got a job in sales she would be seen to have a power what Subrata had lost. ^{xx}Ray depicted that the autonomy to move as a free and independent agent in the public sphere outside the home and the job is heavily gendered, and some contestation between men and women always foregrounded.

“Subrata: What happen?

(Arati doesn’t reply...she has given a toy to her son)

Arati: Bani please come here...(she has given a sharee to her sister-in-law)

please take it...

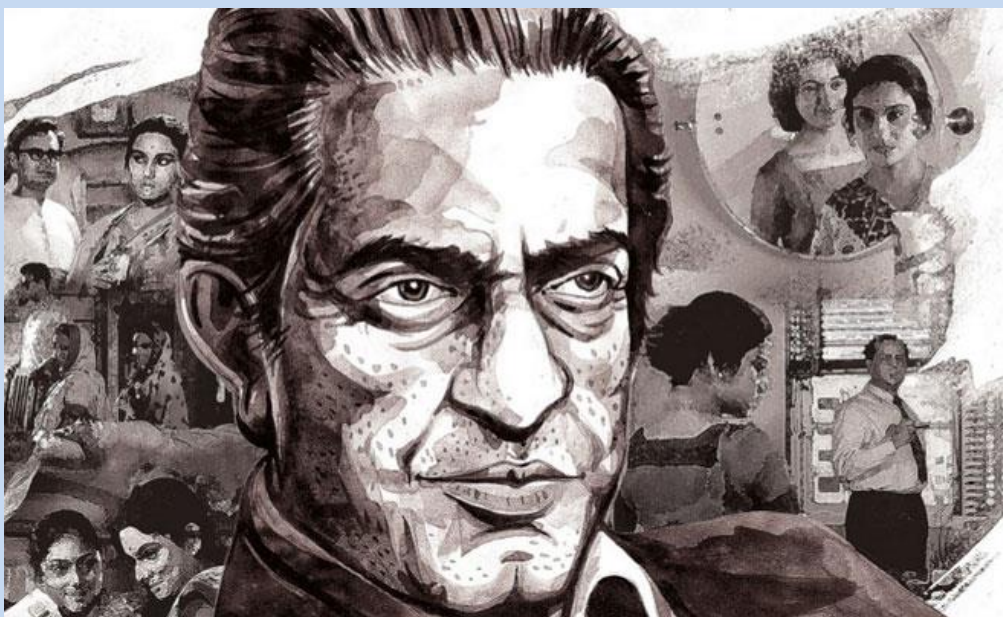
Subrata: So you spent your entire salary.

Arati: this is salary, and what was that? is commission

Subrata: Commission! Do you know and understand all these?”

----- (Mahanagara: Ray:1963)^{xxi}

Here in the film 'Mahanagar' (1963), Ray depicted that the participation of Arati in the public sphere and her determination to cross the gender boundary indicated unemployed Subrata's insecurity about his masculine identity. Ray depicted that the close relationship between the discourses of public masculinity and domestic provision is illustrated particularly well by the scenario what recounted by Subrata in the above scene.



'Mahanagar' (1963): Binaries between the Social Conservatism and the Lure of Modernity

The excess unemployment in India was the first estimate at the beginning of the Fourth Five-year plan (1969-1974). According to the plan, the estimated numbers of unemployed youth were 9 to 10 million, of whom about $\frac{3}{4}$ were in the rural areas. According to the planning commission's estimate, the backlog of unemployment increased from 3.5 million in 1951 to 4.3 million in 1956, 7.2 million in 1961 and 10 million in 1966. Thus although 31 to 32 million new job opportunities created during the three plans, nonetheless, the backlog increased

from 3.3 million in 1951, to about 9 to 10 million in 1966. It happened mainly due to the rapid increase in the labour force which the economy had not been able to absorb. (Hathi: 1977:35)^{xxii}

The unemployment problem, despair and self-pity of the unemployed youth figured prominently in Indian cinema and literature from the 1950s to the 1970s. As mentioned earlier, Ritwik didn't overlook the economic disaster in the lives of urban youth. Observing the steady decline of the economic situation, Ritwik felt that the unemployment problem acquired such proportions that the young people would be afraid of dreaming a secure future. In the film, Ghatak not only questioned the traditional role's of the male breadwinner, but he also depicted that in the context of economic transformation, men were not ready for the recipient of social changes. They resisted, reacted, but they started to suffer from the anxiety when their ability was challenged in the altering socio-economic contexts. This harsh truth was articulated by Ramu's father in 'Nagarik' (1952). Father narrated **"as along with No longer rosy dreams of getting rich. You got to be mentally resourceful to stay firm amid disintegration. Knowing storm is coming, hold firm the oars. If you're prepared, you can successfully meet the challenge with courage."** (Ghatak:Nagarik: 1952) In the 'Jana Aranya' protagonist, Somnath represented as a broken man who has given up because he perceives the situation as hopeless, it would socially make little sense to classify him as "voluntarily unemployed."

