FILM AND PLACE IN AN INTERCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

INDIA-EUROPE FILM CONNECTIONS

Edited by
Krzysztof Stachowiak, Hania Janta,
Jani Kozina and Therese Sunngren-Granlund

ROUTLEDGE

Film and Place in an Intercultural Perspective

The book offers an interdisciplinary overview of the film and place relationship from an intercultural perspective. It explores the complex domain of place and space in cinema and the film industry's role in establishing cultural connections and economic cooperation between India and Europe.

With contributions from leading international scholars, various case studies scrutinise European and Indian contexts, exploring both the established and emerging locations. The book extends the dominantly Britain-oriented focus on India's cinema presence in Europe to European countries, such as Italy, Switzerland, Poland, Slovenia, Finland, and Sweden, where the Indian film industry progressively expands its presence. The chapters of this book look at Indian film production in Europe as a cultural bridge between India and Europe, fostering mutual understanding of the culture and society of the two regions.

This interdisciplinary book will be of interest to researchers in film studies, cultural anthropology, cultural geography, tourism, economics, sociology, and cultural studies. It will also be of interest to practitioners working in local authorities, destination management, tourism, and creative business, all of whom see the value of film production in attracting visitors, investment, and creating new networks with local economic actors. The book offers much-needed data and tools to translate their professional goals and potentials into effective regional strategies and activities.

Krzysztof Stachowiak, PhD, is a professor of economic geography at the Faculty of Human Geography and Planning, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. His research focuses on the creative economy (the role of culture and the creative sector in the economic development of cities and regions), creative cities, economic and spatial mechanisms of the creative industries (in particular the film industry), knowledge-based economy (innovative regions, clusters), the geography of film, and audiovisual media. He is the author of numerous publications on the creative economy and the role of the creative sector in developing cities and regions. His latest work includes papers on "The rise of film production locations and specialised film services in European semi-peripheries" and "Innovation dynamics in the film industry: The case of the Soho cluster". He is an executive editor of the journal *Quaestiones Geographicae*.

Hania Janta, PhD, is an associate researcher and project coordinator of the EU-India Platform-funded "FilmInd – The Indian Film Industries as a driver of new socio-economic connections between India and Europe" project at the Department of Social Sciences, University of Basel. Previously, she worked as a lecturer/senior lecturer at Bournemouth University, School of Tourism, and as a senior lecturer at the University of Surrey, School of Hospitality and Tourism Management. Her research interests include labour and human capital issues as well as contemporary forms of mobility. She has published peer-reviewed papers and co-edited special issues in a range of journals. Her latest co-edited book (with Andriotis and Stylidis): "Tourism Planning and Development in Eastern Europe" was published in 2022. She is an evaluator and expert Reviewer for the European Commission and various National Science Foundation bodies.

Jani Kozina, PhD, is a research associate at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU) and an assistant professor of cultural and economic geography at the Postgraduate School ZRC SAZU. He has also been a visiting researcher at the Cardiff Metropolitan University, School of Management. He is a holder of Diploma of Excellence for the Black Sea – Danubian Social & Economic Innovator, Under the aegis of the European Commission – DG MARE (2019) and a recipient of Special Mention of the Jury at the European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage/Europa Nostra Award (2015). He has (co)authored several articles and books on the role of creative economy, cultural and creative industries, and the creative class in urban and regional development. He is a member of several editorial boards and professional associations. He was a guest editor of the Special issue: Green creative environments at the scholarly journal *Acta Geographica Slovenica*.

Therese Sunngren-Granlund holds a Master of Arts degree in Entrepreneurship in the Arts, and currently works as a research manager at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at Novia University of Applied Sciences in Jakobstad, Finland. In this capacity, she is responsible for overseeing the faculty's project portfolio, which encompasses about 25 EU-funded and nationally projects. Throughout her involvement in various projects, Sunngren-Granlund has cultivated comprehensive expertise in strategic development pertaining to the creative industries, as well as regional development and place branding in rural areas. Most recently as principal investigator for the research project "The impact of cultural and educational investments in society". Prior to her current position, Sunngren-Granlund worked as a professional artist, participating in multiple exhibitions held in locations such as Helsinki, Bergen, Stockholm, Ljubljana, Berlin, Montescaglioso, Como, and Milan. Furthermore, she holds a certificate from the Artists' Research Laboratory XIV CSAV, where she had the opportunity to collaborate with the visiting professor and artist Yona Friedman.

Film and Place in an Intercultural Perspective

India-Europe Film Connections

Edited by Krzysztof Stachowiak, Hania Janta, Jani Kozina and Therese Sunngren-Granlund

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2024
by Routledge
4 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

 Funded by the Polish National Science Centre (Project No. 2017/27/Z/HS4/00039), Novia University of Applied Sciences, and the Research Center of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-032-27569-7 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-032-27571-0 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-003-29334-7 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347

Typeset in Times New Roman
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Contents

Figures

Tables

Contributors

Marcin Adamczak is an associate professor at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. He lectures also at Film School in Łódź and University of Gdańsk. Awarded by Krzysztof Mętrak Grand Prix for young film critics (2011). He is the author of books (published in Polish) *Global Hollywood, Europe and Polish Cinema After 1989* (2010), *Besides the Screen: Production Studies and Social Roles of Film* (2014), and *Capitals of Film Industry: Hollywood, Europe, China* (2019). He is co-founder of distribution company Velvet Spoon. He is a member of International Federation of Film Critics and Polish Filmmakers Association.

Malwina Balcerak, PhD, works at the Faculty of Human Geography and Planning, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. Her research focuses on public art (the role of public art in urban development), geography of film, cultural geography, and festivalisation of urban space. She was a team member of the international research project "FilmInd – The Indian Film Industry as a Factor for New Socio-Economic Links between India and Europe", implemented under the EqUIP (EU-India Platform for Social Sciences and Humanities) initiative.

Marco Cucco is Associate Professor at the University of Bologna (Italy) and Head of the postgraduate Master programme in Film and Audiovisual Management. He received his PhD degree in communication at the Università della Svizzera Italiana (Switzerland). His research interests concern mainly film industry and cultural policy. He wrote several articles published by international journals (*Studies in European Cinema*, *Film Studies*, *European Journal of Communication*, *Media, Culture & Society*, *Journal of Transcultural Communication*, *Journal of Italian Cinema & Media Studies*), and three books. Currently, he is Vice-Chair of the Film Studies Section of ECREA.

Kirti Dutta is a TEDx speaker with over 28 years of experience and has helped manage and build processes in institutions of higher learning. She is currently Dean, School of Entrepreneurship, Rishihood University (RU), and Founding Dean-Research at RU. Her areas of interest include brand management,

consumer behaviour, services, digital, and neuromarketing. She is a prolific researcher and has co-authored more than 90 publications and three research-based textbooks. She has also conducted a number of FDPs and MDPs for Maharatna and Multinational companies. She is Founding Editor for *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Startup Ventures*.

Primož Gašperič, PhD, is a research associate at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Anton Melik Geographical Institute. His research activities focus mainly on the history of cartography and old maps, but also on regional geography, landscape perception and representations in photography and film. He has (co-)authored several publications, including books. He is head of the Geographical Museum, a special part of the Geografical Institute, a member of the editorial board of the journal Geographic Horizon and the scientific book series Geography of Slovenia.

Veena Hariharan is associate professor of cinema studies at the School of Arts and Aesthetics, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Her essays and articles on documentary, non-fiction cinema and the environment have appeared in anthologies and journals. She is currently Alexander Von Humboldt Fellow at Goethe University, Frankfurt, working on her project on non-human-human entanglements in cinema and new media. Her book Embers of Reason: Contemporary Indian Documentary and the Secular Imagination is forthcoming from Cambridge University Press.

Metka Herzog is a research coordinator at swisspeace, Swiss Peace Foundation, and teaches political science at the University of Basel. Her thematic interests are focused on highly skilled mobilities, politics of migration, and migrants' civic engagement. Metka holds an MSc in International Development Studies from Utrecht University and a PhD in Public Policy and Policy Analysis from Maastricht University.

Pankaj Jain is an internationally recognized academic leader in Sustainability, Jain Studies, Film Studies, and Diaspora Studies. He is the head of department of Humanities & Languages and the chair of The India Centre at FLAME University. Until 2020, he was the founding co-chair of India Initiatives Group and Associate Professor in the Departments of Philosophy & Religion and Anthropology at the University of North Texas, a tier-1 American university. He holds a PhD from the University of Iowa and an M.A. from Columbia University. His B.E. was in Computer Science from Karnatak University. Prof. Jain has about 30 years of work experience in academia and industry. He has coedited the Encyclopedia of Indian Religions (2022) and Indian and Western Philosophical Concepts in Religion (2023). His earlier monographs are Dharma in America: A Short History of Hindu-Jain Diaspora (2019), Dharma and Ecology of Hindu Communities: Sustenance and Sustainability (2011), and Science and Socio-Religious Revolution in India: Moving the Mountains (2015).

Ana Jelnikar is research assistant at the Research Centre of Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Anthropological and Spatial Studies. Her main research interest revolves around the cultural and literary connections between India and Slovenia in the wider historical context of former Yugoslavia and East-Central Europe. She is the author of *Universalist Hopes in India and Europe; The Worlds of Rabindranath Tagore and Srečko Kosovel* (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2016), and co-author of *A Passage to India: Two Missionary Travelogues, Contexts and Analyses* (published in Slovene, Koper: Annales, 2021).

Shikha Jhingan is Associate Professor at the Department of Cinema Studies, School of Arts and Aesthetics, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Her research work focuses on music and technologies of sound dispersal across diverse media platforms. Her work brings a sound studies perspective to Bollywood films and their intermedial footprints. She has published articles in the journals Seminar and Bioscope: South Asian Screen Studies and Feminist Media Histories and several book anthologies. Her most recent article has been published in *A Companion to Indian Cinema* by Wiley Blackwell (2022). She is currently working on her book manuscript on the female voice of Bombay film songs.

Bharath M. Josiam is recently retired as Professor of Hospitality and Tourism Management from the College of Merchandising and Hospitality Management at the University of North Texas. He has been a faculty member at leading Hospitality Management programmes in the United States for over 35 years. His research interests are in consumer behaviour and management issues in hospitality and tourism. He has co-authored over 60 journal articles and presented over 100 papers at international conferences. He serves on the editorial board of various journals and on paper review committees. He serves at universities worldwide as Evaluator and External Examiner for doctoral dissertations.

Tammy L. Kinley is Professor in the Merchandising and Digital Retailing Department as well as Academic Associate Dean in the College of Merchandising, Hospitality and Tourism at the University of North Texas. Her research interests include consumer behaviour, shopping behaviour, and niche industries. She has held top leadership positions in several professional organisations.

Ranjani Mazumdar is a professor of cinema studies at the School of Arts & Aesthetics, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Her publications focus on the cinematic city, spatial aesthetics, and techno-urbanism. She is the author of *Bombay Cinema: An Archive of the City* (2007), co-editor with Neepa Majumdar of the *Wiley Blackwell Companion to Indian Cinema* (2022), and guest editor of a special issue of *Bioscope* on cinema and techno-materiality. Her current research focuses on globalisation and film culture, intermedial encounters, and the intersection of technology, travel, design, and colour in 1960s Bombay Cinema.

Sanjukta A. Pookulangara earned her PhD degree from the University of Missouri, Columbia, and is currently Professor of Merchandising and Chair in the College of Merchandising, Hospitality and Tourism at the University of North Texas. Dr. Pookulangara's research interest is designed to develop strategies for the retail industry and create new pedagogy for students. Her research investigates motivations associated with consumers as it relates to channel strategy and use of social media. Additionally, she has also investigated emerging economies such as India specifically consumer behaviour and collaborative consumption.

Ajay Raina has produced, directed, and edited many fiction shorts, documentary films, and TV programmes besides having written innumerable screenplays for feature films and an unpublished novel in English. He has won the National Award (Rajat Kamal), the Golden Conch, IDPA Silver Trophy, and RAPA Award for his documentary films, many of which have screened at numerous forums, seminars and at major international and national film festivals. His documentary film "Between Border and the Fence. On Edge of a Map" (2011) is shortlisted among 12 best documentaries of the year 2011–2012 by the well-known Walker Art Magazine. He has taught courses in cinema studies, film direction, documentary, and screenplay writing at the Film Institute Pune, University of Pennsylvania, Srishti Institute of Design, and Flame University. Presently, he is a professor of Film at Institute of Design, Nirma University.

Massimo Scaglioni is Full Professor of Media History and Economics at Università Cattolica, Milan. He is the co-founder and director of Ce.R.T.A. (Research Centre for Television and Audiovisual Media) and director of the Master's course "Fare TV". He is co-applicant of the Global Media and Internet Concentration Project awarded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and co-investigator of the project "Public Service Media in the Age of Platforms" awarded by CHANSE. He is the author of several books on media and broadcasting history and industry, including *A European Television Fiction Renaissance* (Routledge 2021).

Daniel Spears is Associate Professor of Hospitality & Tourism at UNT and Visiting and Affiliate Professor of International Sustainable Tourism at CATIE in Costa Rica. He teaches and researches tourism and service marketing, consumer behaviour, and strategic management. Dr. Spears has published 40 academic journal articles and book chapters and, with research presented over 80 international conferences in the tourism management and marketing disciplines. In addition, he has worked, trained, and consulted several organisations and international governments. Dr. Spears also served in the U.S. Army as a combat medic.

Mimi Urbanc is Senior Research Fellow and deputy director at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU). Her research activities have been focused on cultural landscapes, their management, landscape perception, and landscape representations in literature, photography, and

film. She has (co)authored several publications, including books. She was the chief editor of the book series *Thought, Society, Culture: Exploring Cultural Spaces of Europe* published by Peter Lang Verlag until recently and is human geography editor of the scholarly journal Acta geographica Slovenica, published by Založba ZRC.

Acknowledgements

The editors acknowledge funding of the FilmInd project – The Indian film industry as a driver of new socio-economic connections was carried out within the EU-India Platform for Social Sciences and Humanities (EqUIP), financed by national funding of the participating countries with Professor Walter Leimgruber, University of Basel, as the Principal Investigator. The authors acknowledge the receipt of funding from the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport of the Republic of Slovenia and Slovenian Research Agency (Research programme P6–0101), Swiss National Science Foundation (Project No. IZEQZ1_180340), Academy of Finland (69 037; 324796), Polish National Science Centre (Project No. 2017/27/Z/HS4/00039), and the Indian Council for Social Science Research (with special thanks to Mahesh Madhukar). The editors would also like to thank Dr. Metka Herzog for initiating the project.

Part I

Introduction

Figure 1 Winter landscape with a red car. Nordic landscapes have recently featured in Bollywood films, including the blockbuster *War* from 2019.

Source: raland / stock.adobe.com

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-1

1 Introduction

Film and place from an intercultural perspective

Krzysztof Stachowiak, Hania Janta, Jani Kozina, and Therese Sunngren-Granlund

The aim of the book

European governments, tourism ministries, and film commissions have recently been working towards promoting their respective countries as filmmaking destinations (Cucco and Dagnino 2018; O'Regan 2018; Cucco and Richeri 2021). In doing so, they emphasise the offer of professional services and good value for money based on local services and incentives. Besides benefiting the film industry, having a location featured in a film is also meant to promote the tourism industry (so-called film-induced tourism [Buchmann 2010]). The link between film locations and the tourism potential is now becoming significantly apparent across Europe, potentially fostering a post-pandemic recovery (Garrison *et al*. 2022). In addition, the infrastructure that makes the mobilisation of foreign locations possible is a complex ecology involving event management companies, technologies, the hotel industries, unskilled labour and trained film personnel in the countries where shooting is conducted. A spatial perspective is especially relevant, considering that the film industry relies heavily on local and global production networks (Nachum and Keeble 2003; Coe 2015). This infrastructure enables not just the promotion of tourism, but also employment opportunities, knowledge sharing, and country branding with long-term economic and transcultural effects.

The Indian film industry produces over 1,500 films annually (Dastidar and Elliott 2020). While Indian cinema has long had a presence in certain parts of the world linked to its diaspora, in the recent past, it has crossed over to non-South Asian audiences (Ebrahim 2008; Hassam and Paranjape 2010; Hong 2021). This expansion has also led to the widespread incorporation of new locations in the production process. Despite the large number of Indian films produced abroad, little is known about the mobilities of the Indian crews in Europe and the various socio-economic impacts that they have on European territory.

The book *Film and Place in an Intercultural Perspective: India-Europe Film Connections* discusses the complex domain of place and space in cinema and the role that the film industry plays in establishing cultural connections and economic cooperation between India and Europe. Particular emphasis is placed on understanding how locations shape and are shaped by film production and circulation. The main threads of the book aim to investigate the construction of place through

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-2

the use of European locations in Indian cinema; map the scale and analyse the specific locations across Europe where Indian cinemas are being shot (European-wide and country-specific analyses); identify the specific nature of the infrastructure that allows for mobility and operation of film crews in these European locations; investigate the role of policies supporting film production and film collaboration between India and Europe; examine the cultural practices of European and Indian film production workers; and analyse the socioeconomic impact of the Indian film industry in Europe and India.

Written by both Indian and European researchers, various case studies scrutinise European contexts, both established (Western Europe) and emerging (Central and Eastern Europe and Northern Europe). The book extends the dominantly Britain-oriented focus on India's cinema presence in Europe to other countries, such as Italy, Switzerland, Poland, Slovenia, Finland, and Sweden, where the Indian film industry progressively expands its presence.

The book's intercultural perspective and interdisciplinary approach

This book proposes an intercultural perspective on studying Indian film productions in Europe, which would help in understanding how Indian films reflect and shape cultural interactions and exchanges between India and Europe. In this way, the book builds on and moves forward the concept of "intercultural film" that has recently started to be more frequently used by scholars from different academic fields. The use of intercultural perspective "can be understood as expressing a critical awareness of filmic depictions of cultural encounters, transnational migration and cultural differences in contemporary multicultural societies, and the need for illustrative audio-visual representations of intercultural encounters" (Jacobsson 2017, p. 54). Through the chapters of this book, we try to look at Indian film production in Europe as a cultural bridge between India and Europe, fostering mutual understanding of the culture and society of the two regions. In order to achieve that, an interdisciplinary approach was needed. It allowed for a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the cultural influences and representations of Indian films produced in Europe and how audiences perceive them in India and Europe. It can also help by shedding light on how Indian filmmakers see and represent European locations, cultures, and societies in their films.

Hence, the book offers an interdisciplinary overview of the relationship between film and place from an intercultural perspective by bringing together the diverse disciplinary perspectives of film studies, geography, and cultural and political studies. The book contributes to broader academic debates on globalisation, transnationalism, knowledge transfer, urbanism, and destination branding. Most importantly, the book explores the globalisation of the Indian film industry further by shedding more light on the relations between India and Europe. The book highlights the patterns of value chains regarding film production and consumption as significant components of globalisation processes. In addition to film tourism, the book also aims to explore other neglected spatial and sectoral impacts related to

employment opportunities, knowledge exchange, and country branding with long-term economic and transcultural effects. The content of the book is based on the widely researched and taught cultural and creative sectors, which include all sectors whose activities are based on cultural values or other artistic individual or collective creative expressions.

An interdisciplinary approach to studying Indian film productions in Europe assumes numerous topics to gain a more holistic understanding of the Indian–European cultural exchange. We have identified three main threads that correspond to the book's parts and selected the topics which seemed to be essential form the intercultural perspective (see Figure 1.1). The first key aspect may involve exploring how films can be used as a medium for experiencing different places and cultures, which will be covered in part II of the book. This can include studying how Indian films represent different places and spaces in Europe and how these representations may shape the viewer's perception and understanding of these places. Cultural geography in general, and film geography in particular, are the fields which provide theories and concepts for understanding these aspects (Aitken and Zonn 1994; Aitken and Dixon 2006; Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2006, 2008; Sharp and Lukinbeal 2015; Lukinbeal and Sommerlad 2022). Geographical perspective

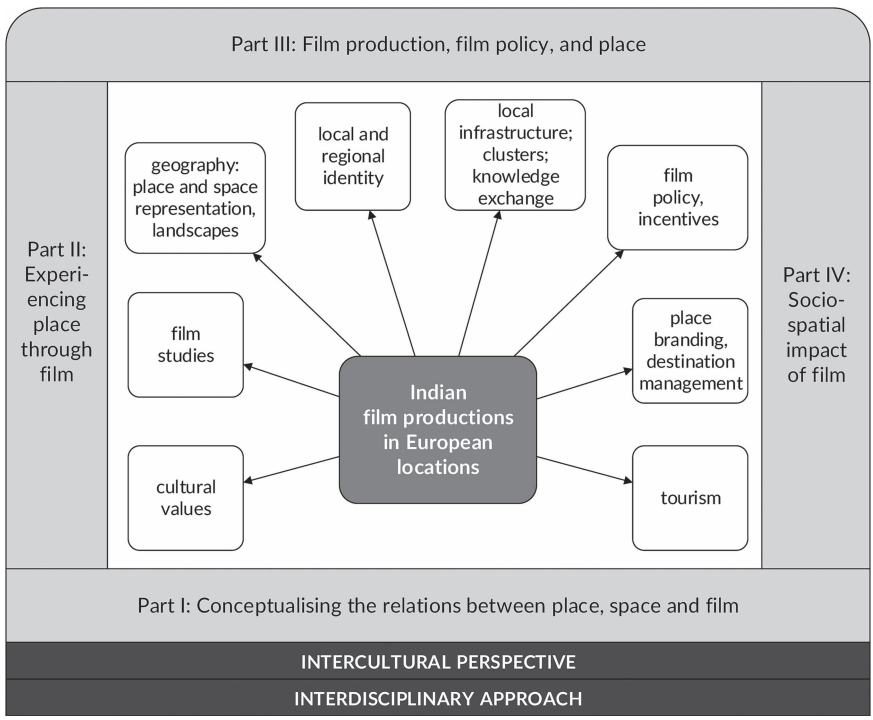

Figure 1.1 Conceptual framework of the book.

Source: Own elaboration

can contribute to the analysis of landscape representation in Indian films and how it reflects the reality of the place where the films are shot, as well as how Indian movies represent or stereotype Europe (Slusser and Rabkin 1989; Lefebvre 2006; Urbanc *et al*. 2021). Film studies is another discipline that can be applied to this research, as it can provide insight into the formal and stylistic elements of Indian films that contribute to their representation of place and space. This can include analysing how film elements shape the viewer's engagement with the represented spaces and places (Gamson *et al*. 1992; Allen 1993). Additionally, cultural studies and intercultural communication can be involved in this research, as it can provide insight into the cultural values and differences that are represented in Indian films and how European audiences receive them. This can include analysing how Indian films reflect or challenge cultural stereotypes and how they reflect or challenge cultural norms and values in European societies (Krauss 2012; Krämer 2016; Lourenço 2017).

