

THE ALTERING DICHOTOMY OF IDENTITY: INDIA AS *SELF* AND CHINA AS *OTHER*

Abstract:

A state has two-fold identity: first at domestic level, to its own citizens; and second at international level to the rest of the world. A State's identity can better be explained via theories of inter-personal identity formation; as a state essentially is a group of individuals. The factors that contribute to the identity formation of a state are nationalism, commercialization, market, globalization and cultural assimilation; hence resulting in a dynamic and constant shift in its identity. The popular culture plays an important role in representing the shifting identity of state. National cinema is an important part of this popular culture as it has an easy access and a great impact on all sections of society. Thus cinema being a source of soft knowledge can play a role in informing and constructing personal and collective identities. Such media representation is essential as it reflects the popular sentiments and links practical and popular geopolitics. The political power and the status of an actor have an upper hand to propagate a story in manner suitable to it. The social, economic and political power vested in an identity like that of a state gives it an inherent power to demonstrate the story in a manner favorable to them. The point resides on what the story is, how it is narrated and its representation. All these factors in some way or the other can be manipulated and molded in a way that is favorable to the actors (which may be the state/market/media).

The present paper proposes a theory that the psychological devices prove to be a better medium in understanding the concept of alternative representation of identity of *self* and *other*. The first argument of the paper discusses the aspect that the state behavior and boundary making process can better be understood by combining the material and non-material

(psychological) approaches. The second argument of the paper is concerned with the aspect of external factors like market, nationalism, diasporas, social networking sites, new age communication technologies, economic interdependence and ideologies, which play a major role in construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of the identity of *self* and *other*. The core of the present thesis is how the ‘internal’ (psychological) and ‘external’ dimensions of media representation can be used to understand India and China relationship.

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CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

The notion of identity has played a crucial role in the contemporary history of the world. It has generated conflicts and has resulted in alterations of territorial borders. As a result, identity is now being considered to be one of the most vigorous variables in international relations. Every state generates/tries to generate its *self*-identity through defining and challenging the identity of the *other*. This *other* varies between an individual, an organization or a state. Philosophers like Kant and Hegel stress upon the creation of *other* as necessary adjunct in the formation and national solidarity of a state. Modern realism believes that a State regime operates within its territorial nation-states, pursues its own interests and takes its own decision to maintain the political autonomy within its borders. As Waltz said that foreign policy of a State is neither moral nor immoral but just a response to the rest of the world about itself (Luke, 1996). The present world order has completely changed and no State is self-sufficient within itself. The economic interdependence has increased and with the advanced communication technologies and increased economic interdependence the geopolitics or if I may say the boundary making process has shifted from physical geography to human geography. This changing nature of geopolitics has conveyed the need of new perspectives to re-analyze the boundary making processes in international relations and understand the changed geopolitical architecture. This paper makes an attempt to understand this new geopolitical architecture via psychological devices and media representations.

The geopolitics is constructed by world leaders with its media and diplomacy powers. For example, United States of America being a world leader managed to influence the ideologies of world. In contrast to this argument, the other notion states that the geopolitical architecture is more of a domestic construction and the State defines the boundaries between *self* and *other*. The domestic affairs of US bring the diversification to the world leadership. The basic reason is the demographic changes of US, as the nation has huge non-western population. A sizeable Indian and Chinese diaspora is growing in US, which is affecting the US policies towards these two countries.

Why does the State Identity Change? This thesis attempts to explore this debate through societal, political and economic perspective. As already established each state represents its identity differently at domestic level and international level. For example, China portrays itself as a democracy to its own citizens, but on a global platform China emerges as a leading communist state. To materialize these claims, China uses its state controlled media at domestic level and its market strategies at global level.

Can media be used to justify the shifts in identity? One of the arguments favoring this debate justifies that the media is dependent on popular discourse for its vibrant acceptance in the society. Media plays a key role in representation of international politics, and the society views media as a source of knowledge. In this paper, I will analyze the changing boundaries between *self* and *other* in international politics via psychological devices and media representations. It is impossible to dwell into various aspects to conduct an empirical study, hence the paper has been restricted to analyse the Chinese impact in Indian cinema.

The news media only reaches to the literate section of the society and has a temporary effect but the impact of movies stay much longer. The news coverage of 1962 or 1939 might only be available in archives but movies are still easily accessible, often being telecasted and

re-telecasted on TV channels and generating popular sentiment. Thus, I consider Bollywood as creator and representative of Indian popular culture. Through the present paper I will analyze the representation of Chinese identity (*other*) constructed by Bollywood in Indian minds (*self*).

The core of this thesis is how the ‘internal’ and ‘external’ dimensions can be used to understand India/China relationship through media representation. The internal approach is linked with the psychological devices. This internal approach is further used to explore the hidden grammar behind any media representation. The external approach linked with the ‘external’ factors like economic interdependence and the role of nationality. The paper argues that the alternative representation of identity of *self* and *other* is better understood via internal approach. This approach is capable to explain the role of external factors and use the psychological devices to explain the same. The first part of the paper would analyze this complexity of *self* and *other* through an internal dimension (psychological). This approach provides a different perspective of understanding the inter-state relations by using the analogy of inter-personal relations. It is necessary to analyze the politics of representation at a micro level by combining International Relations (IR) with psychology. This will help us expand the limited scope of IR. This section further explores the internal approach and uses the concepts of *geopolitical architecture*, *constructive alternativism*, *counterfactual thinking* and *self-enhancement*. The next part explores the external approaches of representation of *self* and *other*. There are multiple driving forces that generate the popular discourse. Some of them come from external sources like market, political tensions, nationalism and global media etc. This section challenges the debate that whether Bollywood is truly a popular discourse or not. To discuss the media representation of identity, I will use the Davis’s model of reflections, implications of imagology, nationalism, commercialization and miscellaneous factors. The paper further utilizes the knowledge from internal and external dimensions over the case study. The cases compare the seven Bollywood movies and one political documentary released by

public diplomacy division. These movies were released in different and significant time periods and can be linked back with the political situation at the time of their release. Another reason to pick these seven movies is that these are the only seven movies which I believe represent China in Indian popular culture. Finally the paper explores the implications of this *self* and *other* study in inter-state politics and conceptual significance.

CHAPTER-2

PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVICES TO UNDERSTAND GEOPOLITICS

The boundary making process between *self* and the *other* is shifting its dependence from territorial boundaries. The new age communication technology, expansion of market and the increasing uses of social networking sites have changed the nature of boundaries. The geographical boundaries have not lost the significance but the new boundaries have also entered the domain which has been successful in dominating the boundary making process. This leads to an interesting debate of nationalism and commercialization. As the author Claus Dodds argues that the making and remaking of national identities of *self* and *other* is a creative process. The narratives of identity are not restricted to a nation state. These narratives can operate at various geographical scales from the sub-national to pan-regional and finally to the global level. Geographical understanding of the world can change for a host of reasons: religious, ethnic, political and so on (Dodds, 2007). The main argument here is that the boundaries have expanded and present geopolitics is made of many aspects which affect the boundary making process and is not related only to geographical boundary. Media and the academia often use the geopolitics to promote any upcoming major development; for example, clash of civilization, the rise of China, the end of history, the new American century etc. (Dodds, 2007, p. 49). This link between media and changing geopolitics will be discussed through this paper.

2.1 Geopolitics and Media:

Geopolitics is the understanding of political geography through the disciplines of international relations, political science and cultural history. The classical geopolitics is interpreted with foreign and strategic policies which depend on physical geography. On a current scale, human based geography is gaining significance over the physical geography. Geopolitics is all about constructing the boundaries between *self* and *other*. With globalization, the boundaries have expanded to the market, cyber space, emotions, political relations and various other domains. This has led to the emergence of critical geopolitics which is consisted of three forms of geopolitics: practical, formal and popular. Practical geopolitics refers to policy oriented geographical templates used by political leaders or bureaucrats to form the foreign policy of a nation. Formal geopolitics is where academicians and commentators self-consciously invoke an intellectual tradition. Further, Popular geopolitics is about geopolitical imagination of the masses. For example, mini Punjab community in Canada or Muslim communities like Umma in North Africa, Europe or Asia can be linked with geopolitical imagination. Popular geopolitics includes the role of media and other forms of popular culture. This informs citizens to make sense of events in their own locale, country, region and the world at large (Dodds, 2007, p. 46). All the three forms of critical geopolitics are intertwined. Academicians (formal geopolitics) and media personnel (popular geopolitics) both discuss the events of state and contribute in forming the popular discourse which is the core of practical geopolitics. The classical geopolitics has been challenged by the new age communication technologies and the emergence of non-state actors. These new features in world order have changed the whole boundary making process. For example the cold war terminologies like 'Iron Curtain' or 'Third World' does not only talk about geographical location but also carry ideological values. This paper tries to highlight these new boundaries and the factors that bring

the shift in these boundaries. To understand the issues of changing boundaries between India and China, we need to examine the geopolitical architecture between India and China.

