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**SCHOOL OF ARTS
MA DANCE CLUSTER**

**Dance as a Socio-Cultural Practice
DAN030L701**

**Transnationalism is a significant aspect of many dance genres today.
Discuss and contrast the two dance genres Bharata Natyam and Bollywood
situating their transnationalism within their respective histories.**

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Introduction

A studio in South London is the setting for the filming of an exercise video which claims to “exhilarate, energise, trim and tone your body – and will make you look great on the dance floor!” (Momentum Pictures, 2002 [DVD]). A young woman in a crop top, sweat pants with slits down the sides and white trainers struts her stuff, shouting out instructions to her four companions behind and the camera in front of her. The studio is typically decorated using Indian saris draped from ceiling to floor and side-to-side. In the middle, upstage is the customary statue of *Nataraja* – the ‘Lord of Dance’.

This brief description of Honey Kalaria’s Bollywood Workout, a DVD produced in the UK for people who are interested in both getting fit and also learning Bollywood dance reflects how far this dance genre has come in the last decade from its origins in India.

Bollywood dance and Bharata Natyam are both dance genres being performed all over the world, both by Indians and non-Indians.

This essay looks at the two dance genres, Bharata Natyam and Bollywood, situating them both in their origin country India and analysing how they have transcended the boundaries internationally to countries abroad, namely the UK. The concepts of transnationalism, globalisation and diasporas are introduced and discussed in relation to these two dance genres. Finally, the issues of identity, heritage and culture that arise as a result of transnationalism are briefly touched upon.

A Transnational Age

We live in a global age. According to Tharoor (2003) the features which define today's world are:

the relentless forces of globalisation, the ease of communications and travel, the shrinking of boundaries, the flow of people of all nationalities and colours across the world, the swift pulsing of financial transactions with the press of a button.

Tharoor, 2003, 85

Words such as 'globalisation' and 'transnationalism' are words of a modern age, concepts that have been discussed in fields as varied as business, media, politics and religion, to name a few. In their very nature they suggest a shrinking globe, where communication, the exchange of ideas and movement of people, across a range of nations, is at its very peak.

It is the movement of people in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and of course in recent decades, that is of immediate interest when looking at the South Asian, and more specifically the Indian diaspora, which settled all over the world.

The term diaspora, referring to a population that has dispersed from a place of origin, was originally applied to Jews, but now there are at least thirty ethnic groups considered as diasporas. These diasporas don't want to relinquish their pasts, but instead want to preserve or even reinvent their ties with a homeland (Cohen 1996). The South Asian diaspora refers to communities from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, and Bhutan who have settled elsewhere (Ganti, 2004).

According to the UK Census 2001, there are over 2 million Asians living in the UK. Among South Asian faiths settled in Britain, the largest groups were Pakistani Muslims (658,000)

and Indian Hindus (467,000) followed by Indian Sikhs (301,000). People of Indian origin were religiously diverse with 45 per cent of them being Hindu, 29 per cent Sikh and a further 13 per cent Muslim.

Lopez y Royo (2004, 3) discusses the diversity of South Asian communities in Britain. She suggests that the communities have several places of origin and may have come to Britain via Africa, the Caribbeans, America or Canada as well as from the South Asian region itself. She writes that whilst some people are settling in Britain, others are merely in transit and thus there are “many ‘homes’ and ‘homes-in-between’ resulting in multiple and fluid identities and ethnicities, intersecting with racial, gender and class realities”.

Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) – is a category introduced by the Indian government and includes not only people who are citizens of India living abroad temporarily, but also people of Indian origin even if they hold a passport of another country. They are considered of Indian origin as long as they have held an Indian passport or their parents or grandparents were Indian (Van der Veer, 2001). Even those people of Indian heritage born in England, for example, are considered NRIs even though they may never have been to India. This suggests that the term Indian relates to a community who are not connected by the physical or geographical aspect, but rather by a mental one – one of shared cultural influences (Aftab 2002). NRIs, can thus be found all over the world including in Pakistan, the Far East, Africa, the Caribbean, Australia, Europe and North America. Gokulsing and Dissanayake (1998) suggest that although the majority of Indians settled overseas regard these places of settlement as home, they still regard India as their spiritual and cultural homeland.

These ties with a homeland ensure that diasporic communities by their very nature can be seen to be transnational. Transnationalism focuses on the increased interrelations between people world-wide, whilst transcending the boundaries between nations.