The second key aspect of Indian film production in Europe is examining film production and film policy, which can provide insight into the economic and political factors that shape the Indian film industry's presence in Europe (part III of the book). As a starting point, we might consider the examination of the local film infrastructure in Europe, including the availability of film production facilities, such as studios, sound stages, and equipment rental houses, as well as the availability of trained crews and professional services, such as casting and location scouting (Jäckel 2003; Luther 2010; Katsarova 2014). Film incentives provided by national and regional governments to attract international film production were already the subject of many studies (Olsberg and Barnes 2014; Meloni *et al*. 2015; Halle 2016; Hill and Kawashima 2016). This provides insight into the challenges and opportunities of Indian film production in Europe. The incentives can provide funding, tax breaks, and more intangible benefits, such as creating a film-friendly environment for Indian film production companies and can play a significant role in attracting Indian film production to Europe. This can also foster studying how Indian and European filmmakers collaborate and share ideas and techniques and how cultural differences may affect the collaboration process. One theme that may be central to our book is the idea of local and regional identity in Indian films produced in Europe (Cresswell and Dixon 2002; Singh 2011). This can include studying how Indian films represent different regions and cities in Europe and how these representations reflect or challenge local and regional identities.

A third thread of an interdisciplinary approach to Indian film productions in Europe involves a theme of the socio-spatial impact of the film, in particular topics such as place branding, destination management, and film tourism (Lehu 2007; O'Connor *et al*. 2008; Horrigan 2009). These themes help to understand how Indian film productions are used to promote a specific image or branding of a European city or region and how this image is then incorporated into the marketing and promotion of the city or region as a tourist destination (Gyimóthy 2018). Similarly, studying film tourism might reveal the extent to which Indian film productions in Europe attract tourists to specific locations and how they engage with the place

they are visiting due to their connection to the film (Frank 2016; Nanjangud and Reijnders 2020). This thread has been explored in part IV of the book.

In terms of readership, the book is expected to be of great interest to two audiences. The first group of readers represents researchers, academics, and both undergraduate and postgraduate students, particularly in the fields of film studies, cultural anthropology, cultural geography, tourism studies, economics, sociology, cultural studies, cultural diplomacy, etc. These readers can learn about and discover the nexus between film, as one of the sub-sectors of the emerging cultural and creative industries, and urban and regional development. The second group of readers represents local authorities, destination marketing organisations, tourism operators and creative business owners, all of whom see the value of film production in attracting visitors, investment and creating new networks with local economic actors. The book offers much-needed data and tools to translate their professional goals and potentials into effective regional strategies and activities. It is expected for the book to be of high interest to academic and non-academic actors not only from India and Europe as the two subcontinents in the limelight but also from other parts of the world where the Indian film industry has started gradually mobilising locations for filming and targeting audiences (e.g. North and South America, Africa, Australia). The book has an interdisciplinary character and a strong international appeal.

Book structure

The edited collection offers a unique overview of empirical and theoretical studies on the mobilisations of European locations in Indian cinema. It explores the diversity of the European landscapes utilised "on-screen"; place representations and place images as well as the key factors "beyond the screen", including the infrastructure, film policies and business and diplomatic networks that have shaped the use of these spaces, and subsequent social, cultural and economic impacts of consuming the cinematic experiences. The book is divided into five parts, consisting of 14 chapters. The organisation of the chapters is based on the following logic.

Part I sets the scene and provides a background to the unique context of Indian film productions shooting in European locations by examining the mechanisms determining the intercultural cooperation between the two regions. The chapters in this part review the contribution of different disciplinary perspectives aiming to address some of the urgent questions important to contemporary studies of film production and consumption, film policy, cultural studies, sociology, geography and tourism. It also presents state-of-the-art theoretical debates on the relationship between film, space and place.

Part II focuses on the mobilisation of European locations in Indian cinema by examining the diversity of the landscapes used and the meanings they attempt to convey, the relationship between space and place as well as place imaginations. The presented case studies also deepen our understanding of utilising particular European geographical landscapes and Indian film genres.

In the opening chapter of part II, Ranjani Mazumdar looks at the use of European locations in four genre-diverse films from Bombay cinema. The main focus is on the practices of mapping, which relate to so-called cartographic consciousness. The chapter also looks at the infrastructure, trade, and diplomatic networks that have made the use of European spaces possible. Four films are being analysed: *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara* (2011), *War (2019), Fan (2016), and Tamasha* (2016). All of them involve European locations as a vital part of storytelling. The chapter establishes the significant role of cinematic cartography as an infrastructural, aesthetic, spatial, and cultural practice that produces a unique imagination of Europe on screen.

In the following chapter, Mimi Urbanc, Primož Gašperič, and Jani Kozina focus on the representation of landscapes and the depiction of landscape features in Indian films shot in Europe. The study is quantitative, and it is based on a sample of 594 film scenes from 34 Indian films shot in five European countries – Finland, Poland, Slovenia, Sweden, and Switzerland. The analysis in this chapter shows the wide variety of landscape elements depicted. For instance, urban areas are mainly represented by historical and modern images and green and blue infrastructure. On the other hand, the countryside is predominantly represented by forests, meadows and grasslands, villages, mountains, and fields, and less often by vineyards and water elements. As the authors point out, there is a clear divide in representation between Central and Northern Europe, with the former being based on (medieval) heritage, culture, and tradition. In contrast, Northern Europe relies more on the modern urban fabric.

The third chapter of this part of the book by Shikha Jhingan explores the relationship between European landscape and film songs, which intensified in the 1990s with the Bollywoodisation of Indian cinema. Based on textual analysis and ethnographic research, the chapter traces the genealogy of film songs shot in European locations to highlight the transformations in their aural and visual style along the axis of industrial practice. The author distinguishes between two types of film songs that have not only become commonplace in recent years but also rely heavily on a relationship with the place they depict or in which they are made. Thus, background songs evoke the characters' mood, and their affective states seem to flow from and into the locations inhabited by them. These songs also give us an aural perspective of the European city, subtly incorporating its sounds and musical culture. The second type of song, the dance songs, involves many dancers and crowd managers, enabling intercultural interactions and an embodied engagement with the European locations used for shooting. The chapter also identifies the main factors that have contributed to the rise in the popularity of this type of film song. The most important of these is the rise of global dance cultures and the emergence of mobile dancing bodies no longer contained by geographical boundaries.

Part III sheds light on the specific spatial attraction factors in Europe. Four chapters examine push factors as well as competing pull factors, including various organisational arrangements and institutional mechanisms that exist in different territorial contexts, in both mature (Italy and Switzerland) and new destinations

(Finland, Slovenia, and Sweden), in attracting the film producers. The case studies featured here scrutinise film production cultures by looking at the contemporary film policies, developed to attract foreign film producers to their destinations as well as private initiatives which benefit from the "runaway productions". The analysed cases demonstrate potential large economic impacts from the cooperation between Indian film producers and European stakeholders.

The contribution by Marco Cucco and Massimo Scaglioni on the Italian trail of Indian films brings together two study traditions linked to media industry studies: the political economy of media and production studies. The former is a useful tool for relating companies' actions to the public policies regulating or supporting the media industry and for highlighting key trends in the market and corporate strategy. At the same time, the latter is essential for understanding the production cultures in which the companies operate and where the audiovisual products are created. The authors theoretically identified three types of drivers for the delocalisation of Indian film shoots in Western countries: logistical, financial and appeal. These categories can be further broken down. For delocalisation in Italy, the chapter confirmed these three types, albeit in just some of their forms. The most relevant factors of delocalisation in the Italian context seem to be good local services, the weather, tax incentives, and a desire for the spectacular. As their analysis shows, Indian audiovisual productions' choice of Italian locations is not an exceptional phenomenon but rather a trend that has remained stable throughout the last decade. The added value of this chapter is to represent the follow-up of research undertaken by the two authors a decade ago on the same topic (Cucco and Scaglioni 2014). It extends the study period (from 2010 to early 2022) and thus offers a more reliable overview on the Indian–Italian collaboration.

The chapter by Hania Janta and Metka Herzog complements the contemporary outlook on Indian film productions in the Western European context by the Swiss example. Switzerland has been an established destination in Bollywood cinema for decades but now faces challenges in keeping its status as a film-friendly destination. This is partly due to the sheer number of other emerging destinations globally (see Kozina and Jelnikar in this volume). Janta and Herzog examine the attraction factors that make Bollywood filmmakers and other Indian film industries producers choose or return to shoot in Swiss regions, despite Switzerland's lack of competitive incentive schemes. Using qualitative data from in-depth interviews with location stakeholders in Switzerland, this chapter explores the changing landscape of foreign filmmaking in Switzerland. Their findings illustrate that well-known attributes, such as efficient business administration, proximity to high-end tourism facilities, and specialist staff, play a key role in attracting large-scale productions. The pristine environment and diverse linguistic and geographical landscapes create new opportunities for filmmakers to use multilingual Switzerland as a substitute location. However, this can lead to issues related to the authenticity of the destination and displacement. This chapter contributes to the literature by exploring globalised film production, film-induced tourism, film policy, and attraction factors of destinations.

Against the background of traditional Indian filmmaking in Western Europe since the 1990s, the contribution of Jani Kozina and Ana Jelnikar portrays the emerging trends of Indian film production in Central and Eastern Europe. The processes of political, economic, and social cohesion, since the expansion of the European Union in 2004 have opened new opportunities for Indian producers to explore "exotic" locations. Slovenia, the smallest of the countries belonging to Central and Eastern Europe, has featured as an example thereof. This chapter explores the processes, mechanisms and cultural contexts that have popularised destinations in Central and Eastern Europe in general and Slovenia in particular. As a post-socialist country that has maintained strong ties to the Western world, Slovenia is shown to occupy a rather specific place in the context of Indian–European film co-production while exhibiting tendencies that characterise the wider region. This serves to underline both the unity and diversity of the region itself and the problem complex at hand. The comparative advantages of Slovenia as a destination for filmmakers are discovered to be affordable filming locations, a great variety of landscapes displaying beautiful natural scenery as well as cultural heritage, skilled technicians and talented performers. The authors conclude, however, that Slovenia has only acted as a backdrop for Indian filmmakers so far and that more efforts need to be made to raise its profile among filmmakers and, consequently, the audience.

The contribution by Malwina Balcerak, Krzysztof Stachowiak, and Marcin Adamczak examines production culture, interpersonal relations, and the internationalisation of the filmmaking industry using the case of Indian film productions in Poland. The chapter indicates the role of interpersonal relations as an essential element of Indian production culture and points out the role of the individual dimension in international film production. The chapter conceptually refers to and discusses the concept of production culture by Caldwell (2008) and applies it to explain interpersonal relations in collaboration with the Indian film industry. Using data from individual in-depth interviews with key actors involved in Indian film production in Poland, the chapters offer an analysis of Indian film production culture from the perspective of Polish filmmakers. The authors demonstrate how the individual dimension is embedded in culture: the individual's actions are determined by social norms and rules, both formal and informal. The latter seems to be no less important in international film cooperation. This is an important conclusion from the point of view of the internationalisation of filmmaking, as many of the activities of public authorities in support of internationalisation are oriented towards an organisational or more formalised dimension.

The final chapter of this part rounds the European continent with some evidence from the Nordic rural regions. Therese Sunngren-Granlund discusses how film productions, and especially Indian film productions, are used to foster regional development in rural areas of the Nordic context. Her chapter is based on an analysis of current film policy documents in the following countries: Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland, with a deeper focus on Finland, where ten in-depth

interviews with Finnish stakeholders working in the film industry were also conducted between 2020 and 2021. The author identified the Arctic landscape covered in snow, as depicted in both Indian film productions *War* (2019) and *Shamitabh* (2015), as one of the primary draws for foreign filmmakers to come to Finland. Other important pull factors are the well-developed infrastructure, with five international airports, roads across the country and national mobile phone coverage not being an issue even in more remote locations. In addition to this, the low level of bureaucracy and the quality of work were factors often mentioned as positive aspects by the Finnish respondents themselves, making it comparable to the Swiss context explored by Janta and Herzog also in this volume. The research findings suggest that Indian and international film productions can be an opportunity for the creative industries in the Nordic region, as well as a resourceful contributor to regional development.

Part IV moves beyond the screen to the various impacts that the Indian film production in Europe entails; from cultural impacts as part of soft public diplomacy, to social impacts that have wider consequences for the audiences and their consumption habits, both in Europe and India, to economic impacts related to employment and knowledge sharing. The presented studies engage in the conceptual debates on globalisation, transnationalism, knowledge transfer, intercultural aspects, and the various practices related to the film consumption.

Veena Hariharan's contribution to this volume discusses how we can read these geo-scapes as more than just backgrounds, and instead as complex ecologies for extraction – of human and non-human habitats, labour, resource, and capital. European locations are frequently used as backdrops for song and stunt sequences in popular Indian films. These European locations, which are created through visually appealing geographies of mountains, rivers, fjords, valleys, and forests teeming with wild animals, are as much about India's idea of Europe, as they are about creating a "Europe" for the Indian imagination. The use of animals in films is implicated in the exploitative dynamic of the entertainment industrial complex that animal activists have protested time and again in connection with the circus, animal sports, performances, etc. Through a textual and contextual analysis of the film *Tiger Zinda Hai* (2017), one of the latest animal films shot in Europe – featuring wild wolves and superstar Salman Khan, Hariharan shows the entanglements of screenwriters, producers, directors, actors, production crew, and VFX artists with wranglers, animal trainers, and performing animals to produce the film's non-human geographies.

The chapter by Pankaj Jain and Ajay Raina sheds light on how the film *Purab Aur Pachhim*, the East and the West, by Manoj Kumar, brought Indian immigrants to the screen for the first time. Despite its non-formulaic and unconventional subject, PAP emerged as the fourth highest-grossing Hindi film in 1970, beating many other films with established plotlines, actors, and directors. The film's underlying message, articulated through its songs and unique narrative, makes it relevant for research even though 50 years have passed since its release. Discussing a few

examples from the film, the authors explore how it, with its conscious and unconscious biases, presents an exclusive image of India rooted in the fundamental tenets of Hindu nationalism. Yet there is no evidence that *Purab Aur Pachhim* was produced with the sole aim of promoting Hindu nationalism. What is undeniable, according to the authors, is that the rise of Hindu nationalism over the past 100 years has had an impact on Indian art as well as on Indian artists.

In the final chapter of this part, Bharath M. Josiam *et al*. analyse the perception of European destinations through the eyes of Bollywood film viewers to determine how perception is influenced by what is seen in films by collecting and analysing 670 surveys from Indian film consumers. The results indicate that Bollywood films strongly influence the perceived destination image of European countries among a large segment of the Indian population. European destinations were divided into the top five and bottom five destinations for Indian tourists, and the data was then compared to world tourism statistics. The findings show differences in destination preference among Bollywood viewers and worldwide tourist trends. According to the research, prominently featuring a landscape in Bollywood movies can significantly impact Indians' perception on the destination's image. European countries frequently portrayed in films have higher marks in multiple perception categories than those not featured in blockbuster Bollywood films. As demonstrated by Hudson and Ritchie (2006), if destinations proactively engage in efforts with movie producers and studios to film at their location, it can result in successful film tourism. As Bollywood films seem to have such a significant influence on the perceived image and travel intentions of Indian viewers, destination marketers must concern themselves with Bollywood films to tap into an affluent emergent market of Indian tourists.

Part V provides a summary of the collection; it reviews the various disciplinary approaches (geography, film studies, media studies), themes (attraction factors, meanings and imaginary, regional development), European location contexts (Finland, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, Poland), and methodologies (in-depth interviews, surveys, textual analysis, ethnographic research or cinematic analysis) applied by the researchers. The chapter ends by outlining directions for future research, focusing on the changing character of the film industry, including the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, film policy as well as technological and environmental challenges and opportunities.

Acknowledgement

FilmInd project – The Indian film industry as a driver of new socio-economic connections was carried out within the EU-India Platform for Social Sciences and Humanities (EqUIP) and financed by national funding from the participating countries. The authors acknowledge the receipt of funding from the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport of the Republic of Slovenia and Slovenian Research Agency (Research programme P6–0101), Swiss National Science Foundation (Project No.

IZEQZ1_180340), Academy of Finland, Polish National Science Centre (project no. 2017/27/Z/HS4/00039).

References

Aitken, S. C. and Dixon, D. P., 2006. Imagining geographies of film. *Erdkunde*, 60, 326–336.

Aitken, S. C. and Zonn, L., eds., 1994. *Place, power, situation, and spectacle: A geography of film*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Allen, R., 1993. Representation, illusion, and the cinema. *Cinema Journal*, 32, 21–48.

Buchmann, A., 2010. Planning and development in film tourism: Insights into the experience of lord of the rings film guides. *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development*, 7, 77–84.

Caldwell, J. T., 2008. *Production culture: Industrial reflexivity and critical practice in film and television*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Coe, N. M., 2015. Global production networks in the creative industries. *In:* C. Jones, M. Lorenzen and J. Sapsed, eds., *The Oxford handbook of creative industries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 486–501.

Cresswell, T. and Dixon, D., eds., 2002. *Engaging film: Geographies of mobility and identity*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Cucco, M. and Dagnino, G., 2018. Public film policy and the rise of economic principles: The case of Switzerland. *In:* P. C. Murschetz, ed., *Handbook of state aid for film*. Lugano: Springer International Publishing, 427–445.

Cucco, M. and Richeri, G., 2021. European film commissions as transcultural promoters and mediators. *Journal of Transcultural Communication*, 1, 45–57.

Cucco, M. and Scaglioni, M., 2014. Shooting Bollywood abroad: The outsourcing of Indian films in Italy. *Journal of Italian Cinema and Media Studies*, 2, 417–432.

Dastidar, S. G. and Elliott, C., 2020. The Indian film industry in a changing international market. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 44, 97–116.

Ebrahim, H., 2008. From 'ghetto' to mainstream: Bollywood in South Africa. *Scrutiny 2: Culture and Circulation in the Indian Ocean*, 13, 63–76.

Frank, S., 2016. Dwelling-in-motion: Indian Bollywood tourists and their hosts in the Swiss Alps. *Cultural Studies*, 30.

Gamson, W. A., Croteau, D., Hoynes, W. and Sasson, T., 1992. Media images and the social construction of reality. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 18, 373–393.

Garrison, S., Wallace, C. and Chen, X., 2022. Media tourism and COVID-19: An empirical investigation of the impact of COVID-19 on the Scottish tourism industry. *Tourism, Culture & Communication*. https://doi.org/10.3727/109830422x16600594683373

Gyimóthy, S., 2018. Transformations in destination texture: Curry and Bollywood romance in the Swiss Alps. *Tourist Studies*, 18, 292–314.

Halle, R., 2016. German film policy's new horizons. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 22, 724–742.

Hassam, A. and Paranjape, M., eds., 2010. *Bollywood in Australia: Transnationalism and cultural production*. Crawley: University of Western Australia Publishing.

Hill, J. and Kawashima, N., 2016. Introduction: Film policy in a globalised cultural economy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 22, 667–672.

Hong, Y., 2021. The power of Bollywood: A study on opportunities, challenges, and audiences' perceptions of Indian cinema in China. *Global Media and China*, 6, 345–363.

Horrigan, D., 2009. Branded content: A new model for driving tourism via film and branding strategies. *Tourismos: An International Multidisciplinary Refereed Journal of Tourism*, 4, 51–65.

Hudson, S. and Ritchie, J. R. B., 2006. Promoting destinations via film tourism: An empirical identification of supporting marketing initiatives. *Journal of Travel Research*, 44, 387–396.

Jäckel, A., 2003. *European film industries*. London: British Film Institute.

Jacobsson, A., 2017. Intercultural film: Fiction film as audio-visual documents of interculturality. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 38, 54–69.

Katsarova, I., 2014. *Supporting the European film industry*. Brussels: European Parliamentary Research Service.

Krämer, L., 2016. *Bollywood in Britain: Cinema, brand, discursive complex*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Krauss, F., 2012. Bollywood's circuits in Germany. *In:* A. G. Roy, ed., *The magic of Bollywood: At home and abroad*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 295–317.

Lefebvre, M., ed., 2006. *Landscape and film*. New York: Routledge.

Lehu, J.-M., 2007. *Branded entertainment: Product placement and brand strategy in the entertainment business*. London: Kogan Page.

Lourenço, I., 2017. Bollywood in Portugal: Watching and dancing practices in the construction of alternative cultural identities. *Etnográfica*, 21, 175–202.

Lukinbeal, C. and Sommerlad, E., 2022. Doing film geography. *GeoJournal*, 87, 1–9.

Lukinbeal, C. and Zimmermann, S., 2006. Film geography: A new subfield. *Erdkunde*, 60, 315–325.

Lukinbeal, C. and Zimmermann, S., eds., 2008. *The geography of cinema – a cinematic world*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Luther, W., 2010. *Movie production incentives: Blockbuster support for lackluster policy*. Washington: Tax Foundation.

Meloni, G., Paolini, D. and Pulina, M., 2015. *The great beauty: Public subsidies in the Italian movie industry*. Sardinia: Centre for North South Economic Research, University of Cagliari and Sassari.

Nachum, L. and Keeble, D., 2003. MNE linkages and localised clusters: Foreign and indigenous firms in the media cluster of central London. *Journal of International Management*, 9, 171–192.

Nanjangud, A. and Reijnders, S., 2020. Cinematic itineraries and identities: Studying Bollywood tourism among the Hindustanis in the Netherlands. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 25, 659–678.

O'Connor, N., Flanagan, S. and Gilbert, D., 2008. The integration of film-induced tourism and destination branding in Yorkshire, UK. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 10, 423–437.

Olsberg, J. and Barnes, A., 2014. *Impact analysis of fiscal incentive schemes supporting film and audiovisual production in Europe*. Strasbourg: European Audiovisual Observatory.

O'Regan, T., 2018. Revisiting film cities and film services: Methodology, theory and applications. *Journal of African Cinemas*, 10, 9–29.

Sharp, L. and Lukinbeal, C., 2015. Film geography: A review and prospectus. *In:* S. P. Mains, J. Cupples and C. Lukinbeal, eds., *Mediated geographies and geographies of media*. Dordrecht: Springer, 21–35.

Singh, J. P., 2011. *Globalized arts: The entertainment economy and cultural identity*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Slusser, G. E. and Rabkin, E. S., eds., 1989. *Mindscapes: The geographies of imagined worlds*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Urbanc, M., Fridl, J. and Resnik Planinc, T., 2021. Landscapes as represented in textbooks and in students' imagination: Stability, generational gap, image retention and recognisability. *Children's Geographies*, 19, 446–461.