Geopolitical architecture is the way in which the state and non-state actors construct their boundaries and the intersection of territories. This differentiates the inside and outside, citizens from non-citizens, domestic issues from international issues and last but not the least *us* from *them*. Media is a medium of state and non-state actors to represent their thoughts and create their own ideological boundaries (Dodds, 2007, pp. 54-55). A geopolitical architecture build by the state is based on national sovereignty and an architecture build by non-state actors are quite different from each other. State-centric ideology generally takes defensive steps while defining the identity of *other*. In comparison, non-state actors like NGO(s), business communities, MNCs adopt a mixed or cooperative approach of defining the *self* and *other* relationships. The State basically follows realism where it is always skeptical about *other*. In contrast to the state perspective, the non-state actors have a broader perspective of *other*. The paper further analyzes these differences.

The materialist conception of States and sovereignty has prevented us from nurturing the new approaches of the *self/other* relationship. Jean Bodin states that previously the concept of sovereignty was limited and dependent on the historical and religious entities. Anciently, the territorial boundaries were defined by the laws of god. Later on, the colonial powers acquired the status of a sovereign (Andrew, 2011). In the current scenario, media representation and the rise of monarchy and democracy has delivered more importance to the idea of sovereignty (Andrew, 2011). We need to combine the non-material (or psychological) and material conditions to create 'social reality'. Indian movies have directly or indirectly served to the sovereign idea of state's territorial jurisdiction. Examples of this are movies like Border and LOC Kargil example: Border (1997), LOC-Kargil (2003).

Feminist scholar Donna Haraway says that we need to explore how geopolitics is created and represented to particular audiences (Dodds, 2007, p. 21). If we want to understand the global politics, we have to understand that it is imbued with social and cultural meaning. To explore this construction and representation of geopolitics, this paper analyzes the concept via psychological devices and popular culture. The internal dimension of theoretical and psychological understanding will further be utilized to study the external dimension that is 'media representation'. The present study explores media representations through the conceptual implications of *critical geopolitics*, *constructive alternativism*, theory of *self-enhancement* and theory of *counterfactual thinking*.

2.2 Psychological devices and International Politics

There are a number of ongoing debates about western-centric nature of IR theories. This is about finding the new approaches to make the IR universal in nature or make it regionally applicable. Scholars like Amitav Acharya and Bary Buzan have discussed about non-western IR theories at micro level. Adding to that, Professor Amitav Acharya also suggested at Annual International Studies Convention¹ 2013 that the new world order is shifting from unipolar world to a multiplex world like a multiplex cinema where there are various movies under one theatre (Acharya, 2013). He says that the single theatre show is now over and scholars have choice from various theories under one field of international relations. This approach accommodates the suggestions of both non-western IR theories and area studies. These two (including non-western perspective to IR and area studies to IR) are well discussed alternative solutions to the debates of west centric IR theory. Apart from redefining the IR theories, there is also a necessity to find the alternative approaches to enrich the literature and

¹ 'Imagining Global IR out of India' at Annual International Studies Convention, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 10th to 12th December, 2013

understand the IR theories. As the concept of State identity itself is dynamic in nature, the alternative approach in my opinion is to study the state behavior. We can adopt the theories of behavioral sciences into international relations. I believe studying a State behavior can provide the answers to the question as to which theory of international relations is reliable in which situation. A State can never be completely realist, liberalist or constructivist but will always be a combination of all these theories. In this paper, I have adopted few theories of psychology which can help us to understand the causes behind State behavior. A State is representative of a nation that is made up of human society thus I believe the theories that can explain human behavior also has the potential to explain State behavior as well.

There is a need to discuss the shift from classical to critical geopolitics and further explore the theories of behavioral sciences so as to provide constructive solutions to understand state behavior and to conclude as to which is the right IR theory to be applied in particular situation. Studying IR along with psychological theories is a new and necessary approach for this field. The motive behind this new approach is that the politics of representation and identity formation can be better analyzed by the theories of inter-personal identity formation. The direct application of psychological theories is beneficial to examine the popular culture and fp² (popular sentiment on state foreign policy) (Dittmer, 2010). It is after all the people of India and China who ultimately construct the identity of the *self* and the *other*. Whereas the analogy of inter-personal relationship is beneficial to understand the Inter-state relationship and Fp³ (State formed Foreign policy) (Dittmer, 2010) because States also behave like individuals and this analogy might provide us with a better approach and enrich our understanding of the behavior of any State or a non-state actor. This study does not tend to suggest the assimilation of IR and psychology as one discipline but aims to use the resources of psychology for better understanding of IR.

²fp is the popular culture about the foreign policy of state which is written as Fp.

³ Fp is foreign policy of state

The initial efforts of linking the disciplines of Psychology and International politics are to understand the typology of leadership. The typologies were given by (Young, 1991), (Underdal, 1994) and (S. Anderson and S. Agrawala, 2002). These typologies of leadership are:

- 1) Power based leadership that discusses the material resources and can also provide the status of soft power to the country.
- 2) Intellectual leadership is based on knowledge. These leaders can influence the ideas of others about any cause, consequences or solutions to the problem.
- 3) Entrepreneurial leadership is about taking the first step, discussing/designing the solutions, creating the compromises etc.
- 4) Unilateral leadership is about hegemonic superpower (Kindleberger, 1973)(Gilpin, 1982). This particular type of leadership directly affects the decision making of the State

The process of decision making varies on the basis of leadership. In international politics, the process of decision making was further elaborated by Snyder where he said that the decision makers are a part of social structure and it has conscious or unconscious effect on the process of decision making (Snyder, 1954, p. 56). He also states that an individual decision and collective decision in a same situation may differ from each other because an individual will consciously or unconsciously push his inclinations in decision making but for group it will result in some modifications (Snyder, 1954, p. 112). Robert Jervis, further elaborated the thought that the perceptions and misperceptions both play an equal role in the decision making process. Perceptions of the world and other actors diverge from reality in patterns that we can detect and for reasons that we can understand (Jervis, 1976, p. 1). He discussed how perceptions of actors can bring change in the same situation with the same object or other

actor and he later discussed how misperceptions can occur even in a shared culture due to general cognitive processes (Jervis, 1976, p. 8).

The above discussed literature that linked Psychology and International politics also proposes the need to further explore psychological devices as a method for better understanding of the events of International Relations. This approach can explain the events of international politics and further highlight the reasons of any action(s) of state or non-state actors in a better way. This paper of mine includes the theories of inter-personal identity formation to analyze the media representation in international politics. The emergence of non-state actors has also generated the need to study critical geopolitics and utilize the psychological devices to understand the alternative realities, counter realities and the efforts made to enhance self-esteem.

2.2.1 Constructive alternativism⁴ and media

Realities are always constructed through the representation of personal belief and ideology. There is always more than one reality since they are always differently constructed/represented in diverse angles by various actors. Each person has its own version of reality and so much so that George Kelly classifies these individual realities as *personal constructs*. These *personal constructs* have different angles and observations that may be valid at one point of time but the same construct may not be valid at some later time. Thus our interpretations of the world are subjected to revise or replacement. He calls it *constructive alternativism* (Kelly, 1991, p. 4). Alternative representation of national identity is also due to these *personal constructs*. Identity is never the same for each person. For nationalists, China is a ‘negative other’ whereas for the traders China is a positive other. Both the entities represent the identity

⁴ George A. Kelly, *The Psychology of Personal Constructs*, Routledge publishers, London: 1991, p4

of same nation but have a complete contrast to each other due to the *personal constructs* that they carry.

Media plays an important role in highlighting these *personal constructs* and narratives. Whenever the political world has intersected with a new media technology, it has provoked a test of leadership. The clash continued till the lessons learned are absorbed into the mainstream of politics (Neuman, 1996, p. 1). Movies can alter, reshape or influence the *personal constructs* and create an illusionary image because when the ideas represented in films reach the larger audience then the public opinion is expected to change and thereby create new popular culture (Benjamin I page, Robert Y Shapiro and Glenn R Dempsey, 1984, p. 86). 'such literature may suggest us the importance to shift from materialist attitude to see inter-state politics to more mixed one of social construction of the other'. For instance the constructed realities by Indian Cinema can influence the popular culture and also manipulate the public perceptions towards China.

2.2.2 Counterfactual thinking

As an extension to the theory of *constructive alternativism* we can look at the theory of *counterfactual thinking*. *Constructive alternativism* believes there are always different versions of reality based on *personal constructs*. Whereas the *counterfactual thinking* believes that reality is only one and the rests are counterfactual realities. The word Counterfactual itself means 'counter to the facts' (Roese, 1997, pp. 133-148). This theory discusses the thoughts of what might have been the outcomes of other past events. These alternative realities are based on causation, blame, prediction etc. These alternative realities are developed from the emotions of disappointment from past events; regrets, anger etc. The alternative outcomes direct a person to take right decisions in similar situations when they occur in the future. There

are four functional bases to the *counterfactual thinking*: behavioral, goal directed, collective decisions and benefits and consequences (Roese, 1994, pp. 804-818).