It came out in Amritabazar Patrika 12.11.1974 that 28,244 people have applied for the post of clerks in a bank. The applicants include 300 degree and diploma holder engineers, numerous postgraduates in science and arts and 12,000 graduates. The statement regards educated unemployment had depicted the absence of the between government policy, administration and political systems

those are unable to provide the facilities to millions of degree holders. There was bitter resentment among the educated unemployed, which found expression in Ramu's tearing up the calendar showing a house that embodied his dream of a home. We find the same feeling of resentment in Somnath, the protagonist in Sankar's novel written in a later decade, '*Jana Aranya*' (1975). Somnath expressed his resentment in these words, '**Instead of making people suffer, a lottery may as well be held for jobs. Among the seven lakh applicants, how do you assess the suitable one for nine posts?**' The feelings of Sukumar, Somnath's friend, were expressed thus, '**I could only answer one question from general knowledge. It is only two crores, which I committed to memory. Who dares deprive me of two points?**'^{xxiii}



'Jana Aranya' (1975): A Bitter Resentment among the Educated Unemployed

In the film, '*Pratidwandi*' (1970) and '*Jana Aranya*' (1976) Ray depicted that the number of educated unemployed increased during the first half of 1969. The unemployed worker will intensively look for a job if his environment has what exactly it is, that one should attempt to measure; or, at least, to express the problem in terms of the decisive alternatives available. In both films, Ray depicted that in post-colonial India, the unemployment figures referred to register or otherwise known job seekers. They do not always distinguish

between people who actively look for jobs, those who would like to have regular jobs but do not look for them actively (including part-time and seasonal workers) and those who in the conventional phraseology are "just lazy." Ray examined that undoubtedly it was not easy to determine empirically a person's actual "disposition to work," especially if one also wanted to get at the conditions under which he is disposed to take a job. He depicted in the film 'Pratidwandi' (1970) that since the problem of unemployment had synchronised with the highly inflationary phase of the economy, and public work was going down in a deflationary phase, so the medical student protagonist Siddhartha was ready to receive any sort of job because he was the elder son of the family. It was the medium to regain his dignity. Throughout the film Ray depicted Siddhartha as the vanquisher by his entrapment in the city and in the house, continually absconding into his inner space. Ray visualised the space as a purposely created imaginary site into which Siddhartha can withdraw in order to reinforce and reiterate his desire to abandon the familiar, which revolves around his home and the urban world of Calcutta. Ray intimately condenses his adversary's predicament by shooting over Siddhartha's shoulder as he urgently pounds the pavements of his city looking for a job. The use of handheld camera not only submerges Siddhartha in overcrowded Calcutta but ironically also sharply pulls him back so that relief comes only when the real is substituted by the imaginary.

While the contemporary mainstream Indian cinema focused on unemployment in an unfussy manner, and changing character of cities, the crisis of masculinities, frustration, aggression and stress of unemployed educated youth etc. were gradually marginalised from the film scripts or overshadowed by the love story, there the alternative Indian filmmakers tried to locate how the implication of the pattern of discourse around domestic provision for unemployed men is a potential feeling of disempowerment and emasculation.

And what was the connection between failing to provide and feeling less of a man coincides with talk of failing to provide and losing his ‘woman’? In ‘Mahanagar’ (1963) Ray depicted that Subrata had to depend on what the job Arati had. His male ego always forced him to think that since he is unemployed like, so he couldn’t give her the things what she wants. He had a dream that if he would get a job he would fulfil all the needs. When he got money and all he got to do is wave a few portions in her hands like, and she would walk away with him. Using the dialogue by Subrata, Ray depicted how an increase in structural unemployment or less paid for men presents a growing disparity between dominant discourses such as that of male breadwinner and actual employment patters. In ‘Mahanagar’ (1963) Ray depicted the gaps between the ideal and actual roles of a man in a patriarchal society and the consequent angst of failure that affected man. In this context I would like to mention the statement of Kimmel and Aronson (2003) where they argued that: As a collection of dos and don’ts, the male sex role was a recipe for despair; given what it took to be a real man, few, if any, men could live up to the image, and hence all men would feel like failures as men. What’s worse, the psychological costs of trying to live up to the image would lead men into lives of isolation and sadness, of repressed emotion and deferred dreams.’ (Kimmel & Aronson:2003)^{xxiv} Ray depicted through the dialogue that being unemployed creates a tension between a domestic provision in the home and feelings of the inability of a ‘real man’, his masculine identity is threatened since he failed to put his family first in a situation of limited resources and discovered her wife Arati no longer needs financial support from her husband. Ray depicted that it was the common phenomenon of patriarchy while men have a negative attitude towards women's Labour in a public domain. Subrata though tried to withdraw his stereotypical views about the traditional roles and expectations of women’s performance, nonetheless his overprotective nature, insult created an extra

burden for Arati who tried to make a balance between public-private, between Kuala Stree to daily life working wife.