2 From real to reel and back again

Multifaceted relations between film, space, and place

Krzysztof Stachowiak

Introduction: space and place in geography and film

It is commonly assumed that places have a kind of instrumental role, that is, they serve as a backdrop to events or are presented in a certain way. This is generally true, but the essence of the relationship between film and place has a much more profound implication. In this chapter, we will try to show that places are not so much shown as produced or created by the film. A key concept in understanding the relationship of film to space and place is the concept of representation, which – in the face of technological shifts – is changing. Representation does not just mean portrayal or depiction. Thanks to specific means of expression and film techniques, as well as the active role of the audience in the reception of the film, it also concerns the creation of places in a cultural sense. As a consequence, the space-film relationship also changes. Just as, according to classical concepts, space is socially produced (Lefebvre 1974/1991), so places can be culturally produced. This happens by giving new meanings to different elements of space and "familiarising" them in this way, which leads to the transformation of space into place. We will try to show how the mechanism of creating a place through film occurs. On the one hand, filmic means of expression are used for this, and on the other, the spatiality of film itself influences the cultural production of places. The latter aspect has been missing in film geography, and this chapter tries to fill this gap. By considering this spatiality of film, it is possible to discover that what we see on the screen is paradoxically not the only element that allows the spatial dimension of film to be constructed. The space beyond the screen, or more broadly, the space of the entire presented world, is crucial here. It seems that the so-called spatial turn in the humanities and in reflection on film can be an interesting source of inspiration (Jones 2015).

The relationship between film and space and place will be explored by combining ideas from human geography, particularly the geography of culture and film geography as well as film studies. Place is a central concept in human geography. Generally, a place is a geographical location of any size or configuration, comparable to the equally general meanings of such concepts as area, region, or location. However, in human geography, and more broadly in the humanities, place is often given more importance (Cresswell 2004). A fundamental characteristic of the place is that it has meaning. Relph (1976), Tuan (1977), and many others who followed

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-3

them treated the place as a subjectively felt and experienced phenomenon. Humanistic geographers regarded the place as an irreducible component of human experience, without which human experience could not be created or interpreted. Such experiences included perception of place, sense of place, or memories associated with the place.

On the one hand, places were understood as shaping the unique experiences of individuals and, on the other, as specific to different cultures. In this way, places reflected and articulated cultural customs or cultural differences in modes of perception. With the emergence of the "new" cultural geography in the 1980s, particular attention was paid to how places are represented in various cultural forms such as art, film, literature, and maps (Mitchell 2000).

As Tuan (1977, p. 6) notes:

> in experience, the meaning of space often merges with that of place. "Space" is more abstract than "place". What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value. . . . The ideas "space" and "place" require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place.

Space, as opposed to a place, has been seen as a meaningless sphere, an element that, like time, creates fundamental dimensions for human life. When people give meaning to a part of space and then attach themselves to it – for example, by naming it – it becomes a place. As Cresswell (2004, p. 10) notes:

> although this basic dualism of space and place runs through much of human geography since the 1970s, it is confused somewhat by the idea of social space – or socially produced space – which, in many ways, plays the same role as place.

Film geography tries to apply the concepts of place and space in various types of analyses, such as the image of the place and the ways of presenting the place in the film (Hirsch and O'Rourke 2017), researching film and place/space relations through the city (Hallam *et al*. 2008; Hallam 2010; Hallam and Roberts 2014), examining the crossover of cinematic spaces in architecture (Koeck 2013) (Cairns 2013) or understanding urban phenomena through the moving image (Penz and Lu 2011). Based on the ideas of film geography, we can argue that, in the case of film, we are dealing with a culturally produced space which, in the process of creation and then reception of the film, becomes meaningful and thus turn into a place. Films, as well as novels, often evoke a sense of place – a feeling that the viewer or reader knows what it is like to "be there". A "sense of place" is a subjective and emotional attachment people have to place (Tuan 1977). However, it is important

to remember that places are not like chairs or automobiles and do not come out of a factory as finished products. Places are very much in process (Pred 1984) and are created by cultural practices, such as literature, film, and music (Aitken and Zonn 1994; Leyshon *et al*. 1998; Cresswell and Dixon 2002).

Our experience of real space can easily be transferred, on an isomorphic basis, to the experience of the spatiality of film. Moreover, this simple extension of our experience to film has been a slowing factor in the development of geographical reflection on the film. As Aitken and Zonn (1994, p. 5) speculated, geographers have been slow to make a serious study of film because of "the geographer's traditional emphasis on the material conditions of social life wherein representation is subsidiary to 'physical reality'". The traditional distinction between film location (where films are shot) and film setting (where the action of the film takes place) was thus founded on the assumption that one is an extension of the other. Meanwhile, these categories correspond to specific types of space. Drawing on the contributions of film geography, media geography, film studies, and visual culture and media studies, the chapter will map the filmic territory, propose a typology of film spaces, and reflect on their relationship to real-world spaces and places. The chapter thus discusses the spatiality of film and its consequences for geographical space. The main consequences are not only the negotiation of meanings and the taming of space but also the creation of spatial orientation skills in a "parallel" world, that is, the one created by the film.

Depicted, represented, or created: how do we see what is on the screen?

At the heart of most film theories was the explicit or tacitly accepted assumption that every object depicted on screen must be in front of the camera at the right time and in the right place (Thompson and Bordwell 2003; Villarejo 2007; Bordwell and Thompson 2008). Disputes only concerned the question of whether "depict" meant: to reproduce, reflect, or merely to signify (Allen 1993). This, however, concerned the question of the relationship between the real object and the depicted object and did not compromise the essence of the principle of representation itself. Nevertheless, there has always been the question of a fundamental difference related to the fact of the heterogeneous status of what can be represented in a film. It has always been considered specific to the cinema to represent by means of a reflection of what actually exists in the material world around us, regardless of the intentions of the artist, who only intervenes in this world by the simple fact of filming it. It was no less obvious to represent a world that had previously been created for the cinema, either in a studio or, much later, by means of digital techniques (Giralt 2010).

Although in both cases, we are dealing with the representation of a world previously non-existent in the reality in which we too live, the difference concerning the status of representation is fundamental (Cosgrove 2008). The interference of digital techniques in the world of cinema, whose ontology has hitherto been determined by photographic reproduction, brings about a revolutionary change. In fact,

we are no longer dealing with representation in the sense of Renaissance concepts (see more, especially with a reference to landscape, in Cosgrove 2008), which the cinema did not cancel, but only took over and modified, replacing the dexterity of the painter's hand with the efficiency of the camera. This was undoubtedly a significant breakthrough, but not as radical as that brought about by digital techniques. Although classical techniques of recording moving images attempted to invade the region of the representation of the world, they left at the centre an unchanging relationship between a real object and its representation. In contemporary cinema, which continues to and successfully simulate the existence of the worlds it depicts, we are increasingly confronted with entirely new situations. What previously never and nowhere existed appears on the screen. What has never existed anywhere before, which has no prototype, appears on the screen. The dinosaurs in Steven Spielberg's *Jurassic Park* (1993) come out of nowhere. Baudrillard's (1994) observation that the image is prior to what it depicts is not just a showy metaphor but a fact. Therefore in cinema, we are no longer dealing with a represented world. The cinema still presents quasi-real worlds, possible or probable, regardless of the techniques it uses to do so. However, the ontological foundation of representation has changed: representation remains as the act of bringing into existence something that functions on the laws of reality (Hall 2013).

The concept of representation, however, is not just an ontological problem for cinema, raising doubts mentioned earlier. It is also the foundation for bringing into existence a world or worlds that are autonomous from the world in which we also live. At the same time, however, they are "similar" enough to enable us to mentally and emotionally connect with them, to experience what "happens" in these worlds as probable or even real. Real in the sense that what is said about human affairs – psychological, moral, and social – can, by transposition, also apply to our reality. The concept of the represented world most often refers to the cinema of fiction, to the feature film, although other types of cinematic expression, such as documentaries, also "represent". They represent, by all means, "our" world, people who live in a particular time and place, and what we watch on screen happens to them or has really happened to them. In a fictional film, the actors we watch there also "really" exist, and their lives may take place in the real Paris or Tokyo. Nevertheless, these actors are inscribed within the fiction and thus become "fictional" people, and what surrounds them (objects, landscapes, architecture) also belongs only to this fictional story, nowhere else. What the fictional film presents is a made-up story, taking place in a made-up world. The degree of resemblance of this world to our reality may vary greatly, but this does not change its status in any way – it is always a fictional world, even if its authors claim to be reporting real events that involve real people.

To describe the world depicted in an action film, the French aesthetician Étienne Souriau (Souriau 1951, 1953), introduced a special term: *diegesis*. Diegesis is the universe of cinematic fiction constituted by a system of means of expression (scenes, shots, editing, sound, music, light, set design, etc.), and thus the only component of the film's structure that is a real object, available in perception to the spectator. This universe is intentionally delineated by the author and implied

and constructed, through perceptual and cognitive processes and structures, by the viewer. In other words, diegesis consists of time and space, processes, events, states of affairs, people and objects, otherwise, it is the world presented, both in physical terms (objects physically visible on the screen) and in references (what is not visible on the screen but we know exists) (see more in Bordwell 1985, pp. 14–26).

The exposure to the represented world of a film triggers a particular attitude in the viewer, characterised by a duality. On the one hand, the viewer easily enters this world, especially if the film in question does not violate his or her perceptual habits, does not disappoint expectations, remaining in harmony with the common-sense experience of reality perception. On the other hand, the viewer is able to distance himself from this world, accept its conventionality, and open up to what is new and unexpected. Crucial in defining the relationship between film and place is the role of the viewer in interacting with the cinematic world. Initially, a passive role was assumed for the viewer, who assimilated what he or she saw on the screen according to the author's intentions, or according to the laws of perception, both general and culturally conditioned. It is worth recalling the conviction of early semiotic theorists that the viewer merely "decodes" the meaning of film texts according to assimilated codes (Metz 1974). Newer film theorists, however, emphasise the active participation of the viewer in the creation of meaning, and even a kind of co-authorship by the viewer, resulting from both the function of the viewer's mind and the "opening up" of the text itself. The active role of the spectator is mainly emphasised by cognitive approaches (Banaji 2006; Shimamura 2013). In their view, the film merely provides the viewer with signals through which he or she constructs what is presented. The reception of a film is a flow of hypotheses that are constantly revised as a result of the influx of new information. Also, proponents of the phenomenological orientation maintain that a film can only be understood due to the intentional nature of the viewer's consciousness, which models its representation. Others still strongly emphasise the role of interpretation (Gaut 2010).

The active role of the spectator has consequences in expanding the meaning of representation. The film ceases to be just a depicted "image of reality" (whether we are dealing with a reality whose existence is confirmed by our knowledge and memory or with a fake "reality" from an atelier or a computer). It becomes a cultural artefact, a metaphor for a reality that no longer shows (depicts) it but only represents it. Replacing the notion of depiction with that of representation frees us from the whole complex of concepts and problems associated with showing, reproducing or recreating. Representations merely refer to the world, delimiting some possible area of its meanings while at the same time suggesting the existence of an extensive context beyond this area. Film photography no longer certifies reality. For it creates what it supposedly only shows. According to Flusser (2011), contemporary media produce "technical images" that, although they look as if they were images of objectively existing reality, by conveying the illusion of reality, in fact, present only themselves. If cinema, like other media, is able to produce images that have no necessary relationship to reality, which at one time seemed to be its ontological foundation, even a condition of existence, then the concept of representation gains a new meaning. If the viewer is not constrained either by the

perceptual experience gained from the reception of the real world, or by the system of compulsions determined by the codes or specific narrative strategies of the text, and can freely traverse the areas of the text, then certain possibilities open up for a departure towards a previously unrepresented world that represents only itself.

From real to reel? The winding roads of the relationship between space and film

In order to present the complex nexus of relations between film and other media and place, we propose in this section a model that combines the geographic understanding of space with the perspective of film studies. It highlights two things. First, it allows us to draw attention to the fact that the presence of spaces in cultural texts is not limited to visual representation, but may have a different character. Second, the model proposes a typology of space resulting from the weaving of the relationship between the film and the place. This weave leads to the creation of three types of space: real, mediated, and imaginary. This distinction will be important for understanding the typology of space in the film presented in the next section.

The space of the real world, the one that surrounds us and from which we draw our experiences, is often the basis of film registration. It is the one that appears on screen, either representing itself or playing the role of other spaces. Tuan (1974) introduced the term topophilia to describe people's affective bond with a place. Topophilia consists of sensual, aesthetic, intellectual feelings and a sense of belonging. The familiarity of a place is determined by three interrelated components: the physical surroundings of the object, the activities of the people and the meanings (Ellard 2015). Art and its various forms are recognised as one way of taming space, both through making meanings and through artistic practices that take place in a specific space or that involve space (e.g. space can become material in site-specific art) (Kwon 2002; Fleming 2007). Film is one such activity that has wide-ranging effects, primarily on the image of place (Kim and Richardson 2003; Mercille 2005; O'Connor *et al*. 2008; Hudson *et al*. 2011). Places can be "assimilated" not only by film but also by other types of art, such as literature, painting, or photography. All these cultural forms influence how we may think and feel about different places.

Thus, both generic spaces and specific places are represented by different forms of culture. This representation can be of two kinds: verbal or visual (see Figure 2.1). To the former, we can mainly include literature, to the others the visual arts, that is, painting, photography, or film. Film is quite unique in that it uses both types of communication to depict events. Through dialogues or monologues delivered by characters, spaces, and places can be described, while at the same time, the visual sphere of the film depicts the space on the screen to us. This visuality is of great importance here, and in the case of cinema, it can be a source of pleasure (Mulvey 1999). The description of a space or place in literature explains, as it were, its qualities through the prism of narrative. The space represents the author's vision of the world, expressed in verbal language. Reproducing this space requires the audience to "translate" it into their spatial codes (Terentowicz-Fotyga 2018). In general terms, we would say that the viewers have to use their

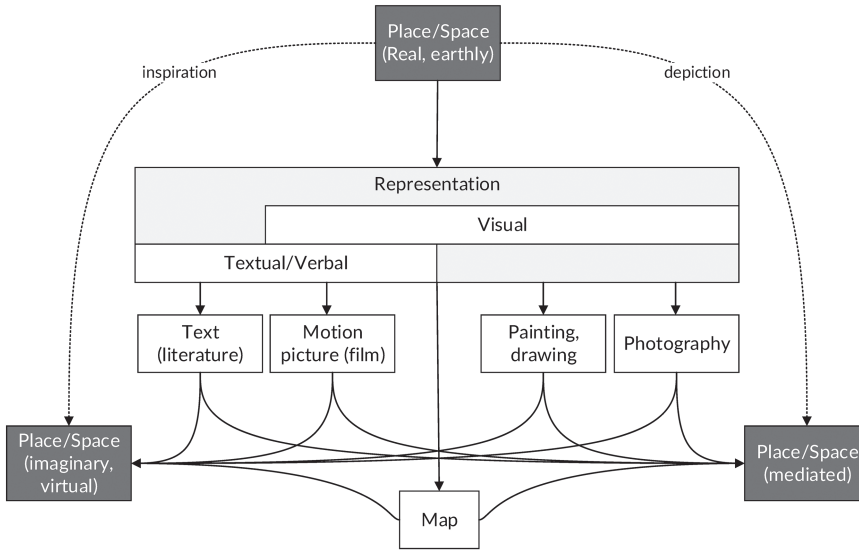

Figure 2.1 Nexus of relationships between film and other media and place/space.
Source: Own elaboration

imagination to visualise the space described in the text. As a result, the space has an imaginary rather than a mediated character.

Literature often involves the depiction of spaces and places that are either fictional or based on real-world locations, and in order to fully understand and engage with these depictions, readers must use their imagination to visualise the spaces and places described in the text. This process of using imagination to conjure up a mental image of the spaces and places depicted in literature is an important aspect of reading and can help to enrich the reading experience. It is worth noting, however, that the extent to which readers rely on their imagination to visualise the spaces and places depicted in literature can vary. Some texts may provide very detailed descriptions of the physical features and characteristics of the spaces and places depicted, while others may be more abstract or symbolic in their depiction of these elements. In these cases, readers may need to draw on their own personal experiences and cultural knowledge in order to construct a mental image of the spaces and places depicted in the text. Nevertheless, this type of space is *imagined* or *imaginary* (see Figure 2.1).

Literature and the film often depict imaginary spaces or worlds that do not exist in the real world. These imaginary spaces can be as simple as a single room or as complex as an entire universe, and they can be created for a variety of purposes, such as to tell a story, explore an idea, or evoke an emotion. One of the key features of imaginary spaces in literature and film is that they allow for creating environments and situations that would not be possible or practical in the real world. This can give writers and filmmakers the freedom to explore a wide range of themes and

ideas in a way that is not limited by the constraints of reality. At the same time, however, imaginary spaces in literature and film can also be used to comment on or reflect aspects of the real world. For example, the imaginary world of Middle-earth in *The Lord of the Rings* novels and films can be seen as a metaphor for the real world and can be used to explore themes such as power, conflict, and redemption (Mathijs 2006). In this way, imaginary spaces in literature and film can serve as a way to engage with and understand the complexities of the real world in a more imaginative and creative way.

Many imaginary spaces in literature and film are inspired by real-world spaces and can incorporate real-world geography, architecture, and culture elements. This can be especially true in cases where the imaginary space is intended to be a fictionalised version of a real place or to serve as a metaphor for a real-world issue or theme. For example, the imaginary world of Middle-earth in *The Lord of the Rings* novels and films is inspired by the landscapes and cultures of Europe, particularly those of the Anglo-Saxon and Norse traditions (Garth 2020). Similarly, the city of Hogwarts in the Harry Potter series is inspired by the architecture and culture of medieval Europe (Whited 2002). In these cases, the use of real-world elements in the creation of the imaginary space can help to make the space feel more grounded and believable to the audience and can also provide a sense of familiarity and resonance with the real world. At the same time, however, it is important to note that the imaginary spaces depicted in literature and film are ultimately fictional creations and despite they should not be confused with the real world, the phenomenon of fandom shows it is not always the case (see for instance Bell 2015 for a study of Harry Potter fandom).

The visual arts, on the other hand, operate with images, which, with the primacy of the sense of sight in human perception – just to mention that sight is the most valued sense (Enoch *et al*. 2019) and we are living in an era of visual culture (Howells 2003) – makes fields such as photography or film play a key role in culture today. Even a two-dimensional image is thus a more "rich" representation of the real-world space than a verbal description. Through visual representations, the experience of real places becomes mediated and they themselves become part of the media. In this case, we can speak of *mediated space*.

Visual representations of real places, such as photographs, videos, and maps, can be seen as a form of mediation, because they provide a filtered or interpreted version of the real place. These visual representations can capture certain aspects of the real place and omit or distort others, and they often rely on the viewer's prior knowledge and expectations to make sense of the image. As a result, the experience of a real place through a visual representation is necessarily different from experiencing the place in person. In this sense, all forms of representation, including visual ones, can be seen as a form of mediation, because they involve the interpretation and communication of an experience or concept through a medium that is separate from the original experience. This can be especially significant in the case of digital media, where the representation is often not only separate from the original experience but also accessible to a potentially global audience (Brown 2018). Visual culture, which includes forms of media such as photography, film,

and television, has the power to shape and influence our understanding and experience of spaces and places. By presenting images of these spaces and places, visual culture can create a mediated version of these locations that is separate from the physical reality of the place. As a result, the experience of a place through visual culture can be limited to consuming the images of the place through the media (Breek *et al*. 2018). This can be especially true in cases where the images presented in the media are carefully curated or presented in a specific way in order to convey a particular message or perspective (Couldry and McCarthy 2004). Visual culture can provide a limited or biased view of a place, and it is important to consider the context and intentions behind the images being presented in order to fully understand and engage with the place depicted.

Alongside images (still and moving), one of the most important forms of visual representation of space is the *map*. A map can be a form of representation of real space, depicting a wide range of information about spaces and places, including their geography, topography, landmarks, infrastructure, and other features. At the same time, a map or a concept of a map can also be used to examine the spatial dimensions of the film. Conley (2007, p. 1) in his book "*Cartographic cinema*" argues that "even if a film does not display a map as such, by nature it bears an implicit relation with cartography". Conley's argument is based on the idea that films depict locations and spaces, whether real or fictional and that these locations and spaces can be thought of as being mapped out within the film. Even if a film does not show a physical map, it can still be considered to have an implicit cartographic element because it represents a spatial narrative. This can be seen in the way that characters move through and interact with different locations within the film, as well as the way that the film itself is structured around these locations.

Films can also be used to represent and depict real-world places, either through the use of actual locations or through the use of special effects and computer-generated imagery. In these cases, the film can be seen as a way of mapping out and depicting these places in a visual and spatial way. Overall, this perspective on the relationship between film and cartography highlights the idea that films can be seen as a form of spatial representation, even if they do not show a physical map. This view suggests that films can be thought of as a way of mapping out and depicting the world (also imaginary worlds) in a visual and spatial way (Penz and Koeck 2017).

Bruno (2002) argues that cartography is not necessarily a medium for mastering space, but that it can extend subjectivity and emotion into space. Maps are not just objective representations of the physical world, but that they can also be used to convey subjective experiences and emotions (cf. King 1996). Therefore, maps can be used to represent the emotional significance of different places, or the way that they can convey the subjective experiences of people who live or have lived in a particular place. Bruno's (2002) perspective on cartography highlights the idea that maps are not just neutral, objective representations of the world, but that they can also be used to convey subjective experiences and emotions. This view challenges the traditional understanding of cartography as a purely scientific and technical discipline, and suggests that maps can be used to represent and convey a wide range of human experiences and emotions.

Mapping the filmic territory: types of space in the film

Film space is specific; it is not simply the space we know from everyday experience, although the sensations that flow from it help us build models of the space experienced in the film experience. Any reflection on space in art begins with the fundamental observation that the space we experience when interacting with art is not the same space in which we live and act. Each art form shapes it in its way, proposing a specific take on the parameters that define real space. The finite character of its space, delimited and framed yet isomorphic to the infinity of real space, is specific to each artistic work. It is generally believed that film as art is closest to being able to depict authentic relations occurring in real space. However, the opposite claim to this opinion seems equally convincing – film, thanks to its means of expression, has almost unlimited possibilities for creating space, for which the starting point is no real system. We can therefore speak of two roles of space in the film: representing and creating.

In the real world, but also in certain types of art, such as theatre, we deal with a three-dimensional space in which all relationships occur between three-dimensional figures. In the film, however, we are dealing with the projection onto a plane. Their play only creates the illusion of depth, giving the appearance of a three-dimensional existence to a two-dimensional world. On the other hand, a closer bond connects the space of the film image with the space of the painting image since perspective vision is the basis for the illusion of the three dimensions of the depicted world. Nevertheless, this is where the fundamental similarities end, as illusiveness does not entirely determine the nature of film space, which is experienced in several ways, including through the play of sets, editing that results in changing shots, and the non-image location of the sound. Consequently, it would be simpler to say that the film does not so much reproduce a real space or create an entirely new space but that it successively marks this space with individual images. The successive film images are a kind of partial sign, marking a whole space, or rather one of many spaces. As a rule, film space (given in particular film) is not fixed and unchanging. On the contrary, it changes with the development of the plot, places of action, and the introduction of different modalities of expression. To capture this changing character of space, Figure 2.2 proposes to frame the spatiality of the film concerning three categories of space: profilmic, diegetic, and virtual. This framework is an amalgam of the concepts of space and place present in human geography and the reflection on space present in film studies. It argues that film creates its own space through various elements such as sets, editing, and sound. Profilmic space refers to what is captured on film, including studio sets and practical locations. Diegetic space is the fictional world of the film, represented on screen through mise-en-scène and framing. The relationship between on-screen and off-screen space influences our perception of the film space. Editing plays a crucial role in creating cinematic space, allowing for the manipulation and continuity of space. Ultimately, film space is a combination of what is shown and what is imagined by the audience. These will be elaborated in the following sections of the chapter.