The *counterfactual thinking* is a general tendency of human thinking and for state to state relations this theory can be applied as an analogy because States also behave in similar pattern. Thus applying the theory that understands the individual behavior to understand the state behavior is justifiable. These counterfactuals are about the other possible outcomes of past actions of *self* or *other* and the same discussion is prevalent in international politics as well. Counterfactual thoughts about past self-action are predominant in any behavior of state or individual. If we take the example of India and China then the thought of what if China would not have attacked is a rare thought whereas the thought of what if Indian political entities would not have acted paralyzed under blind trust is more dominant. It always appears as what could be the outcome if military and political authorities would have acted along and military was given the orders in the right time.

2.2.3 Theory of Self-enhancement

The *self-enhancement* theory⁵ (Michael J Strube and Constantine Sedikides, 1995) can also be applied to understand the State behavior. *Self-enhancement* is about the efforts by *self* to maintain the self-esteem and stay motivated (Kruegar, 1998, pp. 505-516). This psychology becomes more prominent to feel good about self in situations of any threat, failure or setbacks to the self-esteem. There are different strategies of *self-enhancement* used by individuals. They highlight their skills in comparison with others or criticize others to prove them better. This makes individuals to feel satisfied and believe that they own more qualities than others

⁵The self enhancement motive refers to people's desire to enhance the positivity or decrease the negativity of self-concept either by highlighting the virtues of themselves or by comparing their virtues with positives/negatives of other, The multiply motivated Self, Constantine Sedikides and Michael J Strube, 1995, Personality and social psychology bulletin

and are more worthy. There are two stages of *self-enhancement*; direct and indirect. The individuals with low self-esteem will engage in different forms of *self-enhancement* than the individuals with high self-esteem (R. F. Baumeister and D.M. Tice, 1985). The thought was further elaborated by Jonathan D. Brown. He mentioned that the people with high self-esteem engage in direct *self-enhancements* that directly links the self with positive identities and outcomes. In direct self-esteem enhancements, individuals' display self-esteem enhancing biases that are centered directly on the self. The indirect *self-enhancement* is used by the individuals with low esteem. The positive identities and outcomes are indirectly linked by virtue of one's association with others. The 'Self' here involves the 'Other' members from the social world for their esteem enhancing biases (Brown, 1988, pp. 445-453). For example a nation with high esteem will highlight its own virtues for esteem enhancement whereas a nation with low esteem will compare itself with the nation that has high esteem.

There is always a danger of *self-enhancement* bias which is the tendency of describing *self* as more positive than the actual worth. This *Self-enhancement* can still be applied to study the *personal constructs* of a state that how a state presents itself. To achieve high (or low) self-esteem, states also tend to highlight their positive factors in comparison to the negatives of other states. At the international level, India and China both make their own attempts of *self-enhancement*. Both the nations stresses on their soft powers and better governance etc. The same can be seen for any conflict where both the parties try to portray oneself as a positive and believes the same. For example, India and Pakistan both portray their positive esteem at international level and make a comparison with each other by highlighting their own virtues and representing the *other* as negative.

In this study it will be discussed that how media representation has been used as a tool for the enhancement of self-esteem. To justify its claims, *self-enhancement* at times is motivated by *constructive alternativism* and also relies upon the *counterfactual thinking*.

Media as a contributor to this *self-enhancement* manipulates the popular culture and creates a better and positive *self* in geopolitical architecture.

2.3 Conclusion

In this chapter I have widely discussed the changing nature of geopolitics and the tools of psychology which are important as internal approaches to understand the identity formation of *self*-versus *other*. This new approach to study international relations is a necessity; since the discipline of IR has limited literature about the politics of representation and about the rationality of decision making by state or non-state actors. As mentioned above, Dr Jervis stated that even if the state actors behave in similar pattern the process of decision making is still important. The decision might have been taken in a dilemma, self-defeat or irrationality. The decision of all actors may be same, but the motives are different. It is often discussed in the field of international relations that this new approach will provide us theoretical explanation of understanding the rationality behind any actions of the actors of international politics.

CHAPTER-3

IS CINEMA REALLY A POPULAR DISCOURSE?

There are various ongoing debates about Bollywood breaking the Great Wall of China, and the increasing market for Indian movies in China. On the other hand, we find that China is rarely represented in Indian movies. Does this gap represent the political tension between both the countries or a psychological barrier is an interesting aspect to consider. One of the psychological barriers is the lack of will from Indian side to understand about the victimizer that was China in 1962. Contradicting to the previous argument, the state also use cinema as a mean of propaganda to deconstruct the identity of challenger. Media has always remained the source of common knowledge and it was as a propaganda weapon during the cold war time period. The same technique is recently being used against the Muslim world after 9/11 attacks.by (Flint, 2006).

To further conceptualize above mentioned psychological barriers in media representation, we analyze more on Indian cinema and its reflections. Darrell William Davis has proposed three ‘models of reflections’ about a national film industry. These are the *Reflectionist model*, which evaluates a national film industry in relation to national politics; the *Dialogic Model*, which examines the similarities and differences between a national cinema and other national cinemas; and the *Contaminated Model*, which considers national cinema to be a compartment of a larger international institution (Davis, 1996, pp. 17-25). In this paper, we focused on the first model that is the Reflectionist Model, as we need to study the Indian film industry and its relations with national policies or state to state relations. It is the key to understand Indian film industry and its relations with national policies or state to state

relations. Reflectionist model describes cinema and national politics as a reflection of each other.

3.1 Power of ‘Imagology’⁶

Any media representation that constructs an identity, dominant social discourses and imageries can be termed as an *imagology*. *Personal constructs* or counterfactual ideas both capitalizes the power of imagology to directly influence the popular culture and contribute to the esteem enhancement. It is difficult to define the ‘popular discourse’ by itself, but the simplest way to define the popular discourse is that the idea or discourse that is liked and favored by many people. Films have the ultimate motive of making profit, and for this commercial purpose, they always play safe by representing the popular discourse so as to achieve easy acceptance by the larger audience. At times films consciously or unconsciously contribute to our understanding of past and the present both. Films might not be the primary source of knowledge about International relations, but still they are a valuable adjunct. Films are one of the most common and the most powerful instrument for dispensing the information about the world we live in and the myriad interactions among its countries and people. Films carry the great potential to dramatize any simple event and grab public attention towards the event (Gregg, 1998). The authors like Cynthia Weber have made wonderful attempts to understand international relations with the help of movies.

Cinema strikes the chords of both ‘emotion’ and intellect, and the power of cinema is unmatched. Indian cinema has contributed immensely to the cultivation of nationalism. Indian cinema has had a tremendous impact on our people, cutting across religious, regional, linguistic and economic barriers. Moreover, they have also proved their unsurpassed power of

⁶Any representation by media can be termed as imagology (Hugo’s idea) that constructs an identity, dominant social discourses and imageries construct an identity (John Osborne and Michael Wintle, 2006, p. 15)

communicating both to educated and illiterate masses. It can be claimed that the Indian cinema has made unmatched contribution to strengthen the bonds of national integration, counter the divisive feeling, educate the people about our shared national history, and through all this reinforced in them the pride and love for their motherland (Advani, 2005)'. Thus, one can confidently state that the films can be highly influence, and they represent or generate the popular discourses Not only in India, but on the Chinese side also, movies, TV series etc. are producing a different narrative of Japan in order to forget the humiliation of Japanese invasion. One can claim that movies are used as a tool by the States to generate new identity and construct the new *self* by representing a new *other*. Same is visible in an Indo-Pak relation movie like Border or LOC. This movie fills a person with nationalism and anti-Pakistan feeling whereas the movies like Veer-Zara, Dil Bole Hadippa or Refugee is left with thoughts of humanity, brotherhood and love between India and Pakistan. The same can be applied towards understanding of the Indo-China relations at political and social level. To understand the Chinese images in Indian discourse the film study has the caliber to provide best answers. To understand the differences that have come from the early 20th century to the 21st century, it's required to start from the history and compare the representation of China from past to the present.

3.2 Biases of imagology

Though we believe that cinema represents the popular discourse, yet we cannot deny that it has its own biases. The question that appears is that the movies represent the popular discourse or the ideas promoted by particular interest groups? The producers at times might not always be tapping the thoughts of the whole society but just some interest groups. There is no common 'popular discourse' as there might be different sentiments that are accepted at

wider levels and what one group accepts, might not be accepted by the other. We can link it with the *constructive alternativism*. In this scenario, how can we define popular discourse? Is popular discourse free enough to choose for itself? While studying the Chinese image in Indian media, the same question arises and that is about distinguishing between the truth and the selective truth. Most of the Indian movies are nationalist in nature and carry their own biases like director's bias, concern towards public agitation, social sentiment, censorship issues etc. For example the 1962 war movie *Haqeeqat* carries its own bias of narrating a brave and glorious image of Indian side in the war though the history narrates a different story. The movies carry the ability to over-simplify the history (Gregg, 1999) and that is done with some personal bias which might not represent the whole public discourse but the discourse of a particular interest group.