A definition of transnationalism that seems to be accepted by many scholars is:

We define 'transnationalism' as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders.

Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc, 1994, 7

It is true to say that transnationalism has enabled people, goods, messages and ideas to flow between regions, helped by communications, transport and of course, globalisation. The main feature of transnationalism, as described by Basch, *et al.* (1994) is that it involves 'immigrants' living away from their country of origin, yet building and sustaining social relations which cross borders of all kinds. The interesting aspect about this is that it is not a one way process. Although the 'immigrants' are living away from their homeland, the interaction is back and forth – it is a transmigrant process. The other feature is that in transnational relations, it is the citizens of different nations that are interacting – and *crossing* boundaries, and not governments *maintaining* them (Albrow 1998).

Bollywood as a Transnational Dance Genre

The word Bollywood is the conflation of Bombay (renamed Mumbai in 1995) and Hollywood – the term used to describe the American film industry. It was a term coined in the 1980s to describe the now prolific Hindi language film industry.

There are numerous film industries in India, whose total output, in approximately twenty languages, make it the largest feature film producing country in the world. Bollywood makes about twenty per cent of these averaging 150 – 200 films a year. These films, considered archetypal, are the ones that dominate the discourse about Indian cinema.

They are the ones that are circulated nationally and internationally and are considered under the category 'popular Indian cinema' distinguished by characteristic features such as song, dance, melodrama, melded in extravagant productions, with the emphasis being on the actors and the show that surrounds them. The term Bollywood, has therefore, been applied not just to the industry, but to a style of filmmaking within that industry (Ganti, 2004).

Bollywood has become an international commodity. In the mid to late 1990s, the overseas market became of utmost importance to Bombay filmmakers. Certain films enjoyed greater success in the UK and the USA than they did in India which highlights the importance of the South Asian diaspora as a market for Bollywood (Ganti, 2004). Benegal (2002) suggests that it is a two way process with the present generation of Indian filmmakers showing "distinct transnational sensibilities" whilst the growth of the South Asian diaspora has promoted Bollywood globally. Its success may be as a result of the complex politics of identity within the Indian diaspora and British South Asian communities as it satisfies a romantic notion of an imagined homeland (Geetha 2003).

In the last ten years, Hindi films have frequently had diasporic Indians as their protagonists and often represent them as more traditional and culturally aware than their counterparts back in India. Many films are set almost completely in countries like Australia, England or America. The notion of 'Indian' identity – with its representations of religious or celebratory occasions, family ties and respect for the elders in the community, traditional morals and

principles in relation to marriage and sex and 'patriotism' for India – can be seen to be mobile and not geographically bound. Irrelevant of location, one can be just as Indian whether living in New York, London, Sydney or Nairobi (Ganti, 2004).

It is interesting to note, that cinema, in particular Bollywood has played such a big part in communicating aspects of Indian culture not only to the South Asian diaspora, but also to people of other ethnicities. Could this be because, as Gokulsing and Dissanayake, (1998, 7) suggest, "Cinema clearly opens a useful window onto a culture and its study brings us intimacy and immediacy unavailable from most other media of communication?" In the UK, home-grown films such as *East is East*, *Bend it Like Beckham* and *Bride and Prejudice* have also played their part in this communication process.

Whilst the celebration, especially in the UK, of South Asian cultures since the new millennium has been a positive development, focus has been on a very small aspect of the culture, mainly drawn from Bollywood. Classical arts like Bharata Natyam and Sitar recitals do not seem to have as wide an appeal. Whether it was music, dance or fashion, Indian culture in the UK seemed to get the 'Bollywood treatment' with Selfridges in London displaying beautiful Indian costumes, nightclubs offering Bollywood songs and Bollywood cocktails, and the musical *Bombay Dreams*, with music by Bollywood music composer A.R. Rahman, becoming a West End hit (Geetha, 2003).

Dance in Hindi cinema has a history that goes back to the early 1900s. In 1913, DG Phalke made India's first feature-length film *Raja Harishchandra*, where men played all the women's parts. For his second production *Mohini Bhasmasur*, Phalke persuaded Kamala, a stage actress, to dance in the film. This was the first Indian film in which an actress played a role. Phalke choreographed the dances himself, drawing inspiration from temple

carvings, cave paintings, dances from the *devadasis* and Western Indian folk dancing (Gokulsing and Dissanayake, 1998).