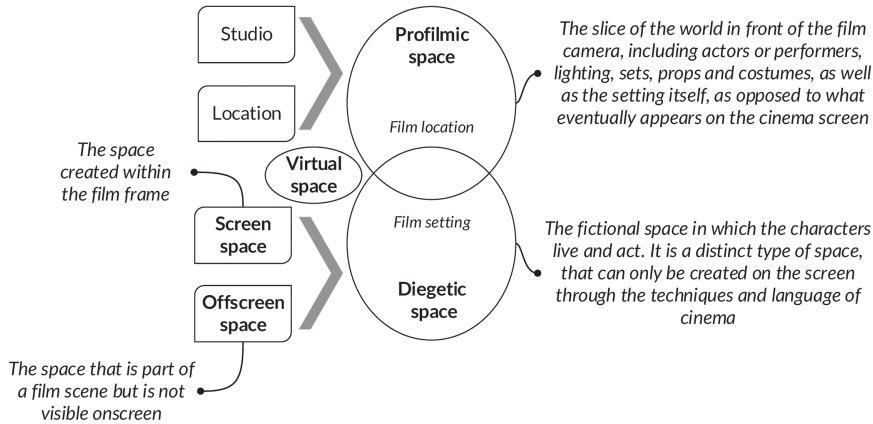

Figure 2.2 Main types of space in the film.

Source: Own elaboration based on Bordwell and Thompson (2008) and Kuhn and Westwell (2020)

Profilmic space

Profilmic space is everything placed in front of the camera that is then captured on film and constitutes the film image. Tuan (1990, p. 435) has once argued that

> [in order] to understand human reality better, it helps to see people and their works as compounded of realism and fantasy. The concepts captured by these two words give us a handle to explore human nature and culture. It is, however, a slippery handle, for although "realism" and "fantasy" have clear and opposite meanings conceptually, their application to real-life situations is often ambiguous and problematical. A point of view or a pattern of behavior that appears realistic can seem, with a shift in perspective, fantastic, and vice-versa.

Calling a space "real" in relation to a film can also get bogged down in this ambiguity. Particularly as the film seeks to imitate reality, to recreate or represent it. Therefore, instead of using "real space", we propose the notion of "profilmic space". In film studies, it is referred to as a "profilmic event", which Kuhn and Westwell (2020, p. 386) describe as

> the slice of the world in front of the film camera including actors or performers, lighting, sets, props and costumes, as well as the setting itself, as opposed to what eventually appears on the cinema screen. In studio-made fiction films, the profilmic event is a set constructed for the purpose of being filmed. At the other extreme, in observational documentary forms like direct cinema, filmmakers seek, as a fundamental element of their practice, to preserve the

> integrity of the real-life space and time of the profilmic event. Many films occupy a middle ground in their organisation of, or relationship with, the profilmic event: as for example in the case of location-shot, but acted, films.

The profilmic event utilises real-world space through the use of (a) studio space or (b) practical locations. A *studio* is generally considered as a workshop for artists, but in relation to film a workshop or building for cinematographic, sound, or music recording and is generally referred to as a stage, and the term studio or studios generally means all the buildings on a film company's site, whatever their function. A studio or studio complex may include some or all of the following: silent and soundstages, set preparation workshops, stores and lockups, makeup salons and dressing rooms, wardrobe rooms and laundry, production and administration offices, editing suites, processing laboratories, sound mixing studios, audio suites, scoring or orchestral stage, library, special effects and model workshops, backlot, water tank, preview screening room, and commissary.

Sets are constructed environments designed to mimic real-world locations or create entirely fictional spaces. They allow filmmakers to have greater control over the look and feel of the space depicted on screen, and they can be used to create a wide range of environments and settings. Film sets are constructed environments that are used to depict the setting of a film. They can be built in film studios or on location, and they are used to create a wide range of environments and settings, including city streets, natural landscapes, and historical sites. Film sets are an important part of the filmmaking process, as they allow filmmakers to have greater control over the look and feel of the space depicted on screen. This can be especially useful when filming in a controlled environment, such as a film studio, where the filmmakers can control the lighting, camera angles, and other elements of the set to create the desired effect. Film sets can be constructed in a variety of ways, depending on the needs of the film. They can be built from scratch using raw materials, or they can be created using pre-existing structures, such as warehouses or factories. In some cases, filmmakers may use a combination of both approaches, building certain elements of the set while using existing structures as a foundation.

In addition to their use in film studios, film sets can also be built on location, in order to take advantage of the unique characteristics and atmosphere of a particular location. This can be especially important in historical or period films, where the authenticity of the setting is crucial to the overall credibility of the film. Overall, film sets play a crucial role in the filmmaking process, as they allow filmmakers to have greater control over the look and feel of the space depicted on screen, and can be constructed in a variety of ways to meet the needs of the film.

The second type of profilmic space is *location*. Location in film industry as well as in film studies is understood as "any place other than a studio where a film is partly or wholly shot" (Kuhn and Westwell 2020, p. 292). This can be not only an external location, such as a street or square, but also an internal location, such as the interior of a building or structure. These real-world locations depict the setting of a film, such as a house, a city street, or a natural landscape. The use of practical

locations can help to create a sense of realism and believability, as the audience is able to recognise and relate to the real-world spaces depicted on screen. This can be especially important in historical or period films, where the authenticity of the setting is crucial to the overall credibility of the film (cf. Lukinbeal 2011). The use of on-location shooting can play a significant role in the look and feel of a film, as it allows filmmakers to take advantage of the unique characteristics and atmosphere of a particular location. For example, a film set in New York City might be filmed on location in the city itself in order to capture the energy and diversity of the city. In addition to its aesthetic and realism-enhancing benefits, on-location shooting can also present logistical challenges for filmmakers. These challenges can include obtaining the necessary permits and permissions, coordinating with local residents and businesses, and dealing with the challenges of filming in a real-world environment, such as weather and traffic. Therefore, the decision to shoot a film on location is based on storyline, cost, and practicality (McCurdy 2011).

The use of location in film has evolved with changes in filming techniques. The use of location in film has evolved with changes in filming techniques. The book edited by Gleich and Webb (2019) provides an interesting history of the use of location in Hollywood films. The earliest films were shot on location using natural lighting, but the development of artificial lighting and faster film stock soon enabled shooting to take place indoors in the more controllable environment of the studio. The coming of synchronised sound in the late 1920s made outdoor shooting more difficult, though scenes in action genres such as the western were routinely shot on location, as were newsreels. With developments in film stocks and in image and sound recording technologies, location work has become increasingly commonplace in live-action fiction productions.

Diegetic space

Diegesis is a term used in narratology and refers to narrated events. In cinema, diegesis is the entire fictional world of a film. Through contact with the work – whether reading a book or watching a film – the spectator recreates this fictional world through verbal or visual information provided by the author. Therefore, diegetic space, as described by Souriau (1951, p. 233), is "space reconstituted in the thoughts of the spectator". Moreover, as Kuhn and Westwell (2020, p. 135) note:

> diegetic space has a particular set of meanings (and potential complexities) in relation to narration in cinema as opposed to, say, the novel; and in a narrative film, the diegetic world can include not only what is visible on the screen, but also offscreen elements that are presumed to exist in the world that the film depicts – as long as these are part of the main story.

This relationship between what can be seen on the screen and the whole of the depicted world is central to understanding what film space, or more precisely, diegetic space, is.

Let us start by explaining the kind of space that is visually accessible and appears on the screen. On-screen space or simply screen space can be identified with mise-en-scène, that is, the contents of the film frame, including elements of the profilmic event such as performers, settings, costumes, and props. The term "mise-en-scène" also refers more broadly to what the viewer sees on the screen, such as lighting, colour, composition, and iconographic aspects of the cinematic image, to name a few. More importantly, it also refers to the relationship between on-screen and off-screen space created by the framing of the image and by camera movement. A key component of film-style screen space produces meaning, if only at a very basic level, by providing visual information about the world of a film's narrative (Martin 2014).

A film cannot reproduce real space in a literal sense, but it can replicate its inherent relations, creating an arrangement isomorphic to it. If the filmmaker films a given scene, situation, event or sequence of events, a process in a continuous manner, without interfering with the temporal course, we get the impression of non-interference in the presented world. The film space reproduces a fragment of real space that is possible to be captured by the camera. Long shots, far-flung plans, and particular viewpoints allow us to copy the capacity of our eye to see the particular space we are in at any given moment. Unlike the perception of the real world, the cinematic world is subject to framing (Bordwell and Thompson 2008, pp. 142–149).

The on-screen space is bounded by a frame that separates it from the off-screen space. The relationship between these two types of space is significant because what we see in the frame is always a slice (and thus a suggestion) of something larger. A familiar figure, such as the close-up, can serve as an example: on the screen, we see a person's face, while outside the frame, we make up the rest. This simple example shows that the off-screen space is the domain of the imagination. It can be used in various ways, depending on whether the artist wants to stimulate the viewer's imagination. Suggestions and cues about off-screen space can be kept to a minimum. The off-screen space can also be expanded so that what is in the frame gives the impression of being part of a far greater whole. The off-screen space can also be used to introduce an element of surprise. Finally, it also happens that the proportions are reversed, and the central part of the action takes place outside the frame.

Thus, depth, directions, areas, the camera's location, the frame, and the relationship between what is in the frame and what is out of the frame determine the basic dimensions of the screen space. Audiences, however, rarely perceive film space in this way. Instead, they speak of the place where the action takes place: the forest, the room, the city, the mountains and the like. This means they attach more importance to the space of the world presented (diegetic space) than to the screen space. The diegetic space exists primarily in their imagination and is the result of the reconstructions they make during the projections, combining disconnected frames and filling in the gaps between them.

Our understanding and navigation of film space is primarily an understanding and navigation of diegetic space. The diegetic space is the location of the action or,

more precisely, the set of locations of the action where everything relevant takes place. We try to figure out first and foremost, where an event takes place, where the characters are located and whether the change of location is significant. If there are no sudden changes of place in the action, we perceive the space as continuous, even though we deal with space slices.

The most important means of creating cinematic space is editing, which not only provides numerous operations that deform the isomorphism of film space in relation to the real space but also enables the creation of an entirely new space that has no equivalent in reality. The impression of the continuity of film space, however, is a matter not only of what is presented on screen and how it is presented but also of what is not presented. The film image, by virtue of its mobility, seems to transcend the frame that binds it. An implicit, imagined space exists for the viewer outside its frame. Unlike a painting image, which cannot have any further continuity beyond the frame, a film image spills out of the frame, as it were. For example, we are led out of the frame by the gaze of a character who turns in some direction towards something or someone we do not see but expect to see in a moment. A sound coming from outside the frame indicates the spatial distance of a fragment that is not visible at the moment. Although the demarcation of the cinematic image from its surroundings seems to be equally clear (by the boundary of the screen) as in the case of a painting, the viewer's gaze, imagination, and attention are constantly directed outside the frame in many different ways.

Finally, it is worth noting the relationship of diegetic space to the film's plot. Usually, the space in a fictional film serves as the location of the action and is therefore subordinated to the plot. This subordination has serious consequences, meaning that all the descriptive parts must be significantly reduced. In a feature film, where one event usually chases another, too much time cannot be devoted to presenting even the most interesting location, as this would distract the viewer and slow down the pace of the film. The presentation of space leads to a slowing down of the rhythm and, in extreme situations, even to the complete elimination of events. In turn, by concentrating on events, the role and importance of space must be reduced. Hence the impression of the secondary character of space in the film and its instrumental character as the background of events. Meanwhile, in fact, space is crucial to the construction of the imagery of the presented world and the entire diegesis of the film.

Virtual space

New communication technologies, which are also relevant to film, are also prompting a redefinition of the notion of cinematic space, as it either completely loses or ceases to be relevant to real space. Virtual reality – artificially created with the help of digital technology – is the kind of audiovisual spectacle in which the viewer is located inside a computer-generated space-time and can participate in the unfolding events. Therefore, a particular type of film space is virtual space, which mostly changes onscreen space but also influences the way films are made, impacting profilmic space. Virtual space along with computer-generated imagery (CGI) used to

create this type of space have become integral parts of the film industry, allowing filmmakers to create and depict virtually anything they can imagine (Currah 2003). From fantastical creatures and alien worlds, to entirely digital sets and backgrounds, CGI has revolutionised the way films are made and has opened up a vast array of creative possibilities for filmmakers.

One of the most notable ways in which CGI has impacted film is through the creation of entirely digital environments (Rickitt 2000; Tryon 2009). These virtual spaces can be used to represent real-world locations that would be too expensive or logistically difficult to film on location, or completely fictional worlds can be created with them. In both cases, CGI allows filmmakers to create highly detailed and realistic environments that would be impossible to achieve using traditional techniques. One of the earliest examples of this is the Matrix trilogy, in which the majority of the film takes place in a fully digital version of the real world (Isaacs 2013; Jones 2020). This allowed the filmmakers to create a wide range of futuristic cityscapes, car chases, and fight scenes that would have been nearly impossible to achieve with practical effects. Similarly, *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy made extensive use of digital environments to bring Middle-earth to life, creating sweeping landscapes and battle scenes that would have been extremely challenging to film in the real world (Margolis *et al*. 2008). The city of Pandora in the film "Avatar" was entirely created using CGI, as were the fantastical creatures that inhabit it. This allows for greater flexibility and creativity in storytelling, as filmmakers are no longer limited by the constraints of reality (Brown and Ng 2012). In addition to creating entirely digital worlds, virtual space and CGI are also frequently used to enhance and augment real-world locations and sets. For example, filmmakers may use CGI to add special effects or digital elements to a live-action scene, such as explosions, fire, or other destructive forces. This allows filmmakers to create more realistic and immersive visuals without having to resort to dangerous or impractical practical effects.

And back again: connecting reel with real

Film has the ability to alter viewers' perceptions of place through the use of various cinematic techniques and storytelling strategies. One way that film can change our perception of place is through the manipulation of time and space. Through editing, flashbacks, and other filming techniques, film can compress or expand the perception of time and distance, leading to a distorted sense of the geography of a place. This can create a sense of displacement for the viewer (Bolan *et al*. 2011), potentially altering their understanding of the location depicted. Film can also change the perception of place through mise-en-scène, or the arrangement of elements within the frame. The use of lighting, costume and set design can create a specific mood or atmosphere, influencing the viewer's emotional response to a location. This can lead to a perceived transformation of the depicted place, even if it is a real location (Penz and Lu 2011).

Additionally, a film can change our perception of place through the portrayal of events and characters. The representation of historical events and the portrayal

of attitudes and values of characters can influence our understanding of a specific time and place's cultural, political, and social context. This can lead to a revision or reinterpretation of our perception of the depicted location. Cinematography techniques, such as the use of panoramic shots or aerial views, can highlight the natural beauty or man-made landmarks of a location. This can create an image of a romanticised or idealised place, potentially leading to a distorted perception of the location in the viewer's mind. This is especially true for the digital age (Giralt 2010).

When real spaces become mediated spaces, the experience of these places is often shaped by the way they are represented in media. This can be especially true in film tourism, as people often visit locations they have seen in films or TV shows with the expectation that they will look and feel a certain way. For example, if a person visits a location they have seen in a film, they may have certain expectations about what the place will be like based on how it was depicted. These expectations can shape their experience of the place, and they may even feel disappointed if the real location does not match the way it was portrayed in the film. Beeton (2011, p. 55) notes:

> what is key here, is that these audiences have often unconsciously developed knowledge of a place via "osmosis" through a variety of media-based exposures. For example, many first-time visitors to New York claim to "know where they are" when they look towards the Empire State Building or visit Times Square, as they have already experienced these places through various forms of the moving image and storytelling. What the moving images and their antecedents provide is a framework within which a tourist can begin to understand the place they are visiting, and also give additional meaning (or emotional depth) to that place.

Bolan *et al*. (2011) argue that what motivated film tourist is "quest for authenticity". They found out that in relation to what influences film-induced tourists, scenery was the dominant motivational driver but narrative/storyline and characters were also important influences. In addition emotion/romance and music also have a role to play, yet their role was significantly smaller. This points to the prominent role of diegetic space, given that the scenery – whether natural or artificially created in the film studio or through computer graphics – is part of the presented world (diegetic world). Bolan *et al*. (2011) proposed also a typology of film tourists: (1) scenic/visual tourist influenced by what they see – they seek out the actual location, attracted to landscape (both rural and urban), (2) emotional/nostalgic tourist influenced by narrative and characters they identify with – driven to seek out the film setting connected to the story, and (3) pure film tourist, influenced by most or all factors in the film – driven to seek out both actual location and film setting.

The search for authenticity seems paradoxical if we realise that a film text is a cultural convention and what we see on screen, like the whole diegetic world, is not a reflection of the real world. The real world is a kind of starting point or reference point. One of the most extensively studied cases of the relationship between cinematic space and the real is the screen adaptation of Tolkien's novel. Through *The*

Lord of the Rings and *Hobbit* films, New Zealand's cultural landscape was transformed into the mythical world of Middle-earth by imposing layers of meaning to create the cultural landscapes of Middle-earth. The result is that the landscape portrayal in the films does not provide many hints of the real cultural landscapes of New Zealand. However, as Carl *et al*. (2007) suggest, the heavy use of post-production digital modifications within the films, combined with "missing" film sets in situ, make it challenging for many tourists to perceive a "realistic" sense of place. The "real" landscapes provide few features of the hyper-real landscapes in the films, impacting film tourists' experience of the former film sites.

Film tourism is considered a way to connect real with imaginary space. Places are essential in anchoring fictional (books, films, video games) and artistic universes to reality. Conversely, fictional or imaginary places influence how people perceive real places. More recently, what reinforces these relations are geospatial technologies that allow visitors practising cultural tourism to collect extensive information about films related to these places. Geospatial technologies contribute to developing an intermediary territory, a space between the real and fantasy worlds (Joliveau 2009).

The link between visual media, cultural production and reproduction, and meaning creation occupies a prominent place in geography, film studies, and cultural and social studies. With the "spatial turn" in cultural studies, the focus on visual media and visual culture has been modified to incorporate the role of space and place in representational theory. As Lukinbeal (2004, p. 248) puts it: "Cinematic geography, or film geography is a growing transdisciplinary subfield that focuses on mapping the Baudrillardian terrain of cinema that precedes the cultural territory". Baudrillard (1994, p. 1) referred to the changes in late 20th-century culture with a cartographic metaphor:

> The territory no longer precedes the map, nor does it survive it. It is nevertheless the map that precedes the territory – precession of the simulacra – that engenders the territory, and if one must rerun to the fable, today it is the territory whose shred slowly rot across the extent of the map. It is the real, and not the map, whose vestiges persist here and there in the deserts that are no longer those of the Empire, but ours.

A few decades later, it became evident that the representation of a place (the map) can define and shape our understanding of that place rather than the place itself (the territory). In other words, the image can take on a life of its own and shape our understanding of the place, rather than the other way around. This idea is relevant to how film and other media can shape our understanding of different places. When we watch a film or TV show set in a particular location, our understanding of that place is often shaped by how it is depicted on screen. This can be especially true if the film or TV show is influential or widely seen. If a film depicts a city as dangerous or crime-ridden, this depiction can shape how people perceive and understand that city, even if it is inaccurate. Similarly, if a film portrays a place as being particularly beautiful or exotic, this depiction can influence people's desire to visit that

place and shape their expectations of what it will be like. So we can subversively say that we live in a distorted reality, and the obvious question that comes to mind is how to assess the extent of this distortion. However, perhaps this is the wrong question, and we should instead be thinking about how these "media lenses" allow us to change society and space (both the physical and the social and cultural).

Concluding remarks

The relationship between film, other media, and space is complex and multifaceted. The proposed models in this chapter combined geographic understanding with film studies, shedding light on two crucial aspects. First, they emphasised that the presence of spaces in cultural texts extends beyond visual representation and can take on different characteristics. Second, the model introduces a typology of space that emerges from the interaction between film and place.

The real world serves as the foundation for film representation, appearing on screen as itself or as other spaces. People's affective bond with a place, described as topophilia, encompasses sensual, aesthetic, intellectual, and belonging sentiments. Various art forms, including film, shape space and influence how we perceive different places. Literature relies on verbal descriptions to evoke the qualities of spaces, requiring readers to use their imagination to visualise them, resulting in an imaginary character.

Imaginary spaces in literature and film allow the creative exploration of themes and ideas unconstrained by reality. They can serve as metaphors for the real world and comment on real-world issues. However, it is essential to acknowledge that despite incorporating elements from the real world, imaginary spaces remain fictional creations.

Visual arts, such as photography and film, play a significant role in contemporary visual culture. They provide mediated representations of real places, filtered through the lens of interpretation and prior knowledge. While traditionally considered objective representations, maps can also convey subjective experiences and emotions associated with different places. This perspective challenges the notion of cartography as a purely scientific discipline and highlights its potential for representing diverse human experiences.

The interconnectedness of film, other media, and space offer a rich tapestry of representations and experiences, allowing us to engage with the real and the imagined in compelling and thought-provoking ways. Film space is not a direct representation of real space but rather a constructed and manipulated version shaped by filmmakers' artistic vision. Profilmic space encompasses everything that is captured by the camera and appears on film. Diegetic space, on the other hand, is where the narrative unfolds, and the action takes place. Diegetic space is constructed by combining on-screen elements and the viewer's imagination. The framing of the image, camera movement, and editing techniques all contribute to the perception and understanding of diegetic space. Therefore film space is not static but rather dynamic and ever-changing. It evolves throughout the film as the plot develops, locations change, and different modes of expression are introduced. Editing, in

particular, plays a crucial role in shaping and manipulating the cinematic space. Film space is a complex and multi-dimensional concept involving profilmic and diegetic elements. It is a space that exists both within the screen's frame and in the viewer's imagination, creating a rich and immersive cinematic experience.

Film profoundly impacts viewers' perceptions of place through its use of cinematic techniques and storytelling strategies. By manipulating time, space, and mise-en-scène, film can distort our understanding of geography, creating a sense of displacement and transforming the depicted location. The portrayal of events, characters, and cinematography techniques further influence our perception by shaping our understanding of a place''s cultural, political, and social context and highlighting its natural or man-made features. The experience of mediated spaces, such as film tourism, is heavily influenced by how places are represented in media, leading to expectations and emotional responses that may not align with reality. The search for authenticity in film-induced tourism reflects the power of film to create a framework through which tourists understand and emotionally connect with the places they visit. However, it is important to recognise that film texts are cultural conventions, and the portrayed diegetic world does not reflect the real world. The relationship between cinematic space and the real can be complex, as seen in cases like the screen adaptation of Tolkien's novel, where heavy post-production modifications and missing film sets challenge tourists' perception of real landscapes. Ultimately, film tourism bridges real and imaginary spaces, influencing the perception of fictional and real places and blurring the boundaries between them. The spatial turn in cultural studies highlights the significance of space and place in the analysis of visual media and visual culture, emphasising how film and other media shape our understanding of different places and contribute to the creation of meaning. Rather than assessing the extent of distortion, it is essential to recognise the transformative potential of these "media lenses" in shaping society, space, and culture.