‘Mahanagar’ (1963): The Depiction of Failed Masculinity

***Subrata: A Housewife should stay at the house. You have to leave the job
Arati. I think peace is better than the financial stability...I don't want, not
father, not mother, anyone doesn't want that you do the job...***

Arati: You don't want I am doing a good job".

...

If I leave the job do you think about how all will manage?

Subrata: I will take a part-time. You should take care of home."

--- (Mahanagar: Ray: 1963)^{xxv}

Alternative Indian filmmakers (1950s to 1980s) tried to depict the truth that since work is valued for being an income generator and money becomes the most important tool for men to assert their masculinity. So when the unemployed masculinity trapped by capitalist and patriarchal system, they rely on different survival strategies to earn an income and still provide for their families.

Partition did away with, or, for that matter redefined the sacrosanct hierarchy of caste, family and other social divisions. So did the unemployment problem undermine the privilege of educational qualifications in the job market? Economic compulsions, on the one hand, forced engineers, postgraduates and graduates to seek jobs as factory workers or ordinary clerks. On the other, the young men from the so-called Bengali *bhadralok* families, forgetting their age-old prejudices of caste and class, joined Muslims and low-caste Hindus as manual labourers in factories, participated shoulder to shoulder in their struggles and marched with them in processions. Many of them took to such occupations as taxi-drivers, bus or tram conductors, employees in restaurants, or even boys in tea-stalls. 'It is as if another revolution has taken place in terms of democratisation of occupations. Economic distress has compelled the young men from once-*bhadralok* families to join the ranks of manual labour, working side by side with Muslims and 'Hanris', 'Bagdis' and other low-caste Hindus. The imperative of mere survival has blurred all distinctions between class, caste and educational qualifications. One is amazed, indeed, when one goes to ask for the identity of boys working in roadside tea-stalls.'^{xxvi} This democratisation of occupation is reflected in Ritwik's films: an MA in philosophy or a research scholar applying for the post of a lower-division clerk (*Nagarik*), meritorious student Abhiram training to become a bus-driver (*Subarnarekha*) and the young Nachiketa, an engineering degree holder, facing an uncertain future, plunging into utter despair thinking of joining the ranks of manual labour in a factory (*Jukti Takko Aar Gappo*). This, then, is the narrative of degradation of middle-class life in post-Independence Bengal, which Ritwik foregrounded in his works. In an interview with '*Chitrabikshan*' 'Ghatak' said, 'I have the right to do something creative as long as I bring to the fore the crisis in our country, in one way or the other. Most of my works are but attempts to foreground this crisis.' In his films, Ritwik did not engage with a detailed discourse on historical currents. Nevertheless, as a sensitive artist, he could hardly ignore the

contemporary reality. In fact, his films eminently bear the stamp of the socio-economic turmoil in the 1960s and 1970s, and his socialist analytical approach opened up a new horizon in the history of not just Bengali, but Indian cinema. (Ghatak:1973)^{xxvii}

Director Shyam Benegal has stated in the interview that, “in the aspect of alternative Indian cinema. Especially if we will see the Ghatak’s ‘Nagarik’ (1952), Ray’s ‘Pratidwandi’, Sen’s ‘Interview’ (1971) and many others like ‘Swamvaram’ (1971) etc. then we will find that directors not only tried to locate the complex relationship between long term unemployment and masculinities which undermines the dominant forms of masculinity, with implications for heterosexual relationships and the domestic sphere. They also articulated as well as the prolonged the crisis what unemployment brings. It is their credit that they emphasised the crisis of Unemployed men not only from socio-economic perspectives. They tried to bring a psychological explanation through their creations where the frustration, loneliness, resignation, low self-esteem and rage have been articulated...” (Benegal: 2018)^{xxviii}

I have already discussed that within a patriarchal society man always is expected to be the primary breadwinner and while woman expected to be a homemaker. Work offers men a space to develop a masculine identity as it turns them into responsible persons and heads of families. It is also the crisis of man since their identity only mentioned as earner and protector for others in the domestic sphere, so when they have lost their jobs or didn’t find to get work due to the economic recession, since their power started to undermine, so they have faced the bifurcations from public and private too. Now I will try to depict how alternative Indian filmmakers tried to depict the crisis of unemployed masculinity from a psychological dimension when the crisis also related to stress, frustration, loneliness, resignation and rage.

The structural context of stress is based on social and economic class, race and ethnicity, gender, and age" and "social institutions and their arrangements of statuses and roles."^{xxix} Alternative Indian filmmakers have tried to depict that the cultural context of stressors in referring to social values which regulate the effects of experience by regulating the meaning and importance of experience. The filmmakers like Ray, Ghatak, Sen Adoor Gopalakrishnan, have tried to explain through their cinematic gaze that how unemployment exaggerates the decadent relationships with a family member, especially with women (wife/ girlfriend and mother). In the film, 'Nagarik' (1952) filmmaker Ghatak depicted that when protagonist unemployed Ramu was, failed to find a job, then he blamed for the economic devastated situation of his family. Ramu's mother who is the face of many helpless housewives who fight a daily battle against poverty as the anchor of the family, her feelings of peril and anxiety devastate her when she is anguished at her inability to provide two square meals to every member of her family, or her sufferings when she fails to marry off her daughter, Sita, because of financially straitened circumstances, the ground reality of a patriarchal society guided predominantly by monetary interests. The milk of her affection dries up as she fails to cope with extreme penury. She clings to Sagar, their paying guest, for support of every member of her family, because he earns a living. Ramu's existence becomes insignificant to her for his inability to earn money.