Gokulsing and Dissanayake (1998) suggest that music, song and dance are so popular in Indian cinema because they are traditionally considered an essential part of the daily life of Indians be it for religious or devotional purposes, or celebratory events. So, when the first Indian sound films featured music, song and dance sequences, Indian audiences accepted these as perfectly natural.

In the 1940s efforts were made to present a complete dance film, with Uday Shankar trying to rehabilitate classical dance (Gokulsing and Dissanayake, 1998). Erdman (1998) describes how Uday Shankar went to Madras to make *Kalpana* (his only film) which was shown in India and abroad in 1948 and 1949. However, although the film was praised for its dancing, critics and audiences found the storyline troubling and it was not well received by the masses.

It was at the same time that there was the development of some hybrid forms of dancing which became very popular. *Jhanak Jhanak Payal Baaje* (Jangle, Jangle, Sound the Bells, 1948) had numerous dance numbers based on ancient themes. In the film *New Delhi* (1956), Bharata Natyam dancer Vyjayantimala combined Bharata Natyam dance steps with Kathak and Bhangra, a Punjabi folk dance to great effect. Most popular, however, in the 1950s and 1960s was cabaret dancing where dancers like Burmese-born 'Helen' achieved stardom in their own right. Another form of dancing, drawing on the Muslim culture, was used as part of the courtesan film genre. *Pakeeza* (The Pure One, 1971), and *Umrao Jaan* (1981) were both films of this genre (Gokulsing and Dissanayake, 1998). More recently, a dance of the same ilk was *Kahe Ched Mohe* in the film *Devdas* (2002) where Kathak legend Pandit Birju Maharaj composed and choreographed the dance.

Devdas highlights just how song and dance has now become a sub-industry within Bollywood. Director, Sanjay Leela Bhansali, used thirty per cent of his entire film budget on shooting songs. The dance *Dola Re Dola*, featured eighty dancers who rehearsed for fifteen days followed by a twelve-day shoot. Today, there are 600 professional dancers and over 100 choreographers registered and on average Bollywood creates between three and five songs per day. Directors and choreographers look overseas for talent too, with leading directors like Karan Johar importing fifty London dancers for a nightclub song in his superhit film *Kabhi Khushi Kabhi Gham* (2001) (Chopra, 2003).

Key figures like Bollywood choreographer Farah Khan who also choreographed for *Bombay Dreams*, have been instrumental in redefining how people perceive dances in films, and have also been hugely important in the development of what is today seen as a new genre of dance in India – ‘Bollywood dancing’ (Vasudevan 2002b).

Bollywood dance adopts elements from a range of sources including Indian classical styles, Indian folk dance and a globalised, pop video approach – which draws on Disco, Rock and 1930s Hollywood musicals (Turner, 2005). Group dynamics have replaced the dominant role of the hero and heroine and recent choreography has had a spirit of inclusion. The result has been the opportunity for dancers to embrace various movement techniques ranging from the more subtle nuances of classical dance, or the physical aspects of contemporary dance (Vasudevan, 2002a).

Bollywood dancing plays a big part in everyday life in India. Hit shows like *Kaboom* (Star TV) and *Boogie Woogie* (Sony TV) encourage participants from all over India to compete to find the best dancer in the nation. In *Kaboom*, judged by top Bollywood dancers, Prabhu Deva and Javed Jaffrey, the participants are competing to win large sums of money. So far the two shows have been huge successes, with a version of *Boogie Woogie* being aired in

America as well. Bollywood dancing at weddings and parties has also become big business as young dance students are paid large sums of money to choreograph dances for families to perform.

In the UK, Chatterjee (2004) attributes the growth in numbers of young people wanting to learn dance, especially Bollywood dance, to an onslaught of Bollywood culture. She also suggests that the number of dance teachers specialising in the Bollywood genre has increased. She notes that at the time that *Bombay Dreams* was in the West End, one in five inquiries to the Information and Resources Desk at Akademi (the organisation of South Asian dance in the UK), were about Bollywood dance. The number of students of South Asian dance is grossly underestimated. Diva Entertainment, Honey Kalaria's dance organisation, teaches 1000 students a week. Although this number is impressive, student turnover is high as people see Bollywood dance as a 'quick-fix', often learning only one or two dance pieces.

As Turner (2005) puts it:

The recent growth of Bollywood dance at the community level in England has been little short of astonishing. In parallel with a third generation's diasporic rediscovery of its roots through the medium of popular cinema – and the western media's sporadic interest filliped by projects such as *Bombay Dreams* and *Bride and Prejudice* – the cine-dance of the Hindi film has emerged as a light and accessible alternative to the rigours of bharatanatyam and kathak.