States also hold the censorship power and that brings the state biasness into the picture. When a movie represents the anti-state sentiment which might be a reality/truth but state curtails it in the name of censorship. Thus we can argue that the identity representation is also a matter of power. What story is narrated or represented depends on the power of the actors involved. For example, The Henderson-Brooks report that came on 1962 war is kept as a secret document with Ministry of Defense. This can be considered as bias attempt to hide the negative image of India that the report might generate. Such state censorship should be avoided if we argue in the favor of freedom of speech. On the other side, such controls are highly required to avoid some serious confrontations for example the movie 'Innocence of Muslims' became a big issue in the middle east as it represented anti-Islamic content. To maintain better/smoothen governance as well as general peace at large, at times, such state controls on media are necessary to be in the hands of the State. This can be understood from the fact that had Bollywood come out with more anti-Chinese movies in the post-war era, then that would have aggravated the tension between both nations.

3.3 Market, globalization and changing boundaries

Economic interdependence forces the popular sentiments to reconstruct (Gregg, 1998, p. 165). Indian public sentiments are anyways market driven. Indian people are unaffected by international politics but are more involved in regional or sub-regional politics. On the other side, markets directly influence the Indians and they get influenced by the market dominance. In the 21st century, Chinese products have started dominating the Indian markets and this economic liberalization has started strengthening the Indian popular discourse towards China. People are more interested in the economic growth of China and its markets rather than holding the bitter memories of 1962. Along with increasing economic interdependence, the Indian film industry is a much more organized sector where it sees China as a huge market. The market behavior is generally dominated by the geopolitical architecture constructed by non-state actors rather than the architecture constructed by State. Here the non-state actors are free market entities who are free to choose their views towards the *other*.

Popularity of Indian movies has increased in China. Representing China in Indian movies can maximize the overseas collections of movies from China. On Indian perspective, negative or ignorant attitude of Indian film makers towards China is vanishing because Indian masses are now curious to know about China and as mentioned before that the public utilizes movies as a medium of soft knowledge. Thus for Indian film makers, the Chinese representation thus brings win-win situation from Indian and Chinese markets both. May be the same has led to the meeting between the senior government officials from both countries where India and China have agreed to setup a joining working group for films and television. The meeting took place after the inauguration of the first Chinese Film Festival in New Delhi in 2013, organized by Indian Government's directorate of film festivals. (Jha,

2013). This workgroup will consider the possibilities of co-production agreements between both the nations and will facilitate the shooting of films on both side of the border. This group will also encourage the exchange of trained personnel and exchange of more movies and television shows.

The Internet technology that arrived with globalization also acted as a bridge between India and China. Media has witnessed the three waves of revolution: first was the arrival of print media, which increased the flow of information yet was majorly under state control. Second wave was the arrival of digital media that gain little more freedom than the print media. And the third wave was the arrival of online media in 21st century, which liberated the communication and flow of information. India and China both were a closed societies but the media revolution had opened both the societies towards each other (Thumin, 2012, p. 157) and acted as a bridge that reduced the communication gap of last forty years.

With globalization in 21st century, Chinese markets have not only dominated the Indian markets but also outsourced its culture. In India, Chinese food, martial arts, paintings, love for Chinese language all has increased. This cultural assimilation is one sided as Indian goods have neither entered the Chinese market nor China has huge Indian diaspora. This assimilation should be hyphenated if India aims to become a regional power. India should increase its soft power or outsource its Indian diaspora to China.

3.4 Nationalism versus commercialization in Movies

Though the movies are the reflection of society, the ultimate motive of movies is to generate profit for its makers. To analyse this debate it is required to analyze the balance of nationalism and commercialization in movies while representing the identity of *other* state. According to Benedict Anderson, a community links its identity with nationalism which he

states as vocabulary of kinship and/or the feeling of homeland (Anderson, 1983). State tends to take a stronger stand for protecting its sovereignty where it defends itself not only against external but also internal threats. For example, Indian state faces external threats from other states and internal threats from domestic matters like Kashmir issue, Maoism and Naxalism.

The most important lessons of patriotic education are based on geography (Dodds, 2007, p. 88). Indians are always taught that Kashmir is the crown of our country or China has wrongly captured the Indian lands. Similarly in PRC, China uses its media to promote the anti-secession law of 2005⁷ and the people are taught that Taiwan is an integral part of China itself. Indian Cinema incorporates geographical lessons through its patriotic movies like LOC-Kargil, Border, Prem Pujari and Haqeeqat to state the international threat and the movies like Chakravayuh and Tango Charlie are produced to counter internal threat.

The parallel to the patriotism argument, the commercialization states that the film makers prefer to represent the popular discourse so that the movie receives an easy acceptance from the audience. Film makers, in general do not carry the motive of representing the political agendas but they use this popular sentiments of nationalism for their profit maximization. India and China have had tension at political level which is also reflected in social and economic sphere. This tension has always remained passive in all spheres in form of ignorance towards each other rather than confrontationist situations. Bollywood also followed the same pattern that was ignorant towards China rather than representing anti-China sentiment as it did in case of Pakistan. It is an interesting aspect to study that the ignorance of Chinese representation in Indian movies is reflection of political tension or carried commercial reasons. India has always shared a tensed relationship with China and Pakistan both but the Bollywood film makers were more active towards Pakistan and passive towards China. The

⁷ The anti-secession law passed on 14th march 2005 declared 'one china' as mainland and Taiwan both. PRC also declared to use non peaceful means against Taiwanese independence movement in the event of a declaration of independence. http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200503/14/eng20050314_176746.html

reason is the popular discourse which is more active towards Pakistan whereas it is kind of passive towards China. India and Pakistan share common history and people on both the sides of border love to see or talk about each other. The same difference is reflected in the movies where Bollywood has huge number of movies that represented Pakistan but very few movies that represented China. Movies can be successful by representing the popular discourse or by using the social sentiment. India-Pakistan partition based movies like *Pinjar*, *Earth*, *Refugee*, and *Veer-Zara* represented the pain of partition that people carried in their hearts. Portraying this social sentiment onscreen provided the outcomes of successful box office numbers, commercial profits and government funds in support. Bollywood also has huge number of movies representing Europe and America because of the large NRI community reside in these countries especially the Punjabi community. For the same reason to appease the Indian diaspora the Hollywood movies are also shot in India for example movies like James Bond movie and The Exotic Marigold movies were shot in Udaipur, Rajasthan and a lot of recent movies covered the Indians and were shot at various places in India. Comparatively China does not have such a huge India Diaspora. On the other hand, India and China had very less interaction in political, social and economic sphere and the same reflected in movies.

In the last few years, the cultural assimilation between India and China has increased. Indian movies are highly popular in China for an example 3 Idiots and *Ghajini* were great hits in China and also have Chinese dubbed versions. With this, the movie makers are also focusing on China and the 21st century movies like Chandani Chowk to China and Mickey Virus is some of the examples in this series. Bollywood became active towards China and the signing of joint agreements discussed above reflects the social scenario where people are becoming more interested in China and the film trade is reacting to the same by actively representing China in movies. The question here is that which sentiment is more dominating, nationalism or commercialization? Nationalism is an exclusive factor that can over-rule the

economic interdependence (Gregg, 1998, p. 55) and due to this popular sentiment reacts more towards the nationalism than the economic interests. Still it is very difficult to specify that the driving force of cinema is nationalism or commercialism as they are selectively used to suit the need of political need of the state. Also there is a challenging argument of market driven sentiment does not apply in case of India- Pakistan. This is because India-Pakistan relationship is not purely a political factor that is driven by nationalism. Pakistan and India share a common history and have a love-hate relationship where people on both sides of border are confused between the boundaries of *self* or *other*. Thus it can be argued that the nationalism and commercialization swaps the roles depending on the situations. Thus we have to analyse the other driving forces behind representation.

3.5 Driving Forces behind Chinese Representation in Bollywood

As we have observed that the Chinese image has always been very fluctuating in Indian cinema, it leads us to the question of finding the possible driving forces behind such fluctuating representation. The possible three arguments are: reflection of political tension, popular culture or some commercial motive. The first argument of political tension believes that the Indian movies have always directly or indirectly reflected the political relations between both the countries and the popular discourse. The gap in political interactions is also visible in Indian cinema. In this context, one can argue that the political relations and popular culture appears parallel to each other. In the discussion of all the movies made till now it is noticeable that in 21st century movies, China is being portrayed in a neutral image rather than all negative one. The Indian political agenda is also visible as an attempt to eliminate the humiliating memories of Sino-Indian war of 1962. The change must have appeared due to the ease in political tensions.

Second argument discusses the ignorance of Indian cinema in social aspect of popular culture. Movies can achieve great commercial success by catering to the popular discourse or by using the social sentiment. Portraying this social sentiment onscreen brings great success, commercial profits and government funds in support. As discussed above, Bollywood has huge number of movies that represented Pakistan but not China because Indians popular discourse is lively towards Pakistan or a huge number of movies representing Europe and America because of the large number of NRIs residing in these countries.