‘Nagarik’ (1952): When unemployment exaggerates the decadent relationships with a family.

He even forfeits the right to his mother’s affection. Unwilling to understand Ramu’s mental crisis, she expresses her resentment against Ramu in these words:

Simultaneously post-partition Bengal one discerns a streak of heartlessness among the guardians in pursuit of comfort and happiness, which is underscored in this film. In his article entitled *‘Aloukik Pratispardha’*, Abhijit Sen reminisces, ‘After Partition, we were as helpless and terrified birds in a cage. Our guardians were baffled by Partition and they felt terribly insecure. They struggled extremely hard to ensure the existence of their families. Yet, at the same time, this struggle often bred baseness and cruelty on their part which was a sordid tale, a dark chapter, by all accounts.’ (Sen Abhijit: 1985: 23). In the film, *‘Meghe Dhaka Tara’* (1960) Ghatak depicted that mother is a typical refugee housewife, coming from East Bengal who, torn apart by a day-to-day bitter struggle for mere survival, is led to measure all relationships in terms of earning money. Thus, she reproaches her unemployed eldest son and provokes him into leaving home. If one cannot earn money, one forfeits the right to have

meals at home, that is the messages she brings home to her eldest son loud and clear. There Ghatak also depicted an expression of hopelessness and emptiness in the face of Shankar, what is derived from the immediate response to the loss of an important and recognition in the domestic discourse.

In 'Jana Aranya' Ray depicted that since employment offers men a boost in their confidence and is the human connector, so unemployed Somnath was dumped by her girlfriend since he would not able to provide socio-economic protection to her^{xxx}. Indian filmmaker Adoor Gopalakrishnan stated in his interview that "I made 'Swayamvaram' on 1971, before making the movie I spoke with few young unemployed men, what I tried to articulate through the emotional grief of protagonist Viswanathan. He had a particular dream and ambition about his creative life and family. He wants to be a writer.... Whenever those aspirations are inaccessible, it creates disappointment. Things like that do happen. I think unemployed people prefer to spend time alone so that they can think about their dreams and their wishes...." (Gopalakrishnan: 2019)^{xxxi} In 'Pratidwandi (1970), director Satyajit Ray, depicted that protagonist Siddhartha when he was awaited in the queue of interview, and neglected by the authority, he became easily irritated, and easily got into a confrontation. Since he had to prove his potentiality in front of society, family, so his ability and male ego were questioning by the patriarchal gender role's specification and from the stress, he wasn't able to control his anger which derived from economic uncertainty.

In the film, 'Uttarayanam' (1974) director not only mentioned the opportunism and hypocrisy set against the backdrop of the Independence struggle and the crisis of unemployment in the post-independence scenario. He also depicted how unemployed brings upon loneliness when they rejected from friends, families, social network, just because of not having a job. Director depicted a

feeling of resignation by protagonist Ravi, who has reached such a low level of self-esteem and confidence, which were just acquiescent to this unbearable socio-economic situation. Director G. Aravindran depicted the truth that unemployment creates emotional pain for men. As unemployed youth are not able to provide for their families and to be respected by the communities, they feel undermined and emasculated, which can also provoke anger and rage. In the film, 'Uttarayanam' director offered a simple juncture between time and space, between pre and post-independence Kerala, while unemployed Ravi's masculinity represented as a symbol of the product of historical divergence. Alternative Indian filmmakers, they tried to depict the truth through their cinematic gaze that masculinity is not fixed, it changed over time, space and not least, during the lives of men themselves. They depicted the men or hero as the political category, rather than an individual, whose political, social, and economic lives have been challenged by the major socio-cultural disruptions. Their men depicted as emasculate, rather than macho, being peaceable rather than violent, conciliatory rather than dominating.

'Meghe Dhaka Tara' to 'Mahanagar' Portraying Crisis of marginalised old Age Father in Post Partitioned Indian Parallel Cinema

“Patriarchy as a concept has a history of usage among social scientists, such as Weber (1947), who used it to refer to a system of government in which men ruled societies through their position as heads of households. In this usage, the domination of younger men who were not household heads was as important, if not more important than the element of men's domination over women via the household.”