Turner, 2005, 28

Bharata Natyam as a Transnational Dance

Native to South India and in particular to the Tamil Nadu region, Bharata Natyam is a classical dance form taught and performed all over the world. Its roots are in *sadir* or *dasi attam* performed by hereditary practitioners known as the *devadasis* in temples and royal courts until the anti-nautch campaign in the late nineteenth century managed to abolish such practices (Pillai, 2002). Several changes mark the transition of a dance style that was an important component of both temple and ritual and secular celebrations to the dance style now known as Bharata Natyam (Gaston, 1996). The name, the hereditary system that determines how dancers and teachers were recruited, its status in the Indian and global arena, the reasons for performing – have all evolved.

Sadir was renamed as Bharata Natyam to disassociate it from the stigma attached to its earlier names (Coorlawala, 2005). The hereditary system that determined how the *devadasis*, were recruited is no longer applicable. Today, anyone can study, perform and teach Bharata Natyam providing they can pay class fees, sponsor their own performances, and attract students (Gaston, 1996).

For *devadasis*, dance was a profession – they earned their livelihood from it. In the 1980s, just like in the 1950s, learning Bharata Natyam was for very different reasons. Families were interested in their daughters learning a social accomplishment. Professional, self-supporting dancers today are far and few between. Also, for many Indian girls, from upper and middle classes, Bharata Natyam is an educational tool used to enable them to become familiar with traditional Hindu social values and myths – a way of acquiring cultural identity (Gaston, 1996), or as in the case of girls in Chennai, a way of being cultured and having class, acquiring polish and femininity, and so being more

marriageable (Pillai, 2002). Contrary to its status in the late nineteenth century, today Bharata Natyam appears to be on par with ballet in their respective societies.

Coorlawala (2005, 184) suggests that another reason there are so few professional dancers is that “dance has become a very expensive hobby”. Only the most recognised dancers receive government subsidies which enables them to teach and tour as a means of earning a living. The majority of dancers find that developing and performing dances is a costly business, one that they cannot afford. Pillai (2002, 16) takes it one step further and suggests that “money is increasingly the judge of artistic merit”. When it comes to performing, skill takes second place to a dancer’s economic resources and social connections. Apart from well-known personalities or business people in India, few Indians can match the money spent by NRIs who come to India to perform, whether or not they are skilfully equipped to do so. This in turn drives up costs of production, as dance teachers, musicians and other collaborators demand higher fees. According to Kothari (2000), the Indian diaspora who practice, perform and teach Bharata Natyam may repeatedly visit India as a means of legitimising their practice, disadvantaging Indian performers, who suffer from the inequality of the exchange rate. This, together with rising costs of living in India, means that many dancers have to take other jobs. A full-time job in addition to household chores leaves women with very little time for dancing. Practising less makes it more difficult to keep up the strength and levels of skill required to perform. And, so begins a vicious cycle, leading to a lower number of dancers turning professional (Pillai 2002).

Indian dance first made an impact in Britain in the 1920s with performances in London by Uday Shankar, and later in the 1930s by Ram Gopal. But it was not until the 1960s that it actually began to set its roots in the country with people such as US Krishna Rao and his wife Chandrabhaga Devi, trained in Bharata Natyam, beginning to run classes in Britain. In

the 1970s, with the expulsion of the Indian communities from East Africa, came a new era in the arts. Music schools, dance groups and theatre companies sprung up almost overnight (Khan, 1997). Another aspect of the increase in numbers of the Indian diaspora, and hence dancers, was the large-scale migration of people from the Indian subcontinent in the 1950s and 1960s (Roy, 2003). This provided an excellent setting for diverse and varied cultural activities. Dancers trained in India settled in Britain and cities around the world, teaching and performing Bharata Natyam, enabling it to be established outside India (Niyogi-Nakra, 2003).

But why are children in the diaspora motivated to learn dance? Parental pressure is the main reason that young children join classical dance classes. Determined to maintain their cultural heritage and to reinforce their identity, both teachers and parents agree that it is important to introduce children to the culture of their homeland, giving them a sense of belonging, inadvertently making Bharata Natyam an icon of Indian heritage (Chatterjee 2004; Niyogi-Nakra 2003). Many mothers who may not have had the opportunity themselves as children also encourage their daughters to start dancing. David (2005) whose research involved the Tamil community in London, found that Bharata Natyam plays a big part in the cultural activities for young people in the temples, acting as a “perfect carrier of tradition”.