The third argument explains that the economic interdependence forces the popular sentiments to reconstruct. The Indian public sentiments as discussed previously are market driven. The public gets directly affected by any shift in the market. In the present scenario, China has strong influence over Indian markets and that is increasing the curiosity of Indian public to know China as a whole. The 1962 memories are being overlapped by the positive attitude towards the economic growth of China which brings the hope of a power shift towards Asia. China is no more seen as threat to Indian national security and the same is reflected in Indian film industry. Today, Indian Movie industry is a much more organized sector and sees China as a huge market. Negative or ignorant attitude of Indian film makers towards China is vanishing because Indian masses are interested in discovering China.

3.5 Conclusion:

In this chapter, we analyzed the Hugo's idea of imagology that is any media representation which represents an image and contributes in making of an identity. The imagology has the power of illusion and also carries the biases of presenter. The pattern of imagology in cinema always shifts and this can be linked with the concept of nationalism and commercialization. The economic interdependence has increased with the globalization and

the popular sentiment is commercialized to make the profits. In situations of threat to national sovereignty, the feeling of nationalism can over-rule the economic interests. To deepen the understanding we analyze the shifts in representation that can be understood from three perspectives of practical, popular and formal geopolitics. The argument of practical geopolitics is that the economic interdependence has activated the political interactions between both the nations and such active practical geopolitics towards China is reflecting in Bollywood. The second argument of formal geopolitics can be linked with the discourses of economic interdependence and rising China which academicians are enthusiastically discussing and same is reflecting in Bollywood. The third argument of popular geopolitics states that the China is growing market for Bollywood and Indian public is also interested in learning about China and these market and popular sentiment based discourses are reflecting in Bollywood. The links of these three perspectives of media representation can better be understood via psychological devices.

CHAPTER-4

CHINA IN INDIAN POPULAR CULTURE

Indian and Chinese state emphasizes more on their identity as a ‘soft power’ at international level. As stated earlier, each state identity is twofold where state uses public diplomacy as a tool for this global representation of soft power identity. To analyze further we study the politics of identity (Chinese state identity) representation in Indian cinema (Indian popular cultural representation). The Indian cinema has always consciously or unconsciously reflected the popular discourses and the state to state relationship. It has well pictured the fluctuating history that was shared by both, that is from cooperative in pre Sino-India war to animus post Sino-India war and then relationship is recovering back towards the cooperative in the present context. The gap the state to state relationship that was formed after the Sino-Indian war was reflected in popular culture. Thus we can argue that the political relations and popular culture are influenced by each other.

Indian mass imagines/understands various national events through ‘imagology’ of Bollywood. The theory of *constructive alternativism* can explain this power of illusion that cinema carries. An actor or director can represent their *personal constructs* and influence others with the power of *imagology*. Cinema through its power of illusion can construct new realities. When ideas are represented in films, which reach large audiences, public opinion is expected to change and create new popular culture. Cinema can construct, reconstruct and deconstruct the idea or identity. The realities constructed by Indian Cinema can influence the popular culture and also manipulate the Indian public’s perceptions towards China.

The psychological devices can provide a deeper explanation of the pattern of any representation. The theories of *constructive alternativism*, *counterfactual thinking* and *self-enhancement* can better explain that why a particular character, scene or theme line was represented and what significance it carried to influence the popular culture. For example, a dialogue refusing the common perception can be linked with *counterfactual thinking* or a dialogue representing the *other* as a negative can be justified by the theory of *self-enhancement*.

4.1 China in Indian cinema

Very few Hindi movies have projected India and China relationship. Thus I have used the seven Bollywood movies from 1939 to 2013 that represented China or Chinese community. In a closer examination, these movies clearly represent the change in the state to state relationship between both the two countries. The movies can be grouped under four sets. The first set of case study discusses the pre-independence friendly Sino-Indian relations. The second set of movies discusses about the Chinese community in Kolkata and the tension of Chinese mafia. The third set of movies belongs to the post-1962 war era and portrays the bitterness in India and China relationship. These movies represent the popular discourse about 1962 war memories and Chinese support to Pakistan in 1965 war. The fourth set of movies belongs to 21st century that discusses about the cultural assimilation, Chinese technology and Chinese sale of weapons to Pakistan which are prevalent in the present popular discourse of India. There is a vacuum of forty years between the third set and fourth set which is an outcome of less or no political interaction between both the nations after 1962 war. The case study also includes the 2012 documentary by public diplomacy division to understand the practical geopolitics towards China.

4.1.1 Pre Independence Sino-Indian Relations

The first set belongs to the time period where Indian Cinema began. *Dr Kotnis ki Amar Kahani* (the Immortal Story of Dr Kotnis) was the first movie to represent the India-China relations on big screen. The movie *Dr Kotnis ki Amar Kahani* (DKAK, 1946) was released in the year 1946. One of the important purposes served by the movie was to introduce Indian public to a historical character who is not much mentioned in literature (Richard, 2010). The movie described the Sino-Indian friendly relations through the lifetime service of an Indian doctor, Dwarkanath Kotnis to Chinese citizen during the Japanese invasion. He is still remembered in China with great respect. Kaka Wong, a Chinese character in this movie compares Gautam Buddha with Dr Kotnis and says that ‘Buddha has come to heal our injured souls and now Kotnis has come to heal our injured bodies’. This biopic represented the era where India and China both were engulfed in the fight for independence and shared a very healthy and friendly state to state relationship. The same could be referred to Panchsheel treaty which was signed between the two states in the year 1954. This treaty talks about the political agreement of establishing friendly relationship, respecting sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference, cooperation and peaceful coexistence.

The next Indian movies in this study discuss the issues in a very soft tone due to the political emphasis on friendly relations or Panchsheel. The *personal constructs* can be used to study this set of movies. The director has presented his *personal constructs* of believing in the friendly relations along with the practical geopolitics and introduced the great historical character to the Indian popular culture.

4.1.2 Chinese Mafia in Kolkata

Post-independence, though both the nations shared friendly state to state relationship there existed an internal threat to Indian society that come from Chinese mafia in Kolkata. During 1950s and 1960s, Mafia trade had highly increased in India making Kolkata as the prime hub for the Chinese mafia activity. The city also had a huge Chinese community that migrated to India with Dr Rabindranath Tagore. These mafia activities were pictured in the *Howrah Bridge* (Howrah Bridge, 1958) and in *China Town* (China Town, 1962). Both the movies were directed by Shakti Samant who reflected his interest on the situation of Kolkata through the movies. The movie can be analyzed through the concept of *personal constructs*, as the director marginally presented Chinese mafia impact on the Kolkata citizen in the movies. Due to the cooperative and friendly state to state relationship, the director could not directly villainize the Chinese rather he had softly represented the presence of Chinese mafia in China Town, Kolkata. Later this Panchsheel effect was broken with the Sino-Indian War and the directors were free enough to express their negative view of Chinese.

4.1.3. Sino-Indian War

The Sino-Indian War of 1962, completely swiped the political and popular sentiment. This war was projected on silver screen in 1964 by Chetan Anand in a war documentary film named *Haqeeqat* (Haqeeqat, 1964). The movie was produced with the aid of Defense ministry and Government of Punjab. This movie tells us the same story but blames China for the paralyzed Indian political community that China being a friend backstabbed India. This is the power of cinema where the story of India China battle had been told but managed to generate sympathy towards Indian politics/soldiers and hatred towards China. *Haqeeqat* starts with a

note⁸ of dedication to Pt. Jawaharlal Lal Nehru which can be directly linked with the state's political agenda. The last words of the note mention that 'the story begins in July 1962 when Chinese aggression was unthinkable' and the same thought has been stressed quite a few times in the movie. The theory of *counterfactual thinking* can be applied into this situation where the movie represented victimization of India through Chinese betrayal. There are several dialogues⁹¹⁰¹¹ in the movie which represented the same idea and signifies that the movie attempts to construct the Indian victimized/positive *self* against a negative Chinese *other*. The dialogues, song lyrics and the story line of Haqeeqat were built to breed high level of nationalism in Indian society.

This political involvement in the movie showed that it carried the motives of practical geopolitics of that time. But if the movie was brought back as the Ketan Anand, the son of Haqeeqat director Chetan Anand states, it will be really interesting to see the repercussions or acceptance of the same movie in the current period. Another interesting aspect to consider is that the political community had not objected Mr. Anand from reviving the war memory. The reason behind this no objection can be linked with various arguments like freedom of expression in media or acceptance by mass based on market's need or may be Haqeeqat is not being seen as a threat.