---- (Welby: 1989:215)^{xxxii}

It is the common trend of Patriarchy, which is determined by the rules of the father or male domination in the household. It is the social and ideological construct which considers men (who are the patriarchs) as superior to women. Sylvia Walby in "Theorizing Patriarchy" calls it as a system of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. In mainstream Indian cinema (between the 1950s to 1980s), there the father depicted from the hierarchical position, where he controls women's production, reproduction, sexuality, in fact, the social mobility too. But the alternative filmmakers always tried to articulate or depicted a newer perspective, so in the section, I would like to depict how the alternative filmmakers they deconstructed the images of the father through their cinematic milieu? Did the father characters depicted as the old traditional hierarchical prejudice or they portray as a marginalised figure in the post partitioned lower middle-class Bengali refugee household? I would like to place my arguments in the context of three films, Ghatak's 'Nagarik' (1952) and 'Meghe Dhaka Tara' (1960), and Satyajit Ray's 'Mahanagar' (1963).

At the beginning of the film 'Mahanagar'(1963), there is the dialogue that the father-in-law asked his daughter-in-law that "Bouma: I can't imagine that how the characteristics of Calcutta has been changing so rapidly?" Subrata's father who was the retired school teacher, he was quite astonished to find the historical peculiarity of the formation of the colonies, and changing characteristics within the household in post partitioned Bengal what additionally contributed a source of insecurity in his old age. Though the term old age constructed in terms of occupational retirement, in the context of post partitioned Bengali Alternative cinema, simultaneously there the term old age was also connected to the inability to participate in a colony building project.



‘Mahanagar’ (1963): the marginalised father

In the Indian social structure, the feeling of marginality is always associated with the concept of old age, since there is no premise of socio-economic security from the state. The maestro of Indian film, Ghatak and Ray tried to depict the truth that after the partition when the geopolitical characters had been completely changed, so the understanding of responsibility had started to shift in the refugee colonies in Bengal, especially in urban Calcutta. Though the post-partition Bengali cinema, considered that the depiction of ‘Bangal’^{xxxiii} male old age in refugee colonies was likely to be distinct from the portraying character of Ghoti^{xxxiv} old age father in urban Calcutta, nonetheless both of them depicted how the old age also started to lose their ideological foundations, authority, and controls within both public-private domains.

I have communicated with a spectator Vijay Sen, age nearly around 75, he discussed with me that in between the 1960s to 1970s, in the context of mainstream Bengali cinema like ‘Sabarmati’ (1969), ‘Deyaneya’ (1963), etc there were the specific actor, Kamal Mitra, who characterised as the traditional, dominating father, portrayed the notion of a general system of inequality in private discourse and perpetuated the dominance over wife, daughters, and other marginalised members within kinship.^{xxxv} The role of a father in mainstream movies has usually been that of an extremist who strictly adheres to the ‘hegemonic’ ideals of fatherhood and being emotionally distanced from the members of the family to provide for them. By contrast the parallel Bengali filmmakers those who portrayed the image of elderly fathers, they depicted as the image of an acute feeling of personal powerlessness and marginality rather than simply reflecting a more disconnected air of abstract moral passing of the judgement. In the film, ‘Nagarik’ (1952) director Ritwik Ghatak depicted that, those old age father not only complained against the blanket category of the younger generation, simultaneously from their sense of helplessness they often pointedly argued with own children, especially with a son, and categorically with an unemployed son.

In the film ‘Mahanagar’ (1963), directed by Satyajit Ray which was based on the short story ‘Ábataranika’ by Narendra Mitra, while the father was represented as the icon of old age prejudices, and son Subrata and daughter in law Arati, both of them were situated in the traumatic zone of economic uncertainty. Nonetheless, their triumph was associated with to overcome the public-private binaries, to promote Arati, a simple housewife to engage in a job. When the father couldn’t consider that he had to depend on the earning of Arati, he started to withdraw himself as the role of the decision maker of the family and aloof from any development programme, initiated by Arati and Subrata,

which could relate with the new community identity. In the ‘Mahanagar’(1963) Ray depicted the father as morally alienated from the rest, exposed as a nurturer of pre-existing values and ethics, who was able to live up to the ruthless prospects of the refugee’s struggle for survival.



Meghe Dhaka Tara’ (1960): while father depicted as a lonely, helpless creature,

In the film ‘Meghe Dhaka Tara’ (1960) Ghatak depicted the father as a lonely, helpless creature, who was rejected by the younger members of the family, surrendered with the hypocrisy of patriarchal society, and marginalised by the reality in the formative years of colony existence. Especially from the writings by Jasodhara Bagchi, Sudeshna Banerjee, or Jaya Chatterjee, it has found that in a pre-partitioned period the young and active male had not been the only icon of masculinity among the upper-caste and middle-class Bengali community. The ‘wise old man’ projected as the icon of passive, calm, self-possessed and

(ontologically-metaphysically) detached-was also frequently upheld. (Banerjee: 2003: 202)^{xxxvi}, But in the film ‘Meghe Dhaka Tara’ (1960), Ghatak tried to depict the truth that in post-partition Calcutta with the emerging ‘tradition’ of refugee colonies, the ‘superiority’ of detached apathy was rendered and extraneous by the everyday requirements of survival in the refugee colonies.