In the UK, classes for Bharata Natyam and Kathak are very popular – together with Bollywood dancing. Although the numbers of students actually enrolled in classes for classical dance may be a lot less than those at Honey Kalaria’s and other Bollywood dance schools, the majority of classical dance students are committed for years. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan in London has 150 students enrolled and has two resident dance teachers, whilst Mudralaya run by London-based Pushkala Gopal and Unnikrishnan have about 125 pupils (Chatterjee, 2004).

One of the symptoms of a transnational or globalised Bharata Natyam, according to experts, is the decline in standards of artistry, the dancers lack of discipline in maintaining proper posture, and the simplified repertory to cater for non-Indian audiences (Coorlawala, 2005). One possible reason why technical expertise is lacking is the less intensive approach to dance training. The guru-sishya relationship is less intense, with many people fitting in their dance classes around their busy schedules and not making it the main part of their life (Pillai 2002).

Ironically, in a move that will further codify technique and standardise teaching practice, Kathak and Bharata Natyam are now incorporated into the ISTD (Imperial Society of Teachers of Dance) syllabus for accreditation in the UK and the ISTD website claims that enquiries are coming from overseas including India!

An aspect that many choreographers, in India and in the diaspora, find challenging is how to make Bharata Natyam more accessible to wider audiences. Practitioners often grapple with the dilemmas of either preserving technique and maintaining tradition, or innovating and experimenting. While some practitioners have stayed with their roots, others have turned away. And while others are attracted by the precision of the dance form, some have been stifled by it (Niyogi-Nakra, 2003; Roy, 2003).

Many Bharata Natyam concerts today do not contain the traditional *margam* repertory, of which the norm is for a solo dancer to perform dance pieces starting with the *alarippu* through to the *thillana*. Group performances, or shorter dances by different performers have become the preferred format. Trying to find new ways of expressing oneself has led to a new genre of dance – one often referred to as Indian contemporary dance (Pillai 2002).

It is fascinating to look at work by present day choreographers whose training started with Bharata Natyam. Many have gone on to experiment with the style with some interesting results.

A good example of this is Chandralekha who originally came on to the dance scene as a Bharata Natyam solo performer. With her performance of *Angika* in 1985, she explored movement vocabularies not just of Bharata Natyam, but of the martial art form *Kalaripayattu*. Today, her performances are as far removed from the classical dance form as possible (Rajan 2004). Padma Subrahmanyam, on the other hand, remains closely tied to Bharata Natyam. However, the addition of folk dance elements and nature of the themes she embodies, differentiate her performances from those of a standard classical one (Pillai, 2002).

In the UK, Shobana Jeyasingh who trained in Bharata Natyam in India and Malaysia, toured for several years as a solo performer. In the early 1990s she turned her focus on to choreography. Her initial experiments were with ensemble forms and structures (Roy, 2003). Her work today may have glimpses of Bharata Natyam vocabulary but she has essentially developed her own movement vocabulary.

Angika and Sankalpam are two of numerous other Indian dance groups who work with various thematic content, but adhere quite strongly to the classical Indian dance vocabulary (Roy, 2003).

The practice of classical dance in the Indian diaspora cultivates a sense of belonging to an Indian community, not just locally, but transnationally as well, whilst in India, the appeal of classical dances is on a decrease.

Wales-based Bharata Natyam teacher Kiran Ratna suggests that a reason for this maybe that:

Culture of origin is very important for those growing up in white areas. It increases self-confidence, pride in themselves and in their family. They don't feel misplaced or (have to) pretend to be something they're not. Dance is an excellent way to do this as it can be greatly appreciated by 'all'. For those living amongst many Indians, the need is a little less.

Ratna in Chatterjee, 2004, 19

Does this necessity for the Indian diaspora to cling to cultural heritage and adhere strictly to tradition suggest an insecurity in the land of settlement, or a longing for the homeland? Or is it a case of multiple or displaced identities – divided between the local and the global?

When people move out of a social environment that is the norm and migrate to a completely different culture, there is a sense of upheaval and insecurity in the relationship one has with the past, present and future. Immigrants feel the need to hold on to their culture, represent it in some way. Classical dance is a good option as it is thought of to be a good representative of Indian civilisation. When immigrant parents and their children journey to the 'homeland' India, they find their counterparts far more open to new things, more 'Westernised' than those actually living in the Indian diaspora in the West! This disparity shows how differently these people are living the past, present and future (Ram, 2000).