Six years after Haqeeqat, the movie Prem Pujari (Worshiper of Love) (Prem Pujari, 1970) was released in 1970. This movie projected India as a peace loving *self* and China as a

⁸Starting Note of movie Haqeeqat: "This film is dedicated in all humility to the late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru who always was and still remains the source of inspiration for all such efforts and to those of his soldiers who laid down in defense of their country fighting against the aggression of October 1962 in Ladakh. Producer is grateful to the go of Punjab government without whose efforts film could not be made, ministry of defense and Army Chief, officers and men of Army and Air force stationed in Bombay Srinagar and Ladakh for their assistance in shooting the major scenes in Bombay Srinagar n Ladakh. Story begins in July 1962 when Chinese aggression was unthinkable" (Haqeeqat, 1964).

⁹ 'A friend has backstabbed whom we always welcomed and even honored their leader by allowing him to award our soldiers and now their leader has sent forces to bloodshed the same soldiers'

¹⁰ 'India is country of Buddha, Ashoka and Gandhi but not that of a coward'.

¹¹ 'If our friend country has become the snake, then it should be treated like a snake'

deceptive *other* who was conspiring against India and secretly helping Pakistan in initiating the 1965 India Pakistan war.

This movie released during the time when public discourse was against China for secretly helping Pakistan. In this movie, Chinese soldiers were shown to be extremely brutal who even kill a small dog that was regularly seen at the border. The famous phrase of *Hindi-Chini Bhai* (Indians and Chinese are brothers) had also been used quite a few times in the movie. It was projected that Chinese did not invest any value this phrase and mentioned it but acted differently as the Chinese soldiers were shown killing Indians, attempting rape against an Indian girl while saying the same phrase. Further the movie projects the political agenda of emphasizing the Indo-Tibetan emotional ties against China. This storyline appeared as an attempt to reconstruct a stronger *self* as India and weaker *other* that is China whose hostile plan was failed single handedly by an Indian soldier. Largely the movie tried to deconstruct the humiliating memories of Indian defeat in 1962 Sino-Indian war and create a new *self* which is stronger than the *other*.

The counterfactual theory of collective action is more applicable to understand the *Haqeeqat* and political scenario of that time as it is all about the actions that India had taken. The *personal constructs* explains the director's biases where he had represented Indian soldiers as extremely brave ones fighting with hundreds of Chinese soldiers. In Prem Pujari, the theory of *counterfactual thinking* and the theory of *self-enhancement* provide interesting perspective. A single Indian failed all the harmful plans of Chinese. There might be an unconscious or conscious counterfactual thought as well that similar to 1965 as presented in movie, the Chinese plans of 1962 could also be failed if the espionage system had spied on China and not blindly trusted over them. These movies mark the very clear boundaries of Indian 'us' and Chinese 'them'. After Prem Pujari, Bollywood saw a clear gap of forty years in representing China in Indian cinema though Europe remained hot favorite in romantic films

and Pakistan remained hot favorite in war films. Does this gap symbolize the 1962 tensions and the political gap that both the countries carried in that year?

4.1.4Renewed other – Chinese identity in 21st Century

CCTC (Chandani Chowk to China, 2009) released in the year 2009. The movie was released at the time when Chinese culture was popularizing in India in form of food, dressing and martial arts. The selection of theme that represents Chinese culture seems to be an unconscious influence of popular sentiment (inclined towards China) on director's thoughts. Another market driven argument was that the director might have had his own motives of making a grip over Chinese market where Bollywood movies were quite popular.

Mickey Virus is the last and most recent movie in the series (Mickey Virus, 2013). As we know that the electronic markets all over are filled up with Chinese products. It is a movie based on computer hacking but shows lots of Chinese gadgets and makes fun of them that how Chinese gadgets work impressively for a short time and then breaks-down. In the present context, Indian popular discourse shares the same idea that Chinese gadgets are cheaper and fancier, but do not last longer.

The movie does not only make a mockery of Chinese products, but also brings up a political issue Chinese's sale of weapons to Pakistan. In 2013, this sale of weapons remained central point of discussion in Indian popular discourse. This movie represents some Chinese authorities who are guiding Pakistani authorities to work against India. This movie manages well to comically represent the current Indian popular sentiment towards China along with its storyline.

4.2 Chinese representation in political documentary(Practical Geopolitics):

Apart from these movies, a documentary named *Down the Ages: India and China* was released in 2012. This documentary was an outcome the practical geopolitics towards China. *Down the ages* was produced by Indian public diplomacy division which was a part of Indian ministry of external affairs. Though the reach of documentary is not as wide as for the above movies but it represents perspective of Indian political elite who directly constructs the foreign policies. The documentary provides the short history of political relationship between two nations from 6th BC to contemporary relationship. . Documentary discussed various events that include how Nehru and Changhai Skheikh support each other's independence struggle. In the present context the documentary pictures' the current exchange of bilateral trade and healthy relationship in each other's economic growth. The only missing thread in this documentary was the year 1962 Sino-India war. It can be stated that this documentary by Indian government is targeted to deconstruct the bitter memories and to reconstruct the friendly history. This documentary indirectly passes a message by stating that people on both lands desire peace and prosperity. Movies have the illusionary power to alter the history. Recent movies are doing the same and they are generating an entirely new perspective towards China. This new approach will motivate both the sleeping giants to rework their historical links (Budha, 2008, p. 11).

4.3 Psychological devices and Media representation

In analyzing the non- political India China war documentaries from the era of 1962 war represent a different perspective of the story than Haqeeqat. The documentary *62' India China war* clearly states the mistakes on Indian side as well (Unnithan, 2012) because it has no political agenda to legitimize the Indian side and dilute the feelings of humiliation. In a

documentary, General Shantanu Chowdhary said that the political leadership and military leadership did not gel with each other. Brigadier John Dalvi said that the army was not well equipped to fight in those extreme conditions. The Henderson-Brooks report also stated that the mistakes were also made on the Indian side (Arpi, 2011). Haqeeqat being a highly patriotic movie that carried the political burden of saving national image had to brush out many facts. The Indian popular culture or the common people of India believe more in Haqeeqat than these academic documentaries or statements. This is the outcome of biases towards the *self*. The movie had agenda of self-esteem enhancement and also indirectly represented the *counterfactual thinking* that we would have won the war if military was given the orders in right time. The movie *Dr Kotnis ki Amar Kahani* also had personal biases of director to brush out the facts that he chose to not mention in movie. For example: He did not mention that Kotnis joined communist party in China. Haqeeqat is called a pure political propaganda, but it managed to represent the paralyzed political community without creating any controversy.

This study highlights the power of media to construct, reconstruct and deconstruct any identity or ideology again and again. The movie on Dr Kotnis glorifies the friendship between India and China with help of its biographical character Dr Kotnis. The director V. Shantaram has his own biases in depicting the story where he removed the part where Dr Kotnis and his troop assisted communists and joined the communist party and worked in the service of Mao Tse-tung. The second and third movie by Shakti Samantra that represents the Chinese mafia in Kolkata carries the *personal constructs* of Mr. Samantra. He uses the Chinese community dwelling in Kolkata as *Other* and Indian protagonists as *self*. Though this community migrated along with Tagore and settled in Indian lands, a section of this migrated community is still portrayed as *other*. The same popular culture has been used by director with his vision of Chinese mafia in Kolkata. The 1964 movie Haqeeqat clearly has political motive and biases of Indian *Self-enhancement* to dilute the humiliation of Indian defeat. There are different views

on Haqeeqat but all still meet our agenda to prove that all the media representation have its own biases and they use the power of imagology to portray their *personal constructs* along with popular culture. The next movie in our series of case study has clear depiction of power of imagology where the director Dev Anand has well been represented as the pro-peace protagonist who becomes a nationalist and single handedly fails the conspiracies of China. The movie is presented with touches of reality about 1965 India-Pakistan war and anti-Chinese sentiment in Indian popular culture and also represents the *self-enhancement* bias of nationalist director Mr. Dev Anand. Chandani Chowk to China simply projects Chinese culture that made a special place in Indian popular culture during 21st century. The movie was produced at the international level which shows the increased interest of the world in India-China relations. The last movie in series represents the popular culture towards electronic items of China and carries interesting *personal constructs* of director along with realities where he comically manages to represent the no guarantee of Chinese items and China selling weapons to Pakistan and using the voice of Navjot Singh Siddhu, a famous Indian personality to converse in Hindi with Pakistani authorities.

Thus we can mention that theories of *constructive alternativism*, *counterfactual thinking* and theory of *Self-enhancement* can very well explain the biases of media representation in any scenario. It is not only about the movies utilized for the case study but same can be applied for deeper understanding of any media representation. Along with this, the field of IR also needs to explore the additional devices from behavioral sciences that can be applied in various situations of international politics. These case studies have simply cleared that the practical and popular geopolitics reflects on each other and for the same reason, the media representation also saw the gap and ignorance towards China during the time of political ignorance between both the nations.

In this chapter, I have analyzed four sets of movies to understand the Chinese representation of identity. The movies were divided on basis of timeline of political events. The commonality in all movies discussed in this chapters states that the nature of representation in Bollywood always fluctuates with the political relations. We can argue that the media links practical and popular geopolitics and represents practical, popular and formal all three sectors of geopolitics. In the context of 21st century, China is being portrayed in a neutral image rather than all negative one. The main reason can be linked with the concept of economic interdependence and the argument of nationalism and commercialization as discussed in previous chapter. The shifts in nature of representation can be understood from psychological analysis of actors of practical, popular and formal geopolitics who contributes in making of a new *other* to regenerate the identity of *self*.