Acknowledgement

The research presented in this chapter was carried out under the project "FilmInd – The Indian film industry as a driver of new socio-economic connections between India and Europe", financed by the Polish National Science Centre (Project No. 2017/27/Z/HS4/00039).

References

Aitken, S. C. and Zonn, L., eds., 1994. *Place, power, situation, and spectacle: A geography of film*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Allen, R., 1993. Representation, illusion, and the cinema. *Cinema Journal*, 32, 21–48.

Banaji, S., 2006. *Reading 'Bollywood': The young audience and Hindi films*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Baudrillard, J., 1994. *Simulacra and simulation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Beeton, S., 2011. Tourism and the moving image: Incidental tourism promotion. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 36, 49–56.

Bell, C. E., ed., 2015. *From here to Hogwarts: Essays on Harry Potter fandom and fiction*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company.

Bolan, P., Boy, S. and Bell, J., 2011. 'We've seen it in the movies, let's see if it's true': Authenticity and displacement in film-induced tourism. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 3, 102–116.

Bordwell, D., 1985. *Narration in the fiction film*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Bordwell, D. and Thompson, K., 2008. *Film art: An introduction*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Breek, P., Hermes, J., Eshuis, J. and Mommaas, H., 2018. The role of social media in collective processes of place making: A study of two neighborhood blogs in Amsterdam. *City & Community*, 17, 906–924.

Brown, J., 2018. *Mediated space: The architecture of news, advertising and entertainment*. London: RIBA Publishing.

Brown, W. and Ng, J., 2012. Avatar: An introduction. *Animation*, 7, 221–225.

Bruno, G., 2002. *Atlas of emotion: Journeys in art, architecture, and film*. La Vergne: Verso.

Cairns, G., 2013. *The architecture of the screen: Essays in cinematographic space*. Bristol: Intellect.

Carl, D., Kindon, S. and Smith, K., 2007. Tourists' experiences of film locations: New Zealand as 'Middle-earth'. *Tourism Geographies*, 9, 49–63.

Conley, T., 2007. *Cartographic cinema*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Cosgrove, D., 2008. *Geography and vision: Seeing, imagining and representing the world*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Couldry, N. and McCarthy, A., eds., 2004. *Mediaspace: Place, scale and culture in a media age*. London: Routledge.

Cresswell, T., 2004. *Place: A short introduction*. Malden: Blackwell.

Cresswell, T. and Dixon, D., eds., 2002. *Engaging film: Geographies of mobility and identity*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Currah, A., 2003. Digital effects in the spatial economy of film: Towards a research agenda. *Area*, 35, 64–73.

Ellard, C., 2015. *Places of the heart: The psychogeography of everyday life*. New York: Bellevue Literary Press.

Enoch, J., McDonald, L., Jones, L., Jones, P. R. and Crabb, D. P., 2019. Evaluating whether sight is the most valued sense. *JAMA Ophthalmology*, 137, 1317–1320.

Fleming, R. L., 2007. *The art of placemaking: Interpreting community through public art and urban design*. London: Merrell.

Flusser, V., 2011. *Into the universe of technical images*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Garth, J., 2020. *The worlds of J. R. R. Tolkien: The places that inspired middle-earth*. London: Frances Lincoln Publishers, Princeton University Press.

Gaut, B., 2010. *Philosophy of cinematic art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Giralt, G. F., 2010. Realism and realistic representation in the digital age. *Journal of Film and Video*, 62, 3–16.

Gleich, J. and Webb, L., eds., 2019. *Hollywood on location: An industry history*. New Brusnwick: Rutgers University Press.

Hall, S., ed., 2013. *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Open University Press.

Hallam, J., 2010. Film, space and place: Researching a city in film. *New Review of Film and Television Studies*, 8, 277–296.

Hallam, J., Kronenburg, R., Koeck, R. and Roberts, L., eds., 2008. *Cities in film: Architecture, urban space and the moving image*. Liverpool: University of Liverpool.

Hallam, J. and Roberts, L., eds., 2014. *Locating the moving image: New approaches to film and place*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hirsch, P. and O'Rourke, C., eds., 2017. *London on film*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Howells, R., 2003. *Visual culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hudson, S., Wang, Y. and Gil, S. M., 2011. The influence of a film on destination image and the desire to travel: A cross-cultural comparison. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 13, 177–190.

Isaacs, B., 2013. *The orientation of future cinema: Technology, aesthetics, spectacle*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Joliveau, T., 2009. Connecting real and imaginary places through geospatial technologies: Examples from set-jetting and art-oriented tourism. *The Cartographic Journal*, 46, 36–45.

Jones, N., 2015. *Hollywood action films and spatial theory*. New York: Routledge.

Jones, N., 2020. *Spaces mapped and monstrous: Digital 3D cinema and visual culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kim, H. and Richardson, S. L., 2003. Motion picture impacts on destination images. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30, 216–237.

King, G., 1996. *Mapping reality: An exploration of cultural cartographies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Koeck, R., 2013. *Cine-scapes: Cinematic spaces in architecture and cities*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Kuhn, A. and Westwell, G., 2020. *A dictionary of film studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kwon, M., 2002. *One place after another: Site-specific art and locational identity*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Lefebvre, H., 1974/1991. *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Leyshon, A., Matless, D. and Revill, G., eds., 1998. *The place of music*. New York: Guilford Press.

Lukinbeal, C., 2004. The map that precedes the territory: An introduction to essays in cinematic geography. *GeoJournal*, 59, 247–251.

Lukinbeal, C., 2011. 'On location' filming in San Diego County from 1985–2005: How a cinematic landscape is formed through incorporative tasks and represented through mapped inscriptions. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 102, 171–190.

Margolis, H., Cubitt, S., King, B. and Jutel, T., eds., 2008. *Studying the event film: The Lord of the Rings*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Martin, A., 2014. *Mise en scène and film style: From classical Hollywood to new media art*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mathijs, E., ed., 2006. *The Lord of the Rings: Popular culture in global context*. London: Wallflower Press.

McCurdy, K. M., 2011. *Shoot on location: The logistics of filming on location, whatever your budget or experience*. Burlington: Focal Press.

Mercille, J., 2005. Media effects on image. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32, 1039–1055.

Metz, C., 1974. *Film language: A semiotics of the cinema*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mitchell, D., 2000. *Cultural geography: A critical introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Mulvey, L., 1999. Visual pleasure and narrative cinema. *In:* L. Braudy and M. Cohen, eds., *Film theory and criticism: Introductory readings*. New York: Oxford University Press, 833–844.

O'Connor, N., Flanagan, S. and Gilbert, D., 2008. The integration of film-induced tourism and destination branding in Yorkshire, UK. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 10, 423–437.

Penz, F. and Koeck, R., eds., 2017. *Cinematic urban geographies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Penz, F. and Lu, A., eds., 2011. *Urban cinematics: Understanding urban phenomena through the moving image*. Bristol: Intellect.

Pred, A., 1984. Place as historically contingent process: Structuration and the time-geography of becoming places. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 74, 279–297.

Relph, E. C., 1976. *Place and placelessness*. London: Pion.

Rickitt, R., 2000. *Special effects: The history and technique*. New York: Billboard Books.

Shimamura, A. P., ed., 2013. *Psychocinematics: Exploring cognition at the movies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Souriau, É., 1951. La structure de l'univers filmique et le vocabulaire de la filmologie. *Revue Internationale de Filmologie*, 2, 231–240.

Souriau, É., 1953. *L'univers filmique*. Paris: Flammarion.

Terentowicz-Fotyga, U., ed., 2018. *Space in literature: Method, genre, topos*. Berlin: Peter Lang.

Thompson, K. and Bordwell, D., 2003. *Film history: An introduction*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Tryon, C., 2009. *Reinventing cinema: Movies in the age of media convergence*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Tuan, Y.-F., 1974. *Topophilia: A study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Tuan, Y.-F., 1977. *Space and place: The perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Tuan, Y.-F., 1990. Realism and fantasy in art, history, and geography. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 80, 435–446.

Villarejo, A., 2007. *Film studies: The basics*. London: Routledge.

Whited, L. A., ed., 2002. *The Ivory tower and Harry Potter: Perspectives on a literary phenomenon*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.

Part II

Experiencing place through film

Figure 2 An aerial view of Lake Bled in Slovenia. One of the emerging destinations in Indian filming was featured in many recent films, including *Naayak* (2013), *Bhai* (2013), *Doosukeltha* (2013), *Super Ranga* (2014), *Mungaru Male 2* (2016), *Babu Bangaram* (2016), *Khaidi No. 150* (2017), *Vivegam* (2017), *Jayadev* (2018), and *Yuvarathnaa* (2021).

Source: zgphotography / stock.adobe.com

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-4

3 Destination Europe

The practices of mapping in contemporary Bombay cinema

Ranjani Mazumdar

The selection of locations for popular Bombay film productions tends to be eclectic given their narrative and storytelling style. The locations can include iconic monuments or landscapes that offer picturesque backdrops to stage song sequences; a region or a part of the world that conveys a sense of familiarity; a place that looks dramatic through aerial photography; or lavish interiors that carry historic value. These requirements have made certain sites popular with film crews, since they manage to offer almost everything that a blockbuster is supposed to contain. The use of foreign locations for the production of Hollywood's global imaginary has been the subject of much scholarly discussion (Hozic 2001; Govil 2015; Steinhart 2019). Locations outside of the United States have been positioned in these debates as sites for economic, cultural, and technological transactions that are closely tied to Hollywood's status as a powerful, global media industry. There are others who have explored the ways in which ideas of place and space are transformed by film's encounter with a range of locations (Rhodes and Gorfinkel 2011; Jaikumar 2019). In this chapter, I focus on the intertwined networks of transnational imaginaries, bureaucratic and production infrastructures, embodied histories, and creative energies, in the cartographic imagination of Europe in Bombay cinema.

The Infrastructure of Cinematic Cartography

The use of foreign locations in Bombay cinema is not new, but the obsession with these spaces has taken on a certain frenzy since the 1990s (Mazumdar 2007, 2011). If established destinations proved to be expensive for shooting, the film industry started to tap unexplored areas and recently developed global networks dedicated to handling the movement of finance, personnel, labour, and technology. These networks have been strengthened by corporate structures alongside informal associations. The governments are quick with processing permissions; they have also approached filmmakers in India on their own to offer locations in their countries.

The India International Film Tourism Conclave (IIFTC) is an organisation that was set up in 2013 to ease the procedural requirements for Indian filmmaking in European and other international locations.[1] Every year, the IIFTC holds a location pitching event in Bombay where representatives from European film commissions, private production companies, and service providers from across the

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-5

world congregate to sell the visual force of their national territory to the Indian film industries. The conclave operates like a mini expo conducted through the display of lush photographs, videos containing sequences shot in spectacular locations, tourist videos, and catalogues with details of rebates, tax exemptions, and other information about trade agreements. These negotiations tend to spill over beyond the conclave, with line producers, executive producers, location scouts, and other personnel across nations thinking through financial matters, script requirements, and permissions.[2]

There are many elements that govern this trade and selection of locations: first, a constant discussion about climate conditions, such as the length of day, when the sun rises and sets, how cold or warm it becomes, whether the mountains are accessible, and what kind of waterfall, riverfront, lake, or ocean can be made available for use. This pitching of natural landscape is then combined with human-made monuments and architectural heritage, like recognisable sites of history or opulent walls found in medieval castles, decorative churches, and so on. Finally, there is trading in the spectacle of modern urban infrastructure – roadways, highways, dams, skyscrapers, and other architectural wonders.[3] This trade in the use of locations between nations usually involves a heightened sense of space and place, relayed through depictions in a variety of media forms. What is offered is an indexical promise – an encounter with the intoxicating forces of nature, history, and architectural modernity. In an interview published by *Cineport*, a publication of the IIFTC, director Imtiaz Ali referred to Portugal as the country with the best natural light that he had ever seen. "It is very beautiful towards the second half of the day. It's a bohemian place, and the sea is very dynamic and cinematic".[4] Reminiscing about *Rockstar*, Ali recalled how he did not want a pretty town for the film but an elite European location with a touch of darkness. For this reason, Prague came to his mind. "When I went there, I realised there was a lot of darkness in the art, and I got to know a lot of folk legends, which I wrote back into the script".[5] In both these accounts, we can see how place is being framed by natural light and the sea in one instance and cultural-literary associations in the other. These transactions in "feelings", visual cultures, a vast array of disparate experiences, histories, and infrastructural networks have translated into a cartographic approach in the production of Europe. In my discussion, I look at four films: *War* (Siddharth Anand 2019), *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara* (You Only Have One Life, Zoya Akhtar 2012), *Tamasha* (Performance, Imtiaz Ali 2015), and *Fan* (Maneesh Sharma 2016), since these narratives have used Europe to deal with espionage, a summer vacation, a personality disorder, and Shahrukh Khan's transnational stardom, respectively. The films help to highlight the performative dimension of cinematic cartography.

Tania Rossetto has argued that the tendency to "universalise" the map and its links with power (2019) is dissatisfying, since this marginalises the existence of a diverse range of mapping practices and techniques (2019). The arrival of geo-visualisation tools, along with an aesthetic inclination for maps, seems to have created a desire for overlaps between map thinking and artistic forms (Cosgrove 2008). These intersections have been theorised in Giuliana Bruno's and Tom Conley's historical approach to the links between film, architecture, and cartography

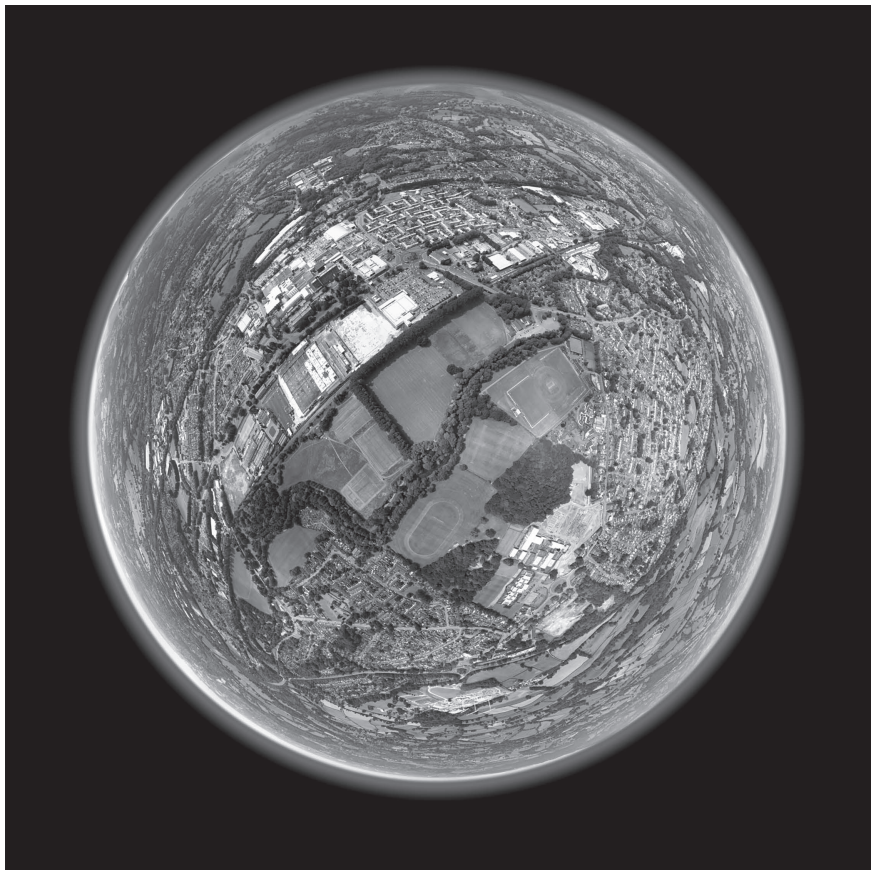

Figure 3.1 A 360-panorama captured by a drone camera.
Source: Photo by Louis Reed on Unsplash (https://unsplash.com/photos/hzp_aT02R48)

(2002, 2006). Bruno is also critical of positions where the act of mapping is viewed only as an instrument of hegemonic control since such an approach negates the aesthetic role of cartographic practices in cinema (2002, p. 207). For Rob Kitchin, maps belong to the moment, created by embodied, social, and technical practices that are context dependent. They emerge "through a mix of creative, reflexive, playful, tactile, and habitual practices" (2010, p. 9).

Dennis Cosgrove has argued that programmes like Google Earth, and their offer of a voyage through virtual space with the aid of digital and photographic images, have dramatically impacted "popular geographic culture" (2008, p. 171) (Figure 3.1). The ability to access surface topography like this has made the contemporary juncture the most "cartographically rich culture in history" (171). Nana Verhoeff responds to the proliferation of navigational tools with some pointed questions: "What does a map look like when it is itself in movement, in flux, and when we talk about practices of

mapping and navigating instead of the map as an object?" (2012, p. 144). Verhoeff is clearly interested in the map as a spatial and temporal event beyond fixed mathematical ideas of space and measurements, foregrounding navigation as a challenge to representational constructions of the map.

I draw on these different approaches to show how a performative dimension of cartography (Verhoeff 2012) operates in the four films discussed here through a series of strategically planned events. A map is usually a compressed articulation of information that provides a sense of borders, overall land area, and a set of other features depending on whether the map is about climate, vegetation, political governance, or just a mediator of scale in relation to the world. In photographic and cinematic renderings of place, there is a movement between the profilmic or what is designed for capture on the camera, and the final filmic depiction after editing. Priya Jaikumar provides a succinct account of her own views on the profilmic in relation to what others have said till now. She refers to Tom Gunning's understanding of the profilmic as all that is in front of the camera before capture. For many others, it is a combination of lighting, props, costumes, actors, and setting. Broadening out from these two narratives is Jaikumar's own approach, where the profilmic reveals intersecting and overlapping imaginations of place and space before transforming into screen space (Jaikumar 2019). In a somewhat different account, Debashree Mukherjee identifies the profilmic as a vibrant site of practice, practitioners, technologies, and financial networks (2020). What emerges from both accounts is an understanding of the profilmic as a major exercise in spatial, material, and infrastructural arrangements. As I will show, this is a negotiated and choreographed segment prior to the camera's recording, where several other crucial elements come to play a role in the construction of identifiable locations on screen. These supposedly extraneous elements that govern the encounter with European locations are drawn into the "making of" or "behind the scenes" videos. I want to play out the chaotic and contingent narratives available in the "making of" videos, alongside their final projection, as distinct threads that work together in producing cartographic interactions with Europe on screen.

Espionage and the Performance of Risk in *War*

War draws on the popular visual form associated with global espionage films (Potolsky 2019; Miller 2003). Its scale of movement is almost planetary, as it incorporates into its action spectacle the sea, the sky, snow-capped vistas, mountains, rivers, and valleys. At the same time, we are connected to a network of surveillance, tracking, and other gadgets, along with a constant focus on the velocity associated with global travel (Zimmer 2015; Potolsky 2019). There is swift movement via flights, ships, boats, and automobiles that ensures quick transnational crossings and access to international sites. Like in any espionage film, the central conflict works on the premise that something is amiss. This generates a climate of intrigue and secrecy that leads to an investigation of networks of finance, geographical sites, and classified information, a form that has been identified as "the national security sublime", with antecedents that go back to the Cold War (Potolsky 2019). The borders can no

longer be secured from within; they need the help of spies operating in an international arena.[6] It is this spatial discourse that informs the geographical movement of the protagonists in *War*.[7] Given the blockbuster style of the film, some of the typical markers like damage to property and fire explosions appear in abundance. The protagonists go through a "trial by fire" and patriotism marks their bodies as stronger with every physical injury.

War is a major action film with a broad storyline that focuses on two spies working for the Indian intelligence, Kabir (Hrithik Roshan) and Khalid (Tiger Shroff). Khalid is trained by Kabir, and despite initial reservations, Kabir is happy to have him on board. The initial reservation is linked to the fact that Khalid's father became a traitor and was accused of treason. Khalid is determined to show his patriotism and undo the humiliation he and his mother have endured as a result of his father's actions. *War* presents a complicated narrative of suspicion, friendship, and final revelation involving these two protagonists, and a series of events linked to the spies are played out across the world. The production team used the depiction of bodies confronted with danger on screen to frame the off-screen discourse linked to the sequences shot in European locations.

The climax of *War*, which was shot in the Arctic circle, spectacularised Bombay cinema's long-standing fascination with snow since the 1960s. The depiction of snow as a site of human struggle with nature has had a long history in visual culture. Snow can be attractive as well as inhospitable, like the vast expanses of the desert. In the Arctic action sequence, all these different feelings are mobilised creatively, along with the experience of speed, reminiscent of television coverage of sports car races. This virtually bloodless sequence maintains the whiteness of the snow and contrasts this with the yellow and black cars driven by the two protagonists (Figure 3.2). Director, Siddharth Anand, wanted an Arctic location to stage an action on a frozen surface. While the Arctic Circle includes several countries, the production team selected Rovaniemi, in Lapland, and drew on the services provided by Finland's Film Commission.[8] The ice sequence is the climax of the film and was finally executed on a frozen lake that involved changes to the equipment to ensure the machines would not freeze; the cars were also created to operate at freezing point. The drone camera was extensively deployed for the two main protagonists, driving the cars carefully to ensure no accident would take place during the close shaves of the chase. These accounts frame the video's presentation of how this action was created.[9] Paul Jennings, known for his work on several Hollywood films, including *The Dark Knight* (Christopher Nolan 2008) and *Game of Thrones* (David Benioff and D.B. Weiss 2011–2019), was hired to choreograph this action sequence. In several interviews with the media, Jennings said the sequence was on par with the best, including the *Mission Impossible* series with Tom Cruise.[10] These statements in the media added performative value to the way the location was being framed by the quality of the action sequence.