The uprooted people those who started their lives in the squatters’ refugee colonies, West Bengal especially the Calcutta was not the paradise for them. On the one hand, the uprooted people, faced with formidable socio-economic and political odds dreamt of finding a new home, though carrying in their hearts the memories of a lost homeland. On the other, ethics, morality was questioning in front of selfishness and degradation of human relationships. While the young, and middle-aged Bengali refugees actively participated in the process of colony formation and protection, the old age men completely absent from the scenarios. In the film ‘Meghe Dhaka Tara’ (1960), Ritwik Ghatak depicted that restoring the livelihood of the refugee family was beyond the capacity of the aged retired father, only a handful got a short lease of employment as private tutors in the colony. Madhav master ideologically didn’t accept the new possibility of the enterprise’ what the young and middle-aged explored in the avenues of employment, when Nita informed him that the youngest one Montu got a job in a factory as labour he found it was the degradation of livelihood of middle class educated Bengalis.

“Nita: Father Mantu got a job at the factory, nearby

Father: Factory! Labour! Look how the middle-class life is deteriorated.

----- (Meghe Dhaka Tara: Ghatak: 1960)

Post partitioned contemporary novels and played depicted that, during the economic unforeseen hardship, when the aged fathers unable to provide the material security to the families, they gradually marginalised as ‘failed manhood’ in both public and private domain. In Ghatak’s ‘Meghe Dhaka Tara’ (1960) and Ray’s ‘Mahanagar’ (1963), the aged retired schoolmaster fathers were overtly taunted by the family members due to failed their masculinity. In ‘Meghe Dhaka Tara’ (1960), when Nita’s Madhav master rebuked to his wife, for indulging Geeta’s seduction to Sanat, and asked why his elder daughter Nita should shoulder the entire burden of the family, then Kadambini retorted that he didn’t have right to sermonise, since as it was his failure to be the incapable as the head male member of the family. He mentioned by his wife as a worthless haggard male.

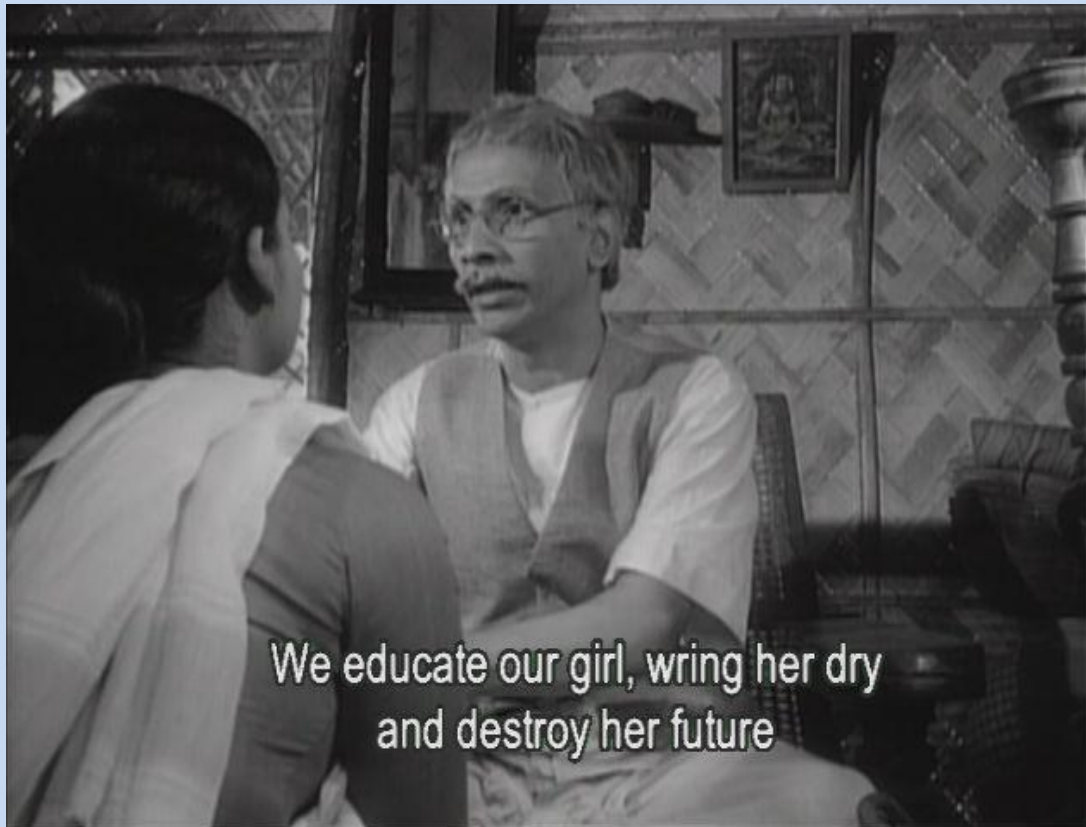
“Wife: Do you think anything about Geetu’s marriage...