Brown (1997, 140) acknowledges the fact that "Re-locations bring disjuncture and dislocation and the need for cultural translation". Does dance fix this disjuncture and feeling of

dislocation? Do dancers have the responsibility of filling in this cultural and heritage gap?

Can dance be that transnational link?

Tharoor (2003) suggests that one of the responsibilities of a creative artist is to contribute toward, give expression to and help articulate a shifting, multiple cultural identity. This suggests that dancers do have that responsibility towards constructing cultural identities and so filling that gap.

The SADiB report (South Asian Dance in Britain – Negotiating Cultural Identity Through Dance) proposed to ‘look at the way South Asian migrant groups in Britain have used dance to construct their cultural identity at first, second and third generation level’ (Hale, 2004).

In fact, South Asian dance brings with it the burdens of cultural policies, notions of ethnicity and authenticity, and affirmations of heritage and identity. So it is hardly surprising, that dancers want to unburden themselves of these issues and associations and practice dance focussing on movement (Hale, 2004; Roy, 2003).

Choreographer Shobana Jeyasingh’s work often provokes reactions focussing on cultural issues. Although these may be perfectly valid, they neglect other issues that are key to her artistic vision. All too often, when engaging in questions of migration, diasporas, traditions and so on, Jeyasingh, the Indian woman living in London overshadows Jeyasingh the choreographer (Roy, 1997).

The question of heritage also arises at the same time. But does an NRI living in London, for example, really have the same heritage as a person living in Mumbai?

Shobana Jeyasingh questions the notion of a unified heritage.

For me, my heritage is a mix of David Bowie, Purcell, Shelley, and Anna Pavlova, and its has been mixed as subtly as a samosa has mixed itself into the English cuisine...it is surprising how to many people my heritage could only be things Indian.

Jeyasingh, 1998, 48

Similarly, in India, dance practitioners and scholars are questioning whose tradition and heritage classical dance traditions of India really represent. After all, they argue, the *devadasis* are now relics of the past (Chakravorty, 2004).

Conclusion

Bollywood dancing's origins in the relatively modern phenomenon of cinema and Bharata Natyam's origins in the traditional world of temples highlight the polarities that these two dance genres occupy.

The relationship between Bollywood and Bharata Natyam is one that is only just beginning to be brought to the foreground in the academic arena. Whereas Bharata Natyam has been practised as a dance form for decades, Bollywood dancing is a dance genre that has only just been discovered by the global world. But, either way, they have both impacted each other to some degree.

Indian cinema, especially in the early years, was influenced and got inspiration from Bharata Natyam for its song and dance sequences. But according to Ramnarayan (2002), this adaptation has been both ways. The screen has also impressed upon the classical dance form.

Kothari (2000) does not agree and says that although cinema did support teachers and dancers for financial reasons, Bollywood dance does not seem to have affected Bharata Natyam.

However, Ramnarayan (2002) argues that even the top stars have been impacted by Indian cinema. This can be seen in their *nritta* and *abhinaya*, and the introduction of melodrama, exaggerated make-up, costumes, gestures and facial expressions. Classical art has been transformed to suit the masses who are more used to the flamboyance and garishness of the cinema. There are exceptions. Whilst Hemamalini's ballets are considered extensions of cinema dance extravaganzas using music modelled on tunes from Bollywood, Vyjayantimala has returned to a more traditional format with traditional Carnatic music.

One thing is for certain - both Bharata Natyam and Bollywood are firmly set on the global stage.

Tharoor (2003) states that India's popular culture, namely Bollywood, is part of globalisation with its products exported to many countries. The same too could be said of Bharata Natyam, with iconic representations appearing in advertisements and travel guides, while at Madonna's 1999 MTV music video awards performance, Bharata Natyam dancers formed the back-up routine for her (O'Shea, 2003).

Also, another aspect that Bharata Natyam and Bollywood dancing have in common is that both in India and abroad in the Indian diasporic populations the practice of these two genres seems to be laden with issues of identity, cultural heritage and tradition.

Indian dance is transnational – from Mumbai to Manchester, Chennai to Chicago, young children are introduced to Indian dance as a way of keeping in touch with their identity and heritage – be that in the homeland, or in the diaspora. Indian dance, whether it is classical or popular, is one of the ways that Indians the world over are able to nurture that link to the homeland and transcend national boundaries. This in turn shapes both Bharata Natyam and Bollywood as global, transnational entities.

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