The location in the Arctic circle was used for the first time in a film – a novelty that Siddharth Anand always highlighted during and after the release of *War*. He described the site as the highest point that any action sequence had been shot in.[11] They took a month to make sure the ice cover on the lake was thick enough to

Figure 3.2 The car chase on ice in *War*.
Source: Yash Raj Films

Figure 3.3 The camera infrastructure for the snow in *War*.
Source: Yash Raj Films

support the weight of the cars, another week to prepare, and finally a week to shoot. The video on the making of the three-minute action sequence shows how weather conditions and the constantly changing quality of the snow, linked to sunlight and friction caused by the speeding cars, were issues the production team had to deal with. While a car chase is a tried and tested spectacle in many films, this one was identified as a car chase on ice in minus 30 degree Celsius. The video shows how

there was constant shovelling of heaps of snow when it started to soften; ice had to be scraped off the cars without damaging the bright paint; transporting the cars to the site itself was no easy feat, and maintaining them through the course of the shooting was another major task. The expanse of the snow surface and direct sunlight falling on the lens were also highlighted as issues that required continuous management by the cinematographer.[12]

In these narrative accounts of the shooting, nature's extreme temperatures, unpredictability, and vistas are conquered by the film's networked, technological, and transnational infrastructure (Figure 3.3). This is evocative of a cartographic impulse where, much like the American Frontier in the Hollywood Westerns, the conquest of brutal weather conditions via infrastructural arrangements, allowed a cinematically untapped territory to acquire a larger-than-life form on screen with traces of historical mythology linked to European settlers, albeit in complex ways. In *War*, the combination of the two yellow and black cars, captured against the expanse of a flat ice surface, and the use of operatic music, generates an aesthetic texture that is captivating; it is dramatic, adventurous, and playful, all at once. Jennings referred to the race between the cars as a duel and a dance, like a ballet in the snow.[13] The snow dust trail caused by high-speed friction against the ice can be viewed as the triumph of technological speed over nature, evocatively staged through the snow dust formation making the cars disappear and re-appear (Virilio). As Tiger Shroff said, they felt like they were in a video game where an entire iceberg was at their disposal to play with.[14] The multiple layers of mythology associated with the shooting of this sequence became crucial to the film's publicity for Indian audiences. The profilmic appeared in the video as the site of a negotiated extraction where special equipment, personnel, the bodies of stars, and a director's obsessions would translate into the conquest of a difficult geographical terrain. The transaction of skills between Finland, India, and the United States was the result of a global network that made the cinematic map of this sequence possible. In the

Figure 3.4 The bike chase in *War* shot in the mountains of Serra da Estrela, Portugal.
Source: Yash Raj Films

film's popular reception and media reporting, the lines between space, territory, and place became blurred; the seven other countries with land inside this icy region became marginal, and Finland emerged as the vibrant centre of the Arctic Circle.

In another bike chase shot in Portugal, we are provided with a different kind of relationship to the profilmic.[15] While issues related to the temperamental nature of the weather are part of the "making of" video, we also learn of the risky nature of the chase shot on top of a high mountain, Serra da Estrela. The curves of the road revealed through aerial views taken from a helicopter provide a sense of the layout to the viewer, detailing how one wrong move by the speeding bikes could tip them over the cliff and to death (Figure 3.4). The video provides some sense of the infrastructure, but its projection of a narrative of risk linked to bodily harm is the primary thread, interspersed with how beautiful Portugal is, how warm the people are, and how good the food is. The warmth of the country is evoked by the scale of help offered by the Portugal Film Commission as their representatives welcome the Indian production team. The helicopter used for the shooting is shown in this video, combined with images from the final version of the sequence in the film. Like in the case of the Iceland shoot, the director commissioned special equipment, ensured complicated placement of the cameras on vehicles, and hired a cinematographer from South Africa to micromanage the visceral experience of speed required for this action sequence. This was clearly in line with the negotiation of velocity in contemporary espionage films. Serra da Estrela was the right location to take this speedy action to another level, with its sinuous roads cutting through the mountain, captured by drone cameras.[16]

This expanded vision of space changes drastically when we enter Lisbon in a diagonal movement across Praça do Comércio, which is a beautiful square that faces a river on one side (Figure 3.5). A popular tourist attraction, the square provided the *War* production team with a flat white surface for the entry of the bikes. We then move through Bica, which is one of Lisbon's most attractive and typical neighbourhoods,

Figure 3.5 The bike chase in *War* in Praça do Comércio, Lisbon, Portugal.
Source: Yash Raj Films

with its steep, undulating roads, and tramways. The chase continues through this architectural layout, with the bikes racing across tramlines, going down public stairways, and flying over moving vehicles. The chase ends finally at the Dom Luis bridge in Porto, the second most important city in Portugal. This bridge over the river Duoro was declared a heritage site in 1982 and was shut down for two days to provide space and time for Kabir's daredevil jump into the river. The cartographic narrative here, in one single sequence, combines the mountains with the city of Lisbon and the bridge in Porto. *War* is replete with such speed maps that engage with the thrill of danger introduced through accelerated movement and the production of scale. The shutting down of the bridge itself turned into an event, and, in many of Anand's accounts, this was seen as a major achievement, with local residents wanting to know the reasons for a full shutdown of the city.[17] Anand always made it a point to highlight his successful management of risk to conquer certain sites with the use of dramatic infrastructure, efficient bureaucratic processing, and the support and love of the local population. The profilmic constructions proved to be crucial for the film's publicity, released gradually across different media spaces. In these accounts, the threat to life and the desire to work against all odds were constantly highlighted, making risk emerge as a major performative category. While the cartographic desire displayed in the car chase was to capture the natural landscape of the Arctic Circle, the bike chase was structured to bring together Portugal's diverse signs of architectural modernity into a single sequence.

Immersive Cartography in *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara*

Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara (You only live once, 2012) is a film that unfolds literally like a map. This is a road film that introduces us to three friends – Arjun, a stock broker living in London (Hrithik Roshan); Kabir, who runs a family construction business in Bombay (Abhay Deol); and Imran, an advertising copywriter and poet (Farhan Akhtar). All three decide to meet up for a bachelor vacation in Spain, following which Kabir is supposed to return home to get married to Natasha (Kalki Koechlin). The vacation becomes an opportunity to confront existential concerns related to the choices each person has made in their own lives. All three friends land in Barcelona, and after a brief encounter with the city's well-known monumental architecture and its downtown, the three embark on a car journey across Spain, making their own itineraries with paper maps (Figure 3.6). The camera often frames road signs prominently to establish the routes being taken. Except for the opening moment of arrival in Barcelona, no overtly recognisable physical sites have been used in the film. High angle views of the sinuous layout of the road with the automobile making its way through a changing topography of forest foliage, wild grass, the blue sea, and mountains on both sides are depicted to invoke a pleasurable form of navigation for the spectator. The Mediterranean sun is dramatic and adds to the overall beauty of the unfolding landscape (Figure 3.7). During these automobile journeys, some of the most interesting conversations, songs, and poetry recitations are staged against the touristic vistas of expansive fields, dazzling blue skies, horses on the run, and majestic mountains and cliffs. The wind-swept demeanour of the friends

as they drive through picturesque locations captured from a variety of camera angles gives spectators the pleasure of a breath-taking encounter with Spain's landscape.

Like in any road movie, *Zindagi* halts at particular sites during the course of the journey. Director Zoya Akhtar and her production designer, Suzanne Merwanji, travelled across Spain prior to the shooting to pick and select their locations.[18] Akhtar felt that in a road film, the locations become characters, but their choices were made on the basis of events that they believed happened only in Spain.[19] A colour palette was worked out, and then, as Akhtar herself has said on several occasions, they mapped their pre-production location scouting trip onto the shooting script.[20] The belief that Spaniards are people who live each day to the fullest played an important role in how the events were connected to the film's texture.

Figure 3.6 The friends in their car travelling through Spain in *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara*.

Source: Excel Entertainment

Figure 3.7 Aerial view of the journey across the Spanish countryside in *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara*.

Source: Excel Entertainment

The "feelings" of a pre-production encounter were translated into the overall visual design of the film.

Akhtar planned four major immersive attractions as events and procedurally carved them out for the production. As many have argued, immersion is a spatial relationship between the body and the environment that has three qualities (Rogers 2019). First, there should be a sense of scale so that in the act of embedding, the environment appears larger than the body. Immersion also requires a sense of proximity, of being close to the environment. Finally, there must be a sensory experience of being enveloped. In *Zindagi*, this immersive sensibility is deployed for all the key set-piece attractions. Of these, three were linked to risk and the fourth to leisure. Scuba diving, sky diving, and the bull run are placed as adventure sports, while the La Tomatina Festival is a leisure event associated with Spain that the production team was keen to use. It is the event-oriented imagination of these "attractions" that keeps our focus on the bodies and their relationship to the environment. The act of staging here, as I have already indicated, was not linked to well-known recognisable sites, but to an immersive language associated with videos of adventure sports. Each friend introduces the others to a dangerous sport. The friends' involvement in each of these outdoor sports leads them to fight some deeply held fears and phobias. Arjun is scared of swimming, and Imran is scared of heights. On the other hand, Kabir, is far too polite and unable to reverse some of the major decisions in his life. The production team released a "making of" video on the use of scuba and sky diving which introduces us to the training process and to the stars' personal experiences of fear and wonderment.[21] The profilmic account of the actors' own exhilarating experience added a layer to the performance on screen, making both speak to the film's cartographic imagination.

The scuba diving sequence was filmed in Costa Brava, a coastal region of Catalonia in north-eastern Spain. This is where the three friends meet Laila (Katrina Kaif), a fashion designer from London who works for three months every year as a

Figure 3.8 Arjun's view of underwater marine life in *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara*.
Source: Excel Entertainment

Figure 3.9 Sky diving shot in Seville, the South of Spain in *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara*.
Source: Excel Entertainment

diving instructor. She provides the initial training to the three friends, also intended as instructions for the audience watching the film. Having taken the plunge under pressure from his friends, Arjun is blown away by the beauty of what he sees under water (Figure 3.8). The combination of music and bodies moving through the density of underwater marine life turns into a colourful spectacle that appears almost artificial to the eyes. When Arjun resurfaces, he is overwhelmed by the experience and unable to stop his tears, while the spectator is offered a haptic and mesmerising cinematic encounter with underwater topography.

The same approach is taken in the sky diving sequence, where it is Imran's turn to fight his phobia. Like in the scuba diving sequence, spectators are provided a brief account of the training all three friends undergo before they decide to dive. When the three jump out of the aircraft, we see aerial views of the landmass made to look like a pretty weave of carpet patchwork shown from the point of view of the friends as well as from high above their flying bodies. Like the underwater sequence, the sky diving is meant to instil an immersive experience of how to view the world from this privileged point of view in the sky. The sequence was shot in Seville, the capital of Andalucía in the south of Spain (Figure 3.9). For the bull-run sequence, the *Zindagi* team went to Pamplona. This is the town with the most famous of the bull runs in Spain, and in the film, it is Imran's decision to try this, despite major opposition from his friends. The final run to escape the bulls is the sequence that ends the journey across Spain and becomes the climax with which the film ends. The closeness to danger in this controversial sport is played out as the moment that finally gives all three, especially Kabir, the strength to take certain crucial decisions.

Akhtar also shot the film's most popular song in the midst of a wild tomato festival known as Tomatina. This sequence offers a different kind of sensation of a large crowd participating in what is an annual festival held in the town of Bunol that involves tomatoes being thrown at each other. Around 40,000 people take part

in this crazy festival, with approximately 150,000 tomatoes brought for the event. The combination of red tomatoes, hose pipes spraying water on the participants and the wildly cheering crowd made for an unusual cinematic ambience. It was Laila's decision to take everyone to Bunol, and the song was staged with everyone participating in the slug fest. It was shot using two cameras and edited to offer a mesmerising constellation of bodies and wild energy as the friends shed their inhibitions to participate with gusto. None of these attractions could have been mounted without diplomatic, trade, technological, and infrastructural networks at play. Originally thinking of Mexico as a location, the production was shifted to Spain because of the existence of all these adventure sports. The psychological transformation and thrill linked to a brush with risk and danger conveyed what the production team believed was a quality of the people of Spain – to experience life to the fullest.

The only identifiable space in the film is the Mediterranean architectural layout associated with countries like Spain, Croatia, and Italy. The striking and distinct look of this form has made it popular with hotels, offices, and housing blocks in coastal areas of the world. The windows and doors are usually arched, and the roof is covered with red-coloured clay tiles. The walls have a striking white colour that helps to deflect the sharp sun. The outdoor sensibility enabled by good weather is structurally drawn into the architectural form as courtyards, gardens, and patios that sometimes include stone carvings, and ornate detailing on the doors and window frames. In *Zindagi*, the audience gets a fair sense of both the interior and the exterior of this distinctive architectural form.

As is obvious from the range of cinematic attractions offered by *Zindagi*, the spectator was clearly invited to a touristic encounter with a major European country.[22] The film combines car travel, walking, flying, and various outdoor sports to introduce Spain's landscape, distinctive architecture, cultural traditions, and dazzling sun. In the garb of a coming-of-age story, *Zindagi* invites spectators into an immersive experience of travel, embedded firmly in the tourism structure of the narrative (Bruno 2002; Ruoff 2006).

Mapping Inner Turmoil in *Tamasha*

In some ways, *Tamasha* (Imtiaz Ali 2015) is also a coming-of-age story, but with a twist. The European segment, however, is only a part of the film and, unlike *Zindagi*, it highlights heritage sites. *Tamasha* is about Ved (Ranbir Kapoor), a man with a personality disorder, and Tara (Deepika Padukone), a woman he meets in Corsica, France, for the first time. The two decide to engage in a performance and not share details of who they are. "What happens in Corsica stays in Corsica" was a tagline created for the film. The couple enter into a deeply intimate and psychological relationship in a foreign location and call each other Don and Mona (names of popular villains from Bombay cinema). Following the vacation, the two return to their routine jobs in India, but having realised she is in love, Tara tracks down Ved only to realise that his personality is now quite different from the persona she fell in love with in Corsica. After various ups and downs and a break up, the couple make peace with their inner selves and the romance returns with renewed understanding.

The romantic encounter in Corsica is the segment that allows Ved to become someone diametrically opposed to who he is in his mundane corporate job. The intensity of this transformation required a location that could hold together psychological forays, performances, and the power of romance. A typical and well-known location would not have served the purpose, so Corsica, as a part of France, was selected for this experiment with the personal experiences of the characters. Imtiaz Ali deployed spatial navigation deliberately to generate a mental map of inner turmoil, romantic attraction, and a desperate desire for freedom.

We arrive in Corsica, literally by sea, as the camera glides over blue-coloured water against amber-coloured buildings. Tara and Ved have just met for the first time. We then move to a procession of people in traditional costume making their way through the streets as the camera sculpts the walls of the ancient town to reveal the large numbers of local residents participating in the procession. This is intercut with Tara, now making her way through the town as well. This new, different, and lively foreign location is introduced with a combined focus on the crowd in the streets and Tara's solitary navigation. Tara has her second meeting with Ved at the city square café, where they begin drinking. This leads up to one of the film's most spectacular songs, staged at the Place du Donjon. At least four "Making of" videos were made about the shooting of *Tamasha*, and inevitably, most of them focus overwhelmingly on the picturisation of "Matargashti", the song located in the city square.

A public square connected by several streets to other buildings and spots, Place du Donjon is an architectural treat for visitors. The song was shot in this location to ensure the cinematic capture of the buildings, the sea view, the alleyways, and cafes. We notice a festive air, a sunny disposition, and a constant highlighting of colonial-style windows, a stone staircase, and the uniqueness of the buildings with their attached balconies. As the two protagonists perform in the midst of a lively crowd, they use an edgy, unconventional style of dancing to convey a rebellious spirit. Ved climbs on to a lamppost and then makes his way from the window to a balcony. All these movements are choreographed to both showcase the stars as well as the physical texture of the location. Low-angle views of the balcony reveal the dramatic quality of the amber-coloured buildings. We also see vegetables and typical French bread being sold, along with people sitting in outdoor cafes.

The song literally turns Place du Donjon into a stage, using the site's unique architectural form to create a spectacular performance. The Palace of Governors, located in the square, also houses the Bastia Museum of History. We also get seaside views of the village cluster against the Corsican coast and skyline. The song concludes with the well-known King of Aragon's staircase, a structure carved into a limestone cliff that looks almost like a naturally covered walkway. It is a popular site for photographs and legend has it that the 187 steps were first created in 1420 but have seen changes over a period of time. In mobilising these unusual sites for the song, Imtiaz Ali was mapping a psychological tale in spatial terms. Ali wanted uncharted territory for the couple's meeting, and this song, a major highlight of the film, draws on local music, performances, and costume extravaganza, along with

the two stars as the centre piece. In this sequence, local French culture is drawn upon but re-carved to take over the public square. In one of the "making of" videos of *Tamasha*, Ali says:

> I read about Corsica in Asterix in Corsica, the comic book. It was fascinating. Then some of my friends told me about Corsica. I was looking for a place which was not really explored by tourism that much, but which had the capacity to be very popular as a destination in the years to come. I was also looking for a place that was not only touristy but cultural. And the great thing about Corsica is that every 25 kilometres, the geography changes completely . . . and now I understand why it is called the Isle of beauty. I am really fascinated by the structure, the sea, the hills, the mountains, the Shepherd culture, the music, the food.[23]

The song is followed literally by conversations of made-up stories that unfold across walks through the charming streets, the staircase in the hotel that the two protagonists check into, and the room with windows looking out at the mountains in the distance. The next day, Ved and Tara travel by road in a green convertible, continuing with their performance. This is where Corsica's rocky interiors are revealed alongside the sea on one side. We have long sequences of silence with music as the camera flies with our protagonists in their exploration of foliage, streams, and streetscapes. Imtiaz Ali maps the physical texture of Corsica's landscape and Mediterranean architecture with a visual and emotional intensity to stage mind games and intimate psychological forays. The language of performative interiority required the use of a relatively unknown location where a break from routine would help to open doors to a magical experience.

Spatialising Shahrukh Khan's Stardom in *Fan*

One of India's most well-known actors, Shahrukh Khan plays a double role in Maneesh Sharma's *Fan*: one as a super star and the other as a fan. The film introduces us first to the world of popular fandom via Gaurav (played by Shahrukh Khan), a boy from Delhi whose obsession with Aryan Khanna (also played by Shahrukh Khan) takes him to Bombay in search of his idol. But events go astray and soon Gaurav plots an elaborate revenge plan that is narrated in the second half of the film. What emerges is a cat and mouse chase across the world where Gaurav tries to destroy Aryan Khanna's reputation, taking advantage of the fact that he looks like the star.

Fan uses foreign locations primarily to focus on Shahrukh Khan's global stardom. The film moves from a lower-middle-class neighbourhood in Delhi to Bombay, to London, to Dubrovnik (Croatia), and back again to Bombay and Delhi. This circular arc, in a sense, follows Khan's personal biography – growing up in Delhi and then landing in Bombay. Since the 1990s, Khan acquired a major following as one of India's most successful and bankable male stars abroad. The European segment of the film, which lasts for around 35 minutes, highlights some of

these elements. There are two key locations that are mobilised to aid in the build-up and crisis of Aryan Khanna's persona.

The first is, of course, London, which has maintained a major connection with Bollywood, and Shahrukh Khan's fan base in the city is huge. The production team wanted to present identifiable marks of the city, especially those associated with postcards and tourism videos. It isn't surprising, therefore, that the audience is introduced to London through an overhead drone sequence of stock footage combined with a radio voiceover soundtrack.[24] This entry into London follows a sequence showing a disillusioned Gaurav lighting a match to burn his fan collection on a terrace and saying to himself, "Fans chase stars, now a star will chase a fan". The camera zooms out to reveal Delhi's rooftop neighbourhood against a hazy winter night sky, with the metro faintly visible in the distant background. It is from here that we abruptly cut to high-angle drone shots of London as the camera glides over the river Thames, travelling across to show London's landmarks – the Tower Bridge, the Business District, well-known buildings like the Gherkin and the Shard, St Paul's Cathedral, and Trafalgar Square. This combination of postmodern architecture and historic buildings like St. Paul's Cathedral is evocative of London's aerial views and highlights its place as a major financial and tourist centre. On the soundtrack, we hear a radio programme on Bollywood, with the commentator referring to Aryan Khanna's London show, sponsored by Hyundai. We also hear that London is the star's favourite city and then follow the actor (Gaurav) running through the streets to end up outside Madam Tussauds. The excessive force of stardom is showcased spatially via images of a globalised landscape of celebrity events, endorsements, performances, electronic billboards, and wax museums. This is a world within which Aryan Khanna moves as a transnational super star, and the mechanisms of his stardom, as it connects international space, global entertainment, and a jet-set life, are foregrounded (Figure 3.10). The act of cartography in this entire

Figure 3.10 Aerial view of London in *Fan*.

Source: Yash Raj Films

sequence is generated by recognisable city signs, drawing on the significance of the Indian diaspora in Khan's global stardom.

The second location, Dubrovnik, in Croatia, was selected with some care. Dubrovnik is the destination after London, and the entry to the city is also shot with a drone camera that glides over red-tiled roofs in the Old Town on a bright sunny day. Dubrovnik was selected after director, Maneesh Sharma visited ten cities in search of an ideal location for a foot chase with Shahrukh Khan chasing his double, the younger fan now turned foe.[25] The city has been widely popularised as a tourist destination by the HBO series *Game of Thrones*. Dubrovnik is usually a favoured location for period films, largely due to the well-preserved iconic sites of the Old Town and its Renaissance architecture. The defensive stone wall surrounding the Old Town has the Adriatic Sea on one side and red roof tops on the other. The chase was structured to ensure navigation of the stone walls, archways, covered streets, and a range of gothic buildings. Part of the chase was shot in Dubrovnik and part on a set in Mumbai.

In a video titled *Croatia Diaries*, addressing the infrastructural arrangements provided by the Croatian authorities, we see Shahrukh Khan offer his appreciation of the facilities made available to them.[26] A Croatian media representative highlights the heritage value of the Old Town. Unlike the London segment, where a recognisable modernity was on display, here we have an encounter with heritage architecture (Figure 3.11). The production team recalled the strict heritage architecture laws they had to negotiate to ensure no damage was done to any wall or roof. Dubrovnik's Old Town now finds mention in the list of World Heritage sites. It was bombed in 1991 and was then supported by UNESCO as part of a restoration project. A special donation of pink tiles helped restore the damage to the dramatic roofs in the Old Town, also referred to as the fifth façade of the city. There are segments in *Croatia Diaries* that show how steps were taken to ensure protection of the site, and this is portrayed as no small achievement since it put pressure on the

Figure 3.11 View of Dubrovnik's Old Town architecture in *Fan*.