Father: why? According to the tradition, her turn will come after Neeta

Wife: so! You can’t do anything... if Neeta will get married, what will you eat? Shucking your own thumb! ”

----- (Meghe Dhaka Tara: Ghatak:1960)

In ‘Meghe Dhaka Tara’ Ghatak depicted the father character as “the weaker man who are psychologically traumatized by the patriarchal values of the society but suffer in silence because it is unmanly to express emotion”.



‘Meghe Dhaka Tara’ (1960): the story of middle-class refugees from the material base that had sustained this moral icon of the world-renouncing masculinity of the aged.

The alternative Indian filmmakers they depicted that another kind of masculinity was traditionally invested on the supposedly reserved and serene aloofness of aged men. In both of films ‘Meghe Dhaka Tara’ (1960), and ‘Mahanagar’ (1963), there depicted that the Partition wrenched middle-class refugees from the material base that had sustained this moral icon of the world-renouncing masculinity of the aged. And it was the aged father’s lack of property that particularly contributed to his marginalization in the formative years of colony existence.^{xxxvii}

I would like to conclude the paper, by mentioning the interview of Ritwik Ghatak, where he explained that when the uprooted people from East Bengal

started life anew in refugee camps or colonies, the elderly among them faced a blank while facing the incongruities between their former stable life and the present animal-like existence in the colonies. They had dreamt of building a life bit by bit based on ideas and transmitting these ideas to the future generations. They could not reconcile themselves to their ideas being trampled upon: sacrificing all ideals and guided by self-interest, the members of their families were in pursuit of finding security for themselves only.^{xxxviii} They felt a kind of alienation engulfing them. In order to forget this loss of ideas, the elderly of the refugee families tried hard to bring back the old tradition through reminiscences, or voluntarily withdraw themselves from their families and society. This displacement was the socio-psychological fork, which had built up as the self-torment for expressing disapproval against immorality.

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ⁱⁱⁱ Differences of gender were being obliterated, one entire section of the population was being elided over, another's very existence denied, whilst a certain strand of Hindu worship stands in for 'Hinduism'. Whilst the life of Christ is rolling fast before, Phalkey's visualized certain Indian images those of Shri Krishna, Shri Ramchandra, their Gokul and Ayodhya. Not only Christ disqualified as an Indian image, even Indian Christians were not allowed to see Christ as an Indian image.'

^{iv} Sen Mrinal (2012.8.12) Personal

^v Masculinities are those behaviours, language and practices , existing in specific cultural and organisational locations, which are commonly associated with males, thus culturally defined as not feminine. So masculinities exist as both a positive, inasmuch as they offer some means of identity significations for male and as a negative, inasmuch as they are not the 'Other' (feminine). Masculinities and male behaviours are not the simple product

of genetic codings or biological predispositions. (see Clatterbaugh. 1990) Masculinity is not valued unless performed by the biological male. Hence the male body is imbued in our culture with certain traits that characterize maleness or masculinity. Hence the human norm of male supremacy.

^{vi} According to Judith Butler, the concept of gender must be extended by accepting variations, forms and views that do not fit into norms. Butler defines the concept of gender as follows: "Gender is the mechanism by which notions of masculine and feminine are produced and naturalized, but gender might very well be the apparatus by which such terms are deconstructed and denaturalized"

Butler, Judith (1999), 'Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity'. Ed. Linda Nicholson. New York, Routledge, p-43

^{vii} Such an ideology based on a philosophy of deprivation for women in the world of practice. 'Transposing the material onto an inner/outer, Ghar/bahir, home and world. Social place is divided, playing a significant role in the everyday practice of life. Gender differences fit into the division: men occupy the material world outside while women preserve at the home, its essence unaffected by the material world.

Chatterjee, Partha. (1989), 'The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question' in the book 'Reconstructing Women: Essays in Colonial History' Kolkata, Kali for Women, p-64

^{viii} 'Nagarik' Ghatak Ritwik, 1952

^{ix} When Ritwik was making 'Nagarik', technical resources were meagre and so was the budget. But it was made thanks to the cooperation of the artists and technicians. And it was made at a time when realist cinema was in its infancy in Bengali cinema and the socio-economic and political situation in Bengal was explosive. There were simultaneously three manifestations of the crisis: the palpable break-up of the urban-centric life of the Bengali middle class after the Second World War, the farmers gaining ground consequent upon the Tebhaga movement led by leftist forces and the uncertainty looming large over the socio-economic life of the middle class. In 'Nagarik' Ritwik started from an individual's feelings and conflicts and, in the end, gave it a larger dimension in the context of social reality, proceeding to establish the trend of social-realism on a firm basis.

^x Ghatak Ritwik (1952), 'Nagarik'

A little bit of elaboration of the story is necessary to underscore this point. When Ramu's family leaves the house at Shyampur to settle down in the suffocating atmosphere of Kolkata and is encumbered by daily financial woes, repeated reminders by the landlord for payment of overdue rent, his own unemployment and the humiliation his marriageable sister suffers every time she is presented before a prospective bridegroom, he is still lost in the dream, contemplating the open sky and wide field depicted on a calendar hung on the damp wall in his house, of having a happy family life with his lover Uma, accentuated by the strains of violin played by an anonymous figure in the lanes and bylanes.