CHAPTER-5

DERIVING THE ‘NEW’ *SELF* FROM ‘NEW’ *OTHER*

The previous chapters have analyzed the *self* and *other* relationship through theories and case study. The one commonality in both is that *self* and *other* are correlational. In this chapter, we will explore the deviations in the concept of *self* and the *other*. Indian formal geopolitics is trying to place itself as a regional power and Indian popular media is also reflecting the same aspiration and contributing to concede the popular discourse. Politics utilizes media as first mechanism to put forth its view to the mass, and in some of the situation, media is also used for political propagandas and image building. This political propaganda thought can be referred back to the movies from case study like *Haqeeqat* or the documentary *down the ages*. I will also discuss the conceptual implications and compare with similar case studies.

The first part of the chapter discusses core implication of psychological tools on the identity construction. Further it explores the political implications of redefining the *other*. This idea of new *other* is deeply politicized under inter-state politics. The next argument discusses the critical geopolitics where the geopolitics is dependent on non-materialist view towards geopolitics. The non-materialist view is about identity created by social realities, which is a combination of psychology and material conditions. There are always variations in the selfhood, which are differently generated by practical, formal and popular geopolitics. The last section of this chapter discusses the conceptual implications that how *self* and *other* can be used for construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of inter-state politics.

5.1 Necessity of psychological tools to analyze the making of *self* and *other*

The shifts of identity and making of *self* and *other* can be better understood in the lights of psychological devices. As said that the theory is the medium to understand a set of practices which provides the same outcomes when applied in similar situations. To receive the correct outcome, it's also necessary to apply the right theory. If same theory is generalized and applied in all spheres, it will give limited outcomes. To receive the correct outcomes, the discipline of IR has to go deeper into the process of any decision making. Mainstream International relations theories cannot cover each and everything in the sphere of world politics.(Kang, 2003). There is a need for different approach to define different behaviors. Dominance of any single theory limits the field of study and at the same time limits the expansion of theories. For long, the field of IR has ignored the cognitive experiences of actors but that can change the results and actions of various actors in similar situations. This paper stresses that the field of IR has to expand itself and adapt to the new approach so that it can have better tools to analyze each action and predict the future and also predict correct outcome/results of any event. The making of new *self* by generating a new *other* can never be complete without understanding the psychological reasons behind the process. The *other* might have been created to avoid the threat, to counter the insecurities, to enhance the esteem and to eliminate some past memories. Thus it is a necessity to have psychological tools to study the process of boundary making between *self* and *other* or to say between *us* and *them*.

5.2 Political implication of redefining the *other*

The identity of *other* is contributed by the political actors and media plays an important part in representing the *other* defined by political actors. Media industry is the emergence of a new supra-national regulatory environment in which the emphasis has shifted dramatically towards economic industry and competition policy (David Morley and Kevin Robins, 1995, p. 176). Policy makers refer back to media because it represents the popular discourse and media debates are thus incorporated in policy making. Thus we can say that the media holds the power to bring a shift in political decisions. The knowledge circulated in media is versatile and effect government policies. Government can control this media impact through regulations and use political power to control the movement of information. One of the similar regulations can be traced in Delhi gang rape case where an advisory from ministry of information and broadcasting banned the Sony television from airing the dramatic reconstruction of incident in its show crime patrol¹². After receiving the petition from an organization, Bhartiya stree shram Shakti, the *Broadcasting Content Complaints Council (BCCC)* stopped the channel from telecasting the show before the final verdict of the case. It believed that this telecast might affect the popular discourse and affect the final verdict. I believe the channel was stopped from airing the episode before final verdict because it might commercialize the case for TRPs or may be that the government had concerns about the increased pressure/anger from the masses against the gang rape criminals.

Movies carry political agendas or the political ideologies consciously or unconsciously from the time of its making. For example, the Bollywood movie Upkar which is based on the life of a farmer who turns out to be soldier later was made on the request of then Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri. Mr. Shastri gave the slogan of *Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan (Hail the*

¹²Crime Patrol in a weekly show on Sony television that focuses on unnoticed and brutal crimes which takes place in the corners of Indian continent.(Bhopatkar, 2013)

soldier, hail the farmer) and the same thought was represented in the movie. Similarly, Haqeeqat movie had a political agenda in its making. For the same reason, the contemporary movies can be a good resource to expand the understanding of the political scenario. For example James Bond series which is one of the most successful movie series has lot to say about Great Britain's political environment. Though the movie was fictitious in nature, the core of the movie was always fixed on issues that Great Britain was where facing at that time. During the cold war the James bond movies were mostly centered on Anti- Soviet, Anti-North Korean and Anti-Vietnamese themes. Later in post 9/11 era, the movies also started talking about non-traditional threat that are threats from non-state actors like terrorist organization. In current scenario, most of the American movies are representing the *war on terror*¹³. In Indian context, current movies are representing the anti-corruption ideologies since Anna Hazare movement became popular in the country or representing the women issues which is a popular discourse in present Indian society. For example, *Satyagrah* was inspired by anti-corruption crusader Anna Hazare and Jan Lokpal movement. The conceptualization of reflection of real politics on media could be taken further to Geopolitics.

5.3 Deviation in geopolitics

To invest value in above discussed geopolitical representations, we reconsider the debate of geopolitical architecture. Popular vision about world order is dependent on national myth/ truths, shift of political power, territorial narrative, international crisis and national threats. (Dijkink, 1999, pp. 293-299) Media plays a vibrant role in this popular vision. It is the media which can alter the popular discourse by spreading information and further it can contribute to the process of marking ideological boundaries between *self* and *other*. Media

¹³War on terror is transnational war campaign initiated by United States and allied army to eliminate Al-Qaida and allied groups

holds the power to either construct or deconstruct any idea or identity and it can take any experience and further amplify so that it becomes a national construction of image. Peter Eisenman claims that the popular discourse gets political and social structure from media (Eisenman, 1995, pp. 78-81). The boundary formation is divided on two stands, one is for the domestic society while the second one is on the state's national experience from the past, where the public representative (government) shuttle between both. Thus, the public representation (press) and foreign policies might not match in its delivery. The construction of identity based on geopolitics is very dynamic in nature where both state and non-state actor (interest groups) compete to define the *other* according to their own interests. As a result, the state which is dependent of the interest group has a different public representation to suit its internal political needs. For example, during the early periods of elections in the year 2013, political community tried to villainise Chinese encroachment on Indian borders where media also supported the state views. Simultaneously, business channels and media which are under the influence of business community tried desperately to rejuvenate its relationship with China due to the market incentives.

Self/other relationship is rooted through historic links, where technological changes automates or speeds up the collective perspective. Thereby identity formed and political reality might not match. The representation of collective is very vague. The media reflects the elite vision, elite control the complex political decision of a state, poses an informal link with multinationals and are directly or indirectly are involved in the state foreign policies. Thus the media's authenticity of representing collective is highly disputed. The media which has the power of constructing identity tends to deconstruct the political reality. That is media which tries to form secondary layer of identity of *other*. The very term identity is an outcome of an elite vision. This concept has another deviation when it comes to 'political anger'. When it comes to greater political tension like war, the nationalism takes a stronger hand than the elite

controlled geopolitics. Concept of *self* and *self*-interest tend to mirror the practice of *other*. The path to the construction of national identity is dependent on the character planning of self-reflection (Neumann, 1999, p. 32). Media also changes itself to accommodate and capture the self-reflection. For example global western networks like BBC, CNN were justifying NATO forces involvement in Arab World. To counter the anti-Islam image represented by these western networks, the Arab countries started their own channel Al-Jazeera. This new representation started impacting the popular discourse. Thus the new age media has the power to change the nature of popular geopolitics and make it more dynamic and dependent on current affairs. The day to day sentiments are affected by any representation in mass media. Mass media capacitates the public opinion. Social movements and *other* ideologies can achieve stronger position with the support of media that has the huge role in shifting popular sentiment which directly demands an action from practical geopolitics (Dodds, 2007, p. 149).

5.4 Conceptual implication

There is a relation between construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of any *self*-identity. This link is built upon the variables like facts or norms and real or ideal. These variables are based on constitutional norms, asocial politics and historical facts. For example, Indian geopolitics emphasizes on current market and economic liberalization to improve the Sino-Indian relations and change the emotional boundaries between both the nations. Indian geopolitics tries to deconstruct the 1962 war memories by zero mentioning of it and reconstruct the ancient ties by emphasizing on friendly relations before 1962. The same attempts can be discussed in the lights of documentary *down the ages* and our psychological device of *counterfactual thinking* (behavioral functional basis). Construction, deconstruction and reconstruction are strong political tools. Every fact has one reality and infinite versions of

ideal forms. Counterfactual imagination is used to emphasize either one or more than one of these infinite ideal forms for own political benefits (Rosenfeld, 2010, pp. 41-44). Through this research, we have identified few of this counterfactual imaginations like in the movie *Dr Kotnis ki Amar Kahani* where Kotnis was praised as a hero in an Indian movie where as the American documentary *Nightmare in Red China* (1955) has used the scenes of same Indian movie in their anti-communist propaganda during Cold war.