Source: Yash Raj Films

production process. Following the release of the film and the "making of" videos, Dubrovnik's popularisation by *Game of Thrones* was overlaid by *Fan's* use of the Old Town, and tourist guides have commented on how many arriving in the city after 2016 have asked for the Shahrukh Khan tour.[27]

There is another "making of" video that provides specific details of how the action sequence in Dubrovnik was mounted.[28] We learn that Gaurav's running style was drawn from the visual archive of the actor's 1993 film, *Darr* (Yash Chopra)

Figure 3.12 Shahrukh Khan's running style in *Fan*.
Source: Yash Raj Films

Figure 3.13 Shahrukh Khan being chased in *Darr*.
Source: Yash Raj Films

(Figure 3.12). Khan had played the role of an obsessive stalker in *Darr*, and this persona clearly influenced the way Gaurav was characterised in *Fan*, something made evident in the video with the inclusion of a chase sequence from the earlier film showing a young Sahahrukh Khan running through a busy street (Figure 3.13). This deep history of the actor's running style in *Darr* is literally pulled out of a public archive of film memory to frame Gaurav's movement in the Dubrovnik chase sequence. Khan has always been known for his energetic and speedy body movements on screen, and the wildly crazy and fast paced chase staged in Dubrovnik was designed to access the heritage architecture associated with the Old Town. In the "making of" videos, we see all the negotiations that were critical to the way navigation was structured in the mapping of space. It was the star's screen biography that framed the movement, highlighting the uniquely different topography of this well-maintained medieval town in Europe.[29] The video also focuses on an injury caused during the shooting, and this adds to the performative energy and mythology associated with the actor's battle with his own body to ensure the pain would not get in the way of the energetic navigation of the layout. We see the actor double up in pain every time the camera stops shooting, drawing attention to the complex relay between the profilmic and filmic. This is a sequence that brings together a confluence of energies drawn from the star's and director's embodied past and present, highlighting what Verhoeff has referred to as "performative cartography" (2012). While Verhoeff makes distinctions between mobile media forms and those linked to fixed projection like cinema and television, these borders are porous when it comes to aesthetic strategies in an all-pervasive digital context. As Shane Denson has suggested, post-cinema forms do not always need to be viewed as a clean break from the past. Rather, we must recognise how the aesthetic imagination is being shaped by "an environment that has been thoroughly transformed by the operation of computational processing" (2020, p. 2). It is this recognition of a techno-environmental shift that explains why Neepa Majumdar identifies a fluid

movement between real and digital space in the Dubrovnik action sequence (2017, p. 153). What Majumdar is perhaps alluding to is a shooting and editing style that is aimed at a spectator located in intermedial space. The sensation of the actor's wild movement, split across two different characters, is enhanced by the "crazy camera" operations of our post-cinema context, defying the camera's traditional role in the capture of space (Denson 2020). The crazy camera effect mediates different apparatuses, blurs on-screen and off-screen modes of perceptual experiences, and denies the spectator a stable point of view. As I see it, the high-speed navigational imagination of the chase in Dubrovnik draws on the stylistic cues of mobile media forms where the viewer is allowed to "feel" the sensation of chaotic movement through architectural space. In presenting the chase like this, the post-cinema environment of *Fan* is foregrounded as a distinct departure from the context that had framed the chase in *Darr*. *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (Gregory et al. 2009) refers to performative mapping as an approach that focuses on practices and processes, and how maps are made in embodied and contextual ways. The profilmic traces of *Fan*, available in the two "making of" videos discussed here, provide us with exactly such an account of cinematic cartography.

To conclude, this chapter has methodologically worked with a movement between the profilmic and filmic to open out a system that allows trade, diplomatic channels, industrial networks, and technological forces to come to the fore as the infrastructural flesh that frames the aesthetic constellation of Europe in contemporary Bombay cinema. The screen events that I have discussed here are linked to procedural negotiations that are both minute and large, involving a range of stakeholders. In these negotiations, we see both the use of space and the production of space. Through my analysis, I have tried to imagine these on-screen depictions of European locations as dynamic interfaces that carry the inscriptions of transnational networks and function as "cinematic maps" that are born out of a contemporary understanding of the relationship between space, place, power, and technology.

Acknowledgement

This chapter has come out of research conducted under the aegis of Equip: EU-India Social Science and Humanities Platform funded by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR).

Notes

1 For a sense of the IIFTC Infrastructure and activities, see their official website www.iiftc.com/
2 Drawn from interviews with several Line Producers and Executive Producers in Bombay – Smriti Jain, Kunal Kapoor, Tanvi Gandhi, Vivek Aggarwal, Rucha Pathak, etc. March 2020.
3 Interview with Rengarajan Jaiprakash, Line Producer for *War* and Ashish Singh, Executive Producer for *Fan*. Part of the Equip Project. March 2020.
4 *Cineport: India's First Film Location Guide*, published by the IIFTC, November 21, 2020.
5 Ibid.

6 For a detailed analysis of *War's* narrative use of surveillance and mapping devices, see Sharma (2022).
7 For a conceptual analysis of the relationship between the aesthetics of the GPS map and the espionage genre, see Sen (2021).
8 See *Lapland Above Ordinary*, available from: www.lapland.fi/film/for-productions/war-bollywood-action-movie-lapland/.
9 Making of the car chase sequence in *War*, available from: www.youtube.com/watch?v=PHn4RJYc01I.
10 Hollywood action director Paul Jennings says "War" sequences at par with "Mission Impossible" *The New Indian Express*, 16.09.2019, available from: www.newindianexpress.com/entertainment/hindi/2019/sep/16/hollywood-action-director-paul-jennings-says-war-sequences-at-par-with-mission-impossible-2034454.html.
11 Making of the car chase sequence in *War*, available from: www.youtube.com/watch?v=PHn4RJYc01I.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 Making of the bike chase sequence in *War*, available from: www.dailymotion.com/video/x7ukupw.
16 For an analysis of the bike chase with a focus on the bodies of the actors in action, see Sharma (2022).
17 Hrittik Roshan versus Tiger Shroff: War shuts down Portugal bridge for two days, *India Today*, 30.08.2019, available at: www.indiatoday.in/movies/bollywood/story/hrithik-roshan-vs-tiger-shroff-war-shuts-down-portugal-bridge-for-2-days-details-here-1593598-2019-08-30.
18 10 years of *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara* – Zoya Akhtar and Rima Kagti interviewed by Anupama Chopra *Film Companion*, available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=4aRARo0cXDk.
19 For more on the diverse logics shaping the road movie genre in an international context, see Cohan and Hark (1997).
20 Making of *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara*, Part 2, available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=tcdfx7RgNJw.
21 Making of *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara*, Part 3, available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=xzVyHair-LM.
22 The Spanish government offered the production team concessions to help with the tourism market. *Zindagi* released in July 2011 and by September of the same year, tourism from India to Spain rose by 32%. The film was produced in collaboration with the Spanish tourism promotion agency, Turespaña.
23 Making of *Tamasha* in Bastia, Corsica, available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=E9_LmhiJYb8; Behind the scenes of *Tamasha*, available from: www.youtube.com/watch?v=_gU1KQaZxPY; Bollywood in Corsica: Making of *Tamasha*, available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=fZYO0pDXoh8; Matargashti backstage video song, available from: www.youtube.com/watch?v=E6Hhvph2i4w.
24 Interview with Manu Anand, the cinematographer of *Fan*, Bombay, March 2020.
25 Ibid.
26 See *Making of Fan: Croatia Diaries*, available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=yMYwAZX-k00.
27 Mark Thomas, "Dubrovnik feeling the Shahrukh Khan effect", *Dubrovnik Times*, 18.02.2016, available from: www.thedubrovniktimes.com/news/dubrovnik/item/309-dubrovnik-feeling-the-shah-rukh-khan-effect.
28 Behind the scenes action in *Fan*, available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=i4qPRxj227I.
29 For a different analysis of the Dubrovnik sequence and its novel use of special effects to stage the body in action, see Sharma (2022).

References

Bruno, G., 2002. *Atlas of emotion: Journeys in art architecture and film*. New York: Verso.
Cohan, S. and Hark, I. R., eds., 1997. *The road movie book*. London and New York: Routledge.
Conley, T., 2006. *Cartographic cinema*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.
Cosgrove, D., 2008. Cultural cartography: Maps and mapping in cultural geography. *Annales de Géographie*, 660–661 (2–3), 159–178.
Denson, S., 2020. *Discorrelated images*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
Govil, N., 2015. Producing India as location. *In:* K. Oakley and J. O'Connor, eds., *The Routledge companion to the cultural industries*. London: Routledge.
Gregory, D., Johnston, R., Pratt, G., Watts, M. and Whatmore, S., 2009. *The dictionary of human geography*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
Hozic, A. A., 2001. *Hollyworld: Space, power, and fantasy in the American economy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
Jaikumar, P., 2019. *Where histories reside: India as filmed space*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
Kitchin, R., 2010. Post-representational cartography. *Lo Squaderno: Explorations in Space and Society*, 15, 7–12.
Majumdar, N., 2017. Embodiment and stardom in Shahrukh Khan's fan. *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media*, 58 (1–2), 144–160.
Mazumdar, R., 2007. *Bombay cinema: An archive of the city*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.
Mazumdar, R., 2011. Aviation, tourism and dreaming in 1960s Bombay cinema. *Bioscope: South Asian Screen Studies*, 2 (2), 129–155.
Miller, T., 2003. *Spyscreen: Espionage on film and TV from 1930s to the 1960s*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Mukherjee, D., 2020. *Bombay hustle: Making movies in a colonial city*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Potolsky, M., 2019. *The national security sublime: On the aesthetics of government secrecy*. London and New York: Routledge.
Rhodes, J. D. and Gorfinkel, E., 2011. *Taking place: Location and the moving image*. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Rogers, A., 2019. Taking the plunge: The new immersive screens. In: C. Buckley, R. Campe and F. Cassetti, eds., *Screen genealogies: From optical device to environmental medium*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
Rossetto, T., 2019. *Object oriented cartography*. London and New York: Routledge.
Ruoff, J., 2006. *Virtual voyages: Cinema and travel*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
Sen, S., 2021. *Digital events: Cross talk between media forms and contemporary Hindi cinema*. Unpublished Ph.D., Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.
Sharma, T., 2022. *Kinetic cartographies: Mapping space in contemporary Bombay cinema*. M.Phil. Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.
Steinhart, D., 2019. *Runaway Hollywood: Internationalizing postwar production and location shooting*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Verhoeff, N., 2012. *Mobile screens: The visual regime of navigation*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
Zimmer, C., 2015. *Surveillance cinema*. New York: New York University Press.

4 Portraying European landscapes in Indian films

Mimi Urbanc, Primož Gašperič, and Jani Kozina

Introduction

A large dance troupe of mostly Indian dancers dressed in extravagant costumes with a distinct Indian touch spin and dance to loud, hip-hop-infused music. The moves grow bolder and more extroverted, capturing the attention of the audience. The air is filled with infectious energy. You are transported to an exotic place – but the snow-covered Alps in the background bring you back to Europe because this Bollywood film extravaganza was actually filmed in Slovenia. This small country in the heart of Europe is only one of the countries used when Indian filming goes international.

The fast-growing Indian film industry – one of the largest in the world (Josiam 2014) – has incorporated European locations since the 1960s. Picturesque filming locations have a strong appeal to audiences and, at the same time, have sparked new business ties between India and Europe (Josiam 2014; Jain 2019). Indian filmmaking has attracted the attention of scholars for several decades, who have explored various angles and aspects, including cultural transfer between the Indian and European environments (Rajagopalan 2006; Banaji 2013; Cucco and Scaglioni 2014; Lourenço 2017; Gyimóthy 2018).

This chapter focuses on the representation of landscapes and landscape features in Indian films shot in Europe. Conceptually, the research was built around four notions: film, landscape, visuality, and representation – in particular, landscape representation. Representation is a concept for framing people's sensitivity to the world, and the landscape is one of the pillars thereof (Olwig 2005; Urbanc *et al*. 2021). A film is a communication tool and discursive practice for expressing and representing the relationship between people and landscapes (Farsø and Petersen 2015). It is a mode that helps understand geographical phenomena and a medium to communicate geographical knowledge (Saunders and Strukov 2018; Kirby 2021). The focus here is on film as a subject of inquiry and not on film as a research practice (for the latter, see Garrett 2011; Brickell and Garrett 2013; Jacobs 2013, 2016).

Film is a visual medium that transmits a physical sense of place and culture. "The modern age gives a special place to visuality, to human vision, and to the process of visualizing, and this characteristic of modernity has played a prominent role in shaping the contemporary world as we experience it" (Glynn 2015, p. 294).

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-6

Despite awareness of other (than film) tools for capturing human sensitivities, such as art, literature, and music, film was selected to frame the modern world. One reason might be that film is a fine example of visual culture embedded in the modern sociopolitical context (Davison and Falihi 2010) or, as Sommerlad (2022, p. 122) put it: "film locations . . . are a good example to trace the reciprocal effects between cinematic worlds and spheres of everyday life".

Landscape is one of geography's fundamental concepts (Wylie 2009). At first glance, it might seem unambiguous, but it is not mainly due to its complexity. Landscape is a tangible as well as intangible (mental, inspired) concept, although in this chapter landscape is understood as a "way of seeing", as Cosgrove (1998) explains. The complexity of the meaning of landscape was well described by Mitchell (1994, p. 166), who stated:

> Landscape is a natural scene mediated by culture. It is both a represented and presented space, both a signifier and a signified, both a frame and what a frame contains, both a real place and its simulacrum, both a package and a commodity in the package.

This definition justifies the landscape's suitability for defining the relationship between people and their environment.

The complex relationship between cinema and landscape, especially the role of landscapes and how they support the narrative of a film, has attracted considerable scholarly attention (see Harper and Rayner 2010; Kumer 2019). This research is believed to be the first attempt to study a large and comprehensive set of films by evaluating all landscape elements of each of them. This is possible due to a quantitative approach, which allows for a quantifiable representation of the scale at which certain landscape elements appear in the films. In this way, it offers new options to study film locations.

The study was conducted in five European countries: Finland, Poland, Slovenia, Sweden, and Switzerland. The empirical part includes a detailed analysis of the geographical representations of European locations in Indian cinema. The geographical elements in the films were analysed according to categories such as urban, rural, mountain, and water.

The dichotomy of urban and rural is the most basic division of two types of places that exist universally (Konjar *et al*. 2018) and is the first step in distinguishing between patterns of modernity and traditionalism. The goal was to determine which urban and rural characteristics are associated with modern and traditional places of action. Do Indian filmmakers look for urban elements and built environments in urban regions (especially cultural heritage such as old town centres, castles, and bridges), or are they also interested in nearby rural areas and their corresponding natural beauty? Mountains have been an important element of Indian filmmaking in Europe since the release of *Sangam* in 1964, when the Swiss countryside became a popular filming location for Indian producers. Snow-capped peaks, glaciers, or mountain pastures provided romantic backdrops in Bollywood musicals (Gyimóthy 2018). The goal was to determine whether this geographical

pattern persists in contemporary films and other non-Swiss destinations. Water as a characteristic geographical element is an important part of Indian iconography because it ranks highest among the five basic elements of nature (Sharma 2008). The aim was to determine whether various water elements constitute an important aspect of European scenes in Indian filmmaking. All of the aforementioned questions form the objective of this chapter; that is, to identify geographical elements of European screen locations in Indian films and to reflect more broadly on how European landscapes are used in Indian film production.

The intention is not to show how landscapes support a narrative of a particular film or several of them. Landscape is understood as a medium for human interaction with the environment, and therefore it provides insights into culture (Aitken and Dixon 2006). To identify the pattern of how landscapes are depicted in Indian films shot in Europe, a considerably large and representative pool of films was examined, and this guided the approach to film analysis.

Building a methodological approach to film analysis

The methodological approach was based on a previous photo analysis to identify the geographical imagination of Slovenian landscapes (Urbanc *et al*. 2015). It was subsequently further developed and applied to a large-scale study of students' geographical imagination of landscapes (Urbanc *et al*. 2016, 2021). For this chapter, it was adapted for film analysis (Kozina 2021). The empirical part of the study is based on a sample of 34 films released between 2010 and 2018 with only two exceptions: the blockbusters *Fanaa* (2006) and *War* (2019). The films were shot in five countries in Europe: Finland, Poland, Slovenia, Sweden, and Switzerland. The selection of countries was based on several factors. Diverse countries were included to identify nuances and capture subtle differences between European locations. First, broad geographic coverage and a wide variety of natural, social, and cultural phenomena were chosen. Second, the countries should be attractive to Indian film producers to varying degrees. A prior study (Kozina 2021) shows that Switzerland has been a highly attractive country for years, Slovenia and Poland moderately attractive countries, and Finland and Sweden less attractive countries for Indian film production in Europe.

The study followed systematic and rigorous steps: film selection, scene selection, variable and parameter development, data extraction/coding, and analysis. In an attempt to mitigate individual biases and establish coherence and uniformity in all the steps, a set of methodological documents was prepared, containing information not only about the content but also about processual and logistical steps. Pursuing a solid central framework, the team worked in a tightly integrated manner and made possible thorough discussions within the whole team via online meetings, workshops, and e-mails.

Film selection (Figure 4.1) started with information from IMDb, which was amended by additional online sources and interviews with experts in the field. A pool of 195 films was created (2 from Finland, 24 from Poland, 13 from Slovenia, 2 from Sweden, and 154 from Switzerland). To ensure comparability and establish

a coherent pool, the upper limit was set at ten movies per country. The inclusion criteria consisted of: a) public availability of films on YouTube, Facebook, and Vimeo, and b) popularity (based on the number of votes on IMDb) criteria. The final set consists of 34 films (Table 4.1): two from Finland, ten from Poland, ten from Slovenia, two from Sweden, and ten from Switzerland. The timeframe was extended to include two blockbuster movies with high impact and popularity. One was filmed in Finland (*War* 2019) and the other in Poland (*Fanaa* 2006).

Scene selection focused on a scene as the unit of analysis. It is defined as a continuous film scene within a single European locational setting. A film scene changes when the action moves to another locational setting. Location refers to places in geographical space such as cities, towns, villages, regions, or areas (e.g. the Alps) and not micro-locations within such places (e.g. different micro-locations within a particular city or area). The total number of scenes was 594 (Table 4.1): 14 in Finland, 138 in Poland, 168 in Slovenia, 126 in Sweden, and 148 in Switzerland.

An extensive set of variables was developed, consisting of three broad groups (Table 4.2). The first group comprises the scene's technical details, such as film

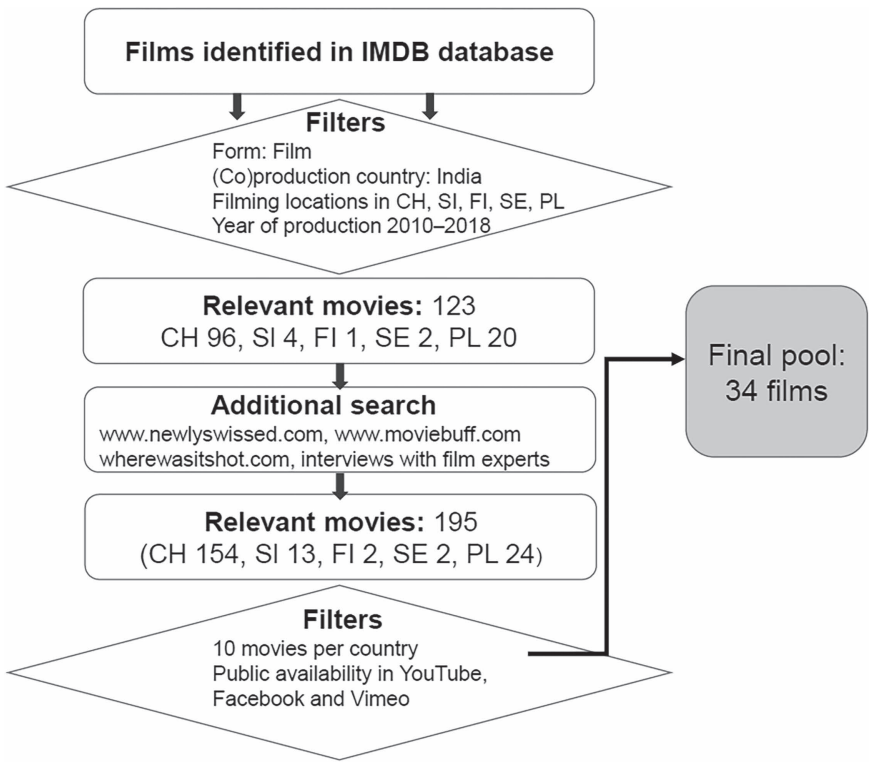

Figure 4.1 Film-selection process.

Source: Own elaboration

Table 4.1 Selected films and scenes by countries involved.

Country	*No. of films*	*Titles*	*No. of scenes*	*Share of scenes (%)*
Finland	2	*Shamitabh*, 2015; *War*, 2019	14	2
Poland	10	*Fanaa*, 2006; *Saguni*, 2012; *Kick*, 2014; *Bangistan*, 2015; *Shaandaar*, 2015; Fitoor, 2016; *24*, 2016; *Shivaay*, 2016; *Mersal*, 2017; *Andhadhun*, 2018	138	23
Slovenia	10	*Naayak*, 2013; *Doosukeltha*, 2013; *Pandavulu Thummeda*, 2014; *Super Ranga*, 2014; *Mr. Airavata*, 2015; *Babu Bangaram*, 2016; *Mungaru Male 2*, 2016; *Khaidi No. 150*, 2017; *Bharjari*, 2017; *Vivegam*, 2017	168	28
Sweden	2	*Ship of Theseus*, 2012; *Jia aur Jia*, 2017	126	21
Switzerland	10	*Don Seenu*, 2010; *Dookudu*, 2011; *Endukante . . . Premanta*, 2012; *Baadshah*, 2013; *Krrish* 3, 2013; *Dhoom:3*, 2013; *Endrendrum Punnagai*, 2013; *Race Gurram*, 2014; *Pooja*, 2014; *Simmba*, 2018	148	25
Total	34		594	100

Source: Own elaboration.

Table 4.2 Selected variables.

Group	*Variables*
Scene ID	Basic film information: film title, IMDb link, year Scene information: consecutive number of scene, scene starting and ending time, scene length Type of scene within a particular location setting: song sequence, storyline
Geographical characteristics	Recognisability from coder's perspective and naming of scene: country, (un)known location, name of location, name of exact micro-location(s) Recognisability from viewer's perspective: known or unknown, indications of known location, indications of "fake location" Urban-rural elements (from viewer's perspective): predominance of urban or rural features, types of urban features, types of rural features Mountainous elements: inclusion of mountains elements in setting Water elements: water presence, types of water features

Source: Own elaboration.

title, year, and length. The second group considers content criteria that focus on geographical characteristics, such as location and landscape elements, focusing on the urban–rural dichotomy, and mountain and water features. The third group considers sociocultural characteristics, such as the main activity and relevance of a scene to the film plot. This chapter utilises variables in the first group and selected variables in the second group.

The selected variables were formulated as closed questions that either offered predefined choices or required a specific piece of information (a word or a single sentence). They were divided into three subtypes: a) dichotomous choices (yes/no), b) choices with predefined categories (e.g. the variable *rural features visible in the setting* offered the following categories: fields, meadows, grassland, etc.), and c) open choices (e.g. year of production).

Data extraction and analysis started with building an audiovisual database consisting of full films, clips of scenes shot in Europe, and image stills. Each national team (Slovenian, Swiss, Finish, and Polish) performed data extraction for its scenes after thorough joint discussions in workshops and e-mail correspondence. After carrying out the evaluation test, the analysis followed, checking and clearing data, and removing inconsistencies. The team then assigned numerical values to categories. The basics of the sample, as well as patterns in the variables and relationships among them, were explored with descriptive statistics (frequencies, percentages, and mean) and cross-tabulations.