^{xi} Gopalakrishnan Adoor (2019.01.26) Personal

^{xii} Kelvin and Jarret though criticise the simplistic use of stages and prefer to concentrate on the critical transition between each stage.

Willot Sara and Griffin Christine (1996) 'Men, Masculinity and the challenge of long term employment' in the book of Understanding masculinity edited by Martin Mac and Gail. UK, Open University Press, p-32

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^{xiv} Sen Mrinal (2012.8.12) Personal

^{xv} Connell (1995) notes that gender roles are played at three different levels: III relation to production, emotional attachment and power.

- In the production arena, the sexual division of labour expects women to ensure social reproduction in the private sphere and men capital production in the public sphere.
- Sexual desires and emotional energy are also constructed practices that position men's heterosexuality and sexual pleasure as socially dominant.
- Finally, Connell distinguishes power relations. It is the relationship between patriarchy and capital. Capitalism and patriarchy are both related relations of power -based respectively on production and gender (Connell, 1995).

^{xvi} Dey Amalendu, (1978) 'Ebar Natun Pathe Natun Laksher Dike' (Bengali), in 'Sat Dasak Samakal O Anandabazar', Kolkata. Ananda Publisher p-35

^{xvii} Mitra Ashok (1965), 'Kabita Theke Mischhile' Nabapatra prakashani, Kolkata, p. 106.

^{xviii} Ray Ranjit (1971), 'The Agony of West Bengal' Kolkata, New Age p-29

^{xix}As patriarchal masculinity expects men to repress their feelings and to always appear strong and resilient.

^{xx}Although this doesn't imply that woman in waged work are accorded the freedom of access to the male dominated public sphere.

^{xxi}Mahanagar, Ray Satyajit 1963

^{xxii}Hathi J.L. (1977), 'Problem of Unemployment in India' published in the book Unemployment problem in India, edited by Singhvi, L. M, Kapuria R.S., Delhi, National p-35

^{xxiii} 'Jana Aranya' Ray Satyajit, 1975

^{xxiv} Kimmel, Michael, and Amy Aronson, (2003) eds. 'Men and Masculinities: A Social, Cultural, and Historical Encyclopedia'. Vol. I: California, USA: ABCCLIO Ltd.,pp-123

^{xxv} 'Mahanagar', Ray Satyajit, 1963

^{xxvi}Mitra Ashok (1965), 'Kabita Theke Mischhile' Kolkata, Nabapatra prakashani, , p. 106.

^{xxvii}Ghatak Ritwik (July, 1973), Chitrabikshan

^{xxviii}Benegal Shyam (2018.12.26) Personal

^{xxix} Jacobson Devid (Sep-1989), ' Context and Sociological Study of Stress' published in Journal of Health and Social Behavior, American Sociological Association, Vol. 30, No. 3,p p-257

He posits that most stress researchers look directly at potential stressors which influence individuals' experience, without examining the structural contexts of stress which sociological inquiry cannot ignore. "

^{xxx} See Sarkar, "'Kaliyuga", "Chakri ", and "Bhakti "'"; and in his Writing Social History, pp. 282–357.

Sumit Sarkar in his analysis 'the construction of masculinity' (1989), he explained that the masculine identities of Bengali lower and higher middle class was linked with the Chakri and specific forms of property relations, like Kanchan (gold) and Kamini (women)

^{xxxi}Gopalakrishnan Adoor (2019.01.26) Personal

^{xxxii}Welby Sylvia (1989), 'Theorizing Patriarchy' published, UK, Sage p-215

^{xxxiii}Bangal is the colonial term, to specify the migrants those who came from East Pakistan or Bangladesh, after the partition.

^{xxxiv} The term Ghoti is used towards the non migrants citizen of Bengal.

^{xxxv} Sen Vijay (2019.1.12), Personal

^{xxxvi} Banerjee Sudeshna (2003) 'Displacement within Displacement: The Crisis of Old Age in the Refugee Colonies of Calcutta, the article published in the Studies in History, 19,2, n.s. , New Delhi, Sage,p p-204

^{xxxvii} ibid

Banerjee explained that according to the dayabhaga school of Hindu law that governs inheritance among the Bengali Hindus, the son cannot inherit his father's property before the father's death. This material guarantee against the marginalization of the aged father was absent in the colonies during the early years. Those fathers, who were more than 60 to 65 years of age at the time of the inception of the colonies, had no property worth the name. Most importantly, they had no legal proprietary control over their homesteads built on forcibly occupied land. Recognition of proprietary control over the colony homesteads came only in the 1990s, long after the first generation of aged fathers had died.

^{xxxviii}Ghatak Ritwik (1972.8.12), Chitra Bikshan

Debjani Halder is a Filmmaker and Film Scholar. She is a Fellow of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, Rashtrapati Nivas.