The *self-identity* is always evolving and never complete. The same idea can be utilized in the current context where Indian and Chinese economic relations are constructed and emphasized more on a positive side. It can be predicted that these positive perceptions towards China could be deconstructed once China becomes the regional dominating force where India would take more of an offensive position and emphasize more on factors like growing Chinese involvement in Pakistan or Chinese incursions in India or Chinese low quality products flooding in Indian markets. For example, United States' role in Afghanistan was initially seen as positive and negatives both. In present context the positive argument of US's attempt to control the global terrorism has been deconstructed and forgotten and only the negative argument of invasion is emphasized. In the same scenario, US is also struggling to reconstruct its identity as a positive one. The fragile relationship between self-identity and the popular sentiment is critical. The state uses tools like media to constantly construct, reconstruct and deconstruct *self* and/ *other* image to maintain this critical balance.

CHAPTER -6

CONCLUSION

The relationship between India and China has always fluctuated and the boundaries between *us* and *them* have shifted in all spheres of geopolitics. It is difficult to understand the identity of *self* without the *other*. Media plays the role of a connector where it represents the view of *self* towards the *other*. Media also links the practical geopolitics and popular geopolitics with each other. The politics of media representation is thus very important to understand the dynamics of *self* and *other* identity. The internal and external dimensions can be used to understand India/China relationship through media representation. The internal approach is linked with the psychological devices and this approach can provide deeper explanation of any events of international politics. In this paper this approach is also used to explore the hidden grammar of media representation or I may say that the basic motive behind any representation. The external approach can be linked with the 'external' factors such as economic interdependence or the role of nationality. The case study of Chinese representation in Indian cinema highlighted the different images of China that are represented in Indian cinema. The paper tried to understand the links between Fp (State foreign policy) and fp (Public discourse on foreign policy) that is reflected in popular discourse and media. Understanding the role of media and fluctuating image of China as *other* also provided a better understanding of contemporary history of Sino-Indian relations. Chapter two and three highlight the 'internal' and 'external' dimensions where the psychological or 'internal' approach is more important over the 'external' factors. The psychological devices provide a platform to incorporate the various non-materialistic factors that directly impact the collective choices. These tools of psychology also help us understand the rationality of any choice. The

psychological devices can further analyze that why the external factors contribute to construct, deconstruct or reconstruct any identity.

The second chapter starts with the understanding of geopolitics and discusses the shift from classical to critical geopolitics. The paper further explores the relation between critical architecture and media representation of *self/other* relationship. The chapter later discusses the theories of psychology that can provide us better understanding of rationality of choice. The theory of *Constructive alternativism* discusses the construction of alternative realities that is always more than one reality and these realities of every individual are called *personal constructs*. Later it shifts to the theory of *counterfactual thinking* which says that there is always one reality and rest are counter to the facts or as we may call it counterfactual alternative realities. Lastly the chapter shifts to the theory of *self-enhancement* and we can say that the alternative realities and counterfactual realities both can be used for esteem enhancement and carries *self-enhancement bias*.

The third chapter analyzes the external approaches to understand the contribution of media representation in generating a popular discourse which leads to the identity formation between *self* and *other*. The power of *imagology* describes the role of media in creating the *personal constructs*. Cinema is a source of soft knowledge but imagology is highly disputed due to its biases. Moving further, the chapter discusses the rationality of cinema representation of other state which is dependent on nationalism and/or commercialization. The concept of *self* and *other* relationship is also impacted through globalization, market expansion which has created and established boundaries beyond traditional territorial borders. Lastly, there are other non-political reasons of Chinese representation in India which links back to the history, socio-economic benefits, cultural assimilation and the expansion of social media technology.

Further in the paper, the implications of internal and external approaches have been applied to the case study of Indian cinema. The first set of case study discusses the pre-independence friendly Sino-Indian relations. The second set of movies discusses about the Chinese community in Kolkata. The third set of movie belongs to the post-1962 war era and shares the bitter relations between India and China post the war. The fourth set of movie belongs to the 21st century and discusses about the cultural assimilation, Chinese technology and Chinese aid to Pakistan which are prevalent in the present popular discourse of India. The case study also includes the 2012 documentary by public diplomacy division to understand the practical geopolitics towards China.

The boundaries between *self* and *other* are highly dynamic and this provides an interesting topic to study. The changing ideological boundaries are reflected by media and this analysis could be taken into the study of political situation or political stand of a country. Through analyzing movies we can also understand the country's interstate relationship and foreign policy strategies. The same concept is also relevant in the study of critical geopolitics, which is consisted of formal, practical and popular geopolitics. All the three are interlinked with each other and contributes differently in *self* and *other* relationship. Political elites who exploit this linkage have a greater stand in policy making and informal state to state relation. Elites are directly involved in deconstructing and reconstructing the boundaries through influencing the media representations. Thus, media does not always represent the popular discourse. The last section is about the conceptual implication which discusses about expanding the perspective of international relations by adopting the non-materialistic views. The paper further stresses to understand the *self* and *other* via psychological devices which break the limitations of international relations.

The movies of 21st century have completely different themes but one commonality from the movies of post 1962 era i.e. the tone towards China has now softened. They either

present Chinese culture in neutral/positive *other* or they use satire or ironical situations but did not portray China negatively. As stated above, the popular culture in India is directly affected by market and the economic interdependence has changed the perspectives towards each other. The Cinema has immortality associated with it and can always be referred back. This study can be further continued in future where we predict that there will be more interaction with China and more active popular culture towards China. This thesis is worthwhile to read for those who believe that Cinema is a window to the popular culture of nation or for those who believe in the psychological approach towards international relations and media representation. The paper concludes with outcomes that nationalism and/or commercialization are the motivational factors in any media representation. The *Self* and *Other* are always correlational which can be better analyzed by adopting the IR theories along with psychological devices.

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ANNEXURE-1

ABBREVIATIONS

BCCC: *Broadcasting Content Complaints Council*

DKAK: Dr Kotnis ki amar Kahani

CCTC: Chandani Chowk to China

IR: International Relations

MNC: Multinational Corporation

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

NRI: Non-Resident Indian

PRC: Peoples Republic of China

TRP: Television Rating Point

US: United States

ANNEXURE-2

GLOSSARY

Anti-Secession Law: The PRC law of 2005 to use non peaceful means against Taiwanese independence movement in the event of a declaration of independence.

Bollywood: A name for the Indian popular film industry, based in Mumbai (Bombay)

Broadcasting Content Complaints Council: *An independent Council of Indian broadcasting foundation to ensure that the Indian television programmes follow the self-regulatory guidelines.*

Classical Geopolitics: Geographical boundaries that enter into making of world politics. Relation of a state's power (influence, politics) and space(territory).

Counterfactual: Counter to the facts

Counterfactual thinking: Theory that discusses that reality is only one and the rests are counterfactual realities.

Critical Geopolitics: Geographical assumptions and designations that enter into making of world politics.

Formal Geopolitics: academicians and commentators self-consciously invoke an intellectual tradition in geopolitics.

Geopolitical architecture: The way in which the state and non-state actors construct their boundaries and the intersection of territories. This differentiates the inside and outside, citizens from non-citizens, domestic issues from international issues and lastly but not the least *us* from *them*.

Geopolitical imagination: where a geographical location is, how and where it is imagined by self and other both

Geopolitics: Relating to politics, especially international relations, as influenced by geographical factors.

Imagology: Media representation that constructs an identity, dominant social discourses and imageries (Hugo's idea)

Mao Tse Tung: Chinese communist revolutionary and founder of People's Republic of China

Personal constructs: Concept given by George Kelly; each person has its own version of reality and these individual realities are described as *personal constructs*.

Popular Geopolitics: geopolitical imagination of the masses.

Popular Culture: Culture based on the tastes of ordinary people

Political realism: an approach to the study and practice of international politics. It emphasizes the role of the nation-state and makes a broad assumption that all nation-states are motivated by national interests, or, at best, national interests disguised as moral concerns.

Popular Sentiment: the public acceptance of a course of action

Practical Geopolitics: refers to policy oriented geographical templates used by political leaders or bureaucrats to form the foreign policy of a nation.

Public Diplomacy Division (PDD): A division of ministry of external affairs that aims to explain on day to day basis the background of policy decisions in Indian foreign policy, promote positive image of India as well as engage scholars, think tanks, media through its outreach activities. The PDD uses social media as major medium to interact with the world

Self-enhancement: A motivation that works to make people feel good about themselves

Self-esteem: Confidence in one's own worth or abilities