European landscapes portrayed in Indian films

The results of the comparative analysis offer an in-depth geographical overview of European locations as presented in Indian films. Section "General characteristics of the scenes" presents general characteristics, such as the length and type of scene, and the spatial distribution of screen locations and their recognisability for Indian audiences. Section on "Geographical characteristics" identifies and explains major geographical elements of European screen locations. The focus is on urban–rural, mountain, and water typologies.

General characteristics of the scenes

The films analysed contain 594 scenes (on average 17 scenes per film), which are often rather short. On average, they are 43 seconds long, but the difference between song scenes and storylines is pronounced. The former are on average 21 seconds long and the latter 70 seconds long. The length is between one second and 340 and 460 seconds, respectively. Switching from one scene and location to another is generally swift and dynamic. One reason for the brevity of scenes is that European scenes tend to be more often song sequences (56%), which contain shorter film clips. Storyline scenes predominate only in films shot in Sweden and Finland (87% and 64%, respectively), whereas song sequences strongly predominate in the films shot in Slovenia (89%). In the case of Poland and Switzerland, both forms are most balanced. This indicates that Slovenia is a popular country to shoot song sequences

as a backdrop, whereas the Scandinavian scenes are embedded in the plot of the film. However, it must be considered that only four films were shot there. It will be interesting to see whether future films follow the same pattern.

The majority of the filming locations (82%) were known to the data collectors. This suggests that Indian films tend to be shot in locations that are internationally and/or nationally known or recognisable, or in places with a particular landscape or scenery associated with the country in question (Table 4.3, Figure 4.2). The micro-locations in the films shot in Sweden are imminently urban; geographically, most scenes were also shot in the Skåne region, a landscape strongly associated with Swedish film production. The locations in the Finnish scenes are distributed fairly evenly between urban and rural settings, with scenes shot in both Helsinki and the Lapland region in the Arctic Circle. The Slovenian scenes are rich in locations. Castles, streets, and squares predominate, but there are also lakes, bridges, parks, gardens, piers, shores, hotels, churches, and caves. In the Polish scenes, micro-locations related to the urban landscape dominate. These are mainly the old towns

Table 4.3 The most common urban and rural places in selected countries.

Country	*Urban settings*	*Rural settings*
Finland	Helsinki	Lapland
Poland	Kraków, Gdańsk, Poznań, Warsaw, Rzeszów	Tatra Mountains, Podzamcze (Silesian Voivodeship), Stołowe Mountains
Slovenia	Ljubljana, Piran, Bled, Maribor, Kamnik	Bohinj, Štanjel, Big Pasture Plateau, Ptuj, Vintgar Gorge, Jezersko, Logar Valley
Sweden	Malmö, Stockholm, Lund	Arctic circle (Gulf of Bothnia)
Switzerland	Bern, Geneva, Zürich	Swiss Alps, Bernese Alps, Canton of Valais

Source: Own elaboration.

Figure 4.2 Cloud tag generated from the filming locations. The size depends on frequency.

Source: Own elaboration

of large cities, famous historical sites, landmarks (such as the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw or Wawel Castle in Kraków), and the streets of these historic areas. The non-urban locations are mainly palaces and castles. Of the natural locations, there are mountain valleys and lakes (mainly from the Tatra Mountains). The micro-locations of the films shot in Switzerland are quite diverse and range from rural (meadows, lakes, vineyards, and castles) and famous Alpine destinations (the Sphinx Observatory on the Jungfraujoch or the Matterhorn) to picturesque towns (Thun), city centres (downtown Bern), and airports (Geneva and Zürich).

The recognisability of screen locations from the viewer's perspective depends on clear locational indications such as visible place names, flags, famous townscapes, and important historical landmarks. It varies slightly between countries; most scenes with a clear locational indication come from films shot in Switzerland (35%). Similarly, there is also a high percentage of clear clues in the Finnish locations (23%), which may be explained by a small number of films. Conversely, only 8% and 4% of the scenes in the Slovenian and Polish samples, respectively, are known with clear locational information. Thirteen percent of scenes with clear clues position Sweden in the middle.

The small number of Polish scenes with unique locations may be explained by the fact that Polish locations (5% of them) are used as fake locations (e.g. Kraków, Warsaw, and Brzesko as substitutes for London). However, this is not the only reason. The most fictionalised locations were found in films shot in Switzerland (26%); they often stand in for other countries (e.g. the United States, France, or Germany) and cities (e.g. Chicago). In the Finnish and Swedish scenes, the fictionalised locations (14% and 15%, respectively) usually consisted of well-known national landmarks: for example, churches representing other buildings. Only 2% of the Slovenian scenes are used for fictionalised locations.

Geographical characteristics

European filming locations in Indian films are predominantly urban settings (72%). Such filming locations are more significant in Poland and Sweden, whereas Switzerland and Finland, in contrast, also exhibit more rural features (Figure 4.3). Switzerland, in particular, stands out with its predominant mountain landscapes. The rural background is also somewhat more representative in the romantic song sequences.

European cities and towns in Indian films are represented by various elements (Figure 4.4). However, historic cities and buildings are more common in the Polish, Swiss, and Slovenian scenes and less visible in the Nordic context. Instead, modern cities and buildings are more often seen in Sweden and transport districts in Finland. Central Europe seems to build its competitive advantage on (medieval) heritage, culture, and tradition. At the same time, northern Europe, known for its avant-garde architecture and a stronger focus on high-tech industry and innovation, focuses more on the modern urban fabric. Green and blue infrastructure stand out in Slovenia, implying a more rural appearance of urban environments in this country.

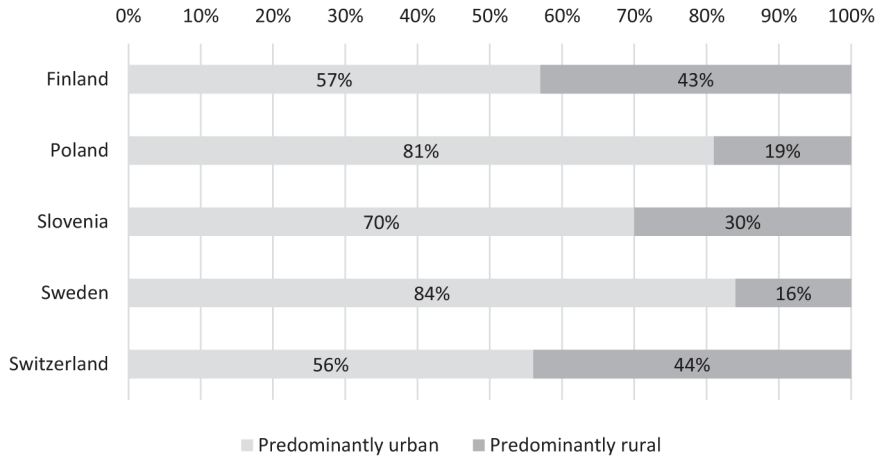

Figure 4.3 Share of urban and rural settings (differences between countries).

Source: Own elaboration

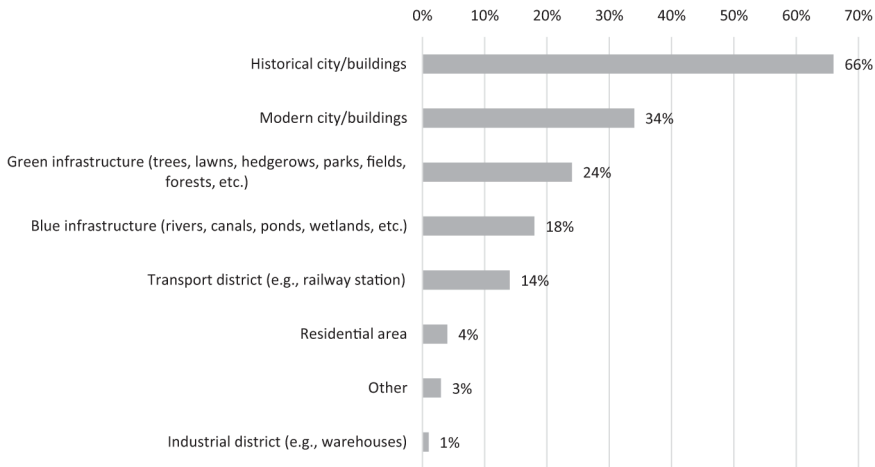

Figure 4.4 Types of urban features visible in the settings.

Source: Own elaboration

This is not surprising because Slovenia does not have many large cities and thus has one of the most rural characteristics in Europe (Dijkstra and Poelman 2014). Differences between scene types reveal that romantic song sequences are more often portrayed within historical cities and buildings and are surrounded by green and blue infrastructure. In contrast, regular sequences are more often dominated

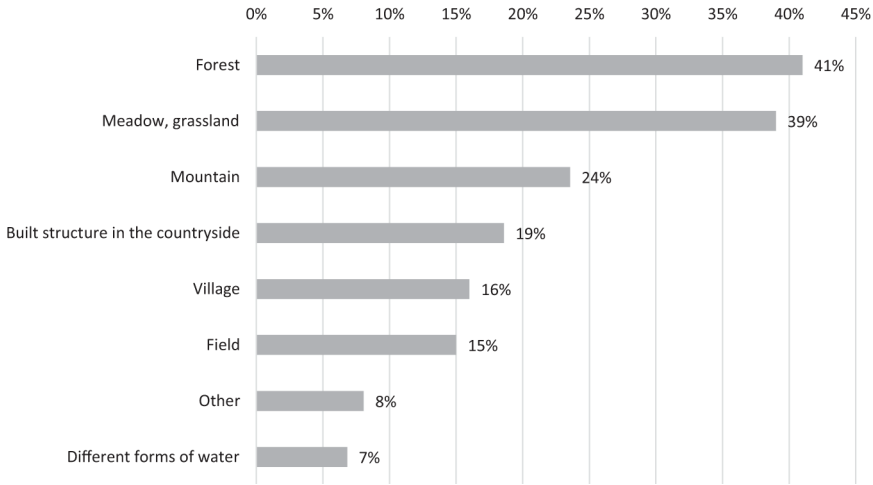

Figure 4.5 Types of rural features visible in the settings.

Source: Own elaboration

by modern cities and buildings and transport infrastructure. The narratives seem to be more often set in contemporary urban environments, whereas heritage elements usually romanticise song scenes.

The European countryside in Indian films is presented by only a few elements (Figure 4.5). However, there are some significant differences between the countries. The Swiss countryside is more often presented by mountains and typical Alpine villages and architecture. Poland and Slovenia – the latter being the third most forested country in the European Union (Eurostat 2018) – are mostly depicted as green countries with forests, meadows, and grasslands. It is surprising that in Finland and Sweden, the only countries where the share of forests exceeds that of Slovenia (Eurostat 2018), forests receive less attention, and fields are more visible. Not surprisingly, fields are prominent in scenes shot in Poland, which is indeed a strong agricultural country. Looking at rural elements by scene type shows a greater presence of meadows and grasslands in song sequences, whereas fields tend to be used more often as a setting in a storyline.

Mountains are a moderately pronounced feature of European filming locations (35%). The frequency of mountains exceeds that of rural elements, which occur in less than one-third of settings (28%). This means that mountains are also depicted in urban environments. The overlap of urban and mountainous motifs is hardly surprising, especially when a cross-country comparison is made. Two countries contribute decisively to the representation of mountainous landscapes in selected film scenes: Switzerland and Slovenia (Figure 4.6). In both countries, not only is the topography rugged and mountainous (less so in Slovenia) but the towns are also small (Morisson 2021). In contrast, fewer mountainous scenes are shot in Sweden,

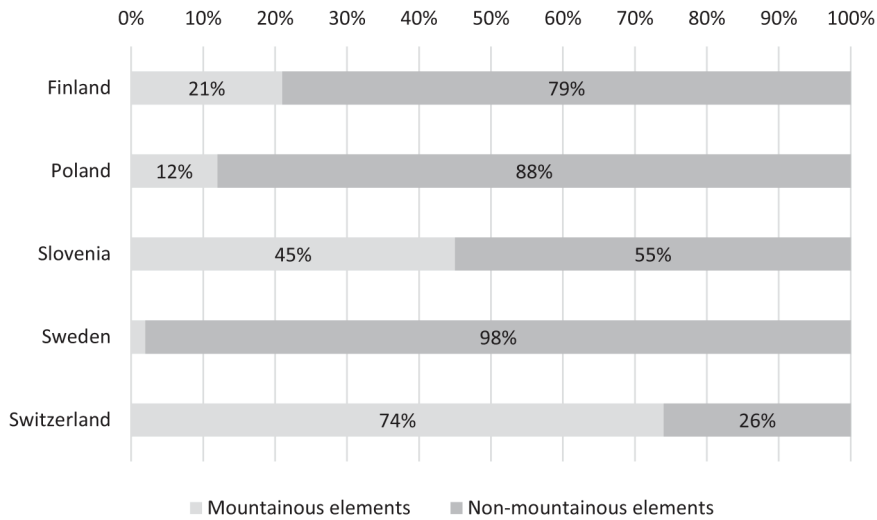

Figure 4.6 Mountainous and non-mountainous elements of the setting (differences between countries).

Source: Own elaboration

Finland, and Poland, which is related to the topography of these countries and, in the case of Poland, to the greater concentration of filming locations in historical cities such as Kraków, Gdańsk, and Poznań.

Mountains are more often positioned in the background of song sequences, implying their romantic role. As a rule, they do not carry the story but presumably serve as a captivating background motif. This "circumstantial" position could be explained by the technical and logistical challenges of filming in these locations, but it is effortless to use them as a background because elevated landforms are usually highly visible. Mountains that appear in film scenes convey a considerable variety of height and land cover. Hills (i.e. forested and green) slightly predominate (63%) over high mountains with rocky, barren, or snow-covered areas (57%). Scenes with high mountains are most often shot in Switzerland, and scenes with hilly images are most often shot in Slovenia (Figure 4.7). The Indian film industry tends to remain faithful to the original image of Switzerland (i.e. high mountains), which sparked Indian filmmakers' preference for European locations since the 1960s and especially in the 1990s (Tissot 2019). More recently, however, filming locations are no longer limited to mountains. Comparing song sequences and storylines by mountain type reveals slight differences. When mountains appear in the narrative, they are more likely to be high mountains. One explanation for this could be the ability of high mountains to act as a dramatic effect or to convey a sense of uniqueness. Compared to hills, which are ubiquitous in Europe, barren high mountains occur only in the Alps and are therefore less frequently seen in filmmaking.

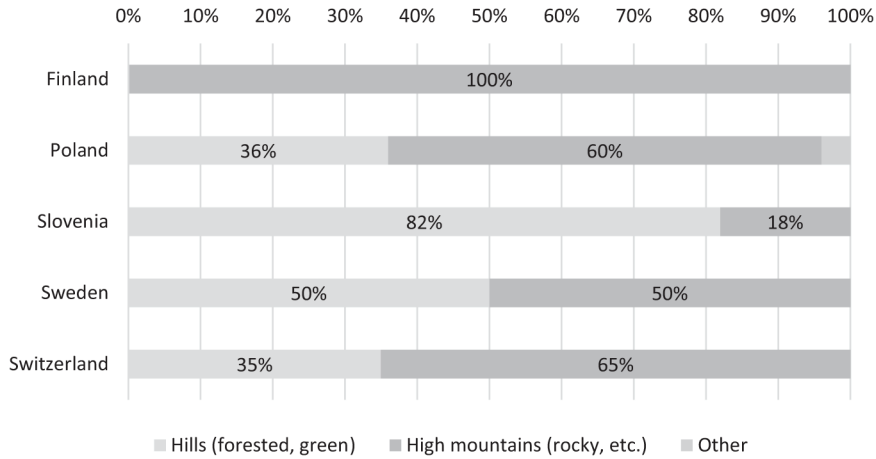

Figure 4.7 Types of mountains visible in the settings (differences between countries; "other" in the films shot in Sweden refers to rocks or small cliffs, not large enough to be counted as mountains; i.e. erratics or boulders).

Source: Own elaboration

As a characteristic geographical element and an important component of Indian iconography (Sharma 2008), water is depicted slightly less frequently than mountains (29%). Standing bodies of water (lakes and seas) are the most significant category (61%), whereas flowing bodies of water (rivers and waterfalls) are a less important element (25%). Water as a weather phenomenon is rare, appearing as snow in 15% and rain in only 4% of all settings. Therefore, one could imagine that water serves as a scene element for the filmmakers during nice (especially sunny) days.

The presence of water varies among the selected countries, but it does not appear in even half of the scenes in any of them. Water appears more frequently in mountainous Slovenia and Switzerland and in Finland as "the land of a thousand lakes" on the one hand, and less often in Sweden and Poland on the other hand. In Switzerland, the absence of the sea is logical due to its continental location. Instead, lakes are the most significant category in this country. There is also no sea in Polish scenes. The reason for this is probably the (cold) Baltic Sea and coastal plains, which are not as attractive for filming as other parts of the country, such as locations along rivers, which are a predominant category from this point of view. Filming locations in Slovenia and Sweden contain many places by the sea, but for completely different reasons. Unlike Sweden, which is a maritime country and has a varied coastline with typical landscape features, Slovenia has a very short coastline but is on the Mediterranean Sea, with a pleasant climate and famous historical and tourist sites. The settings from Finland also contain many places by the sea as well as lakes, but the snow (in Lapland) stands out (Figure 4.8).

Scenes with water are more often part of song sequences than of storylines, which is especially true for the occurrence of rivers and lakes. The exception is the occurrence of rain, which occurs exclusively in storylines (Figure 4.9). One

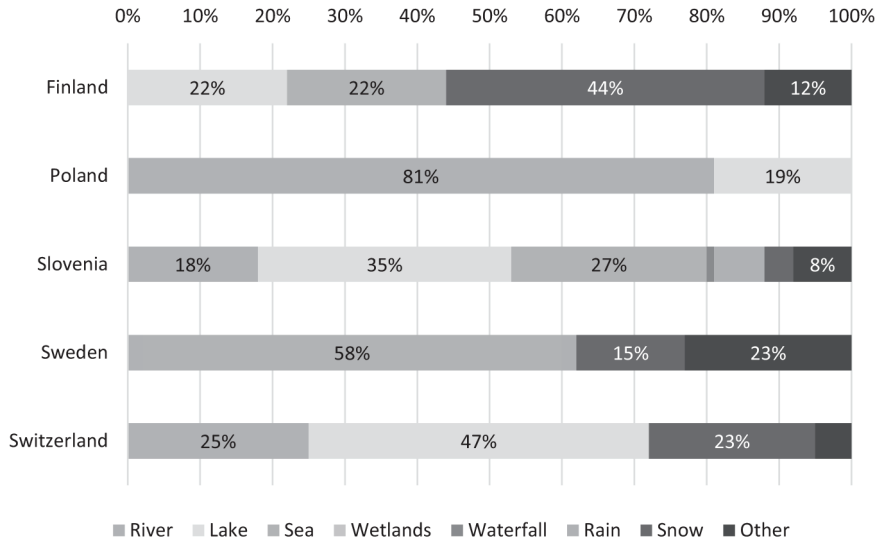

Figure 4.8 Types of water visible in the settings (differences between countries).
Source: Own elaboration

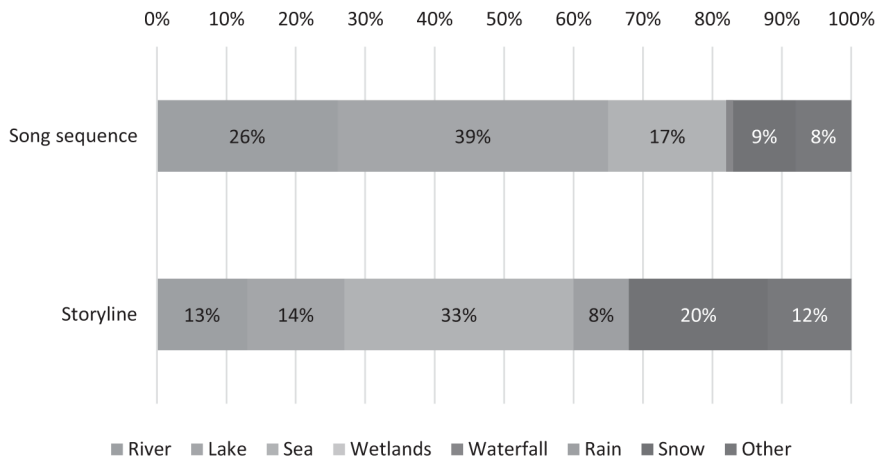

Figure 4.9 Types of water visible in the settings (differences between scene types).
Source: Own elaboration

often imagines many scenes in Indian movies where pleasant rain makes people happy (especially farmers and lovers). The basis for such an idea is that rural India, with its vast areas of cultivated land, depends on the rainy season. Similarly, urban settlements depend on monsoon rains during the hot summer (Ravi 2016).

The theoretical link between the importance of water (especially rain) in India and the creation of a romantic atmosphere (establishing romance, dancing, singing, etc.) typical of song sequences may be deceptive. Based on the data in this study, such ideas cannot be confirmed in Europe.

Discussion

Neutral landscapes

Film landscapes are often (mis)used to reinforce national(istic) ideas and feelings (McLoone 2010). Lukinbeal (2005, p. 3) stated that "Landscape gives meaning to cinematic events and positions narratives within a particular scale and historical context". Unlike a national cinematic identity based on how culture, traditions, struggles, and landscapes are represented (Spicer 2010), there is no national agenda behind foreign (Indian) filmmaking in Europe. The landscapes used are not loaded with national narratives and neuralgic points of history. Indian films do not show forms of self-representation, but rather an outsider's perspective and alienation from national narratives.

Following the mirror metaphor, and if one understands cinema in general as a mirror of society (Kumar and Pandey 2017), one could say that Indian films provide Europeans with a neutral view of the landscape. In other words, the landscapes are not deep or multidimensional, but rather flat. Only the surface or the exterior, the visible layer, is shown. European settings focusing on landscapes that contain a variety of elements and aspects are rarely an integral part of the narrative, but mostly serve as charming posters. Even when a European location is embedded in the film's plot, the relationship between the film's narrative and the landscape depicted remains superficial. This is especially true in those films where European locations were used only for dance scenes. The storytelling aspect is not pronounced; it is more about visuality.

National landscape stereotypes and recognisability

Despite the neutrality of the landscape in Indian films that include scenes shot in Europe, they still unintentionally convey national narratives. Leach (2010) and Aru and Capineri (2021) note that national narratives are often based on stereotypes. Indeed, iconic and stereotypical images are immediately recognisable means of conveying national narratives in the pool of films. The films successfully use the most iconic landscapes that serve as anchors for national landscape stereotypes, such as Kraków in Poland and Bled in Slovenia. Other examples are the mountains, which are visible in the scenes shot in Slovenia and Switzerland, the old medieval towns depicted in the Polish scenes, and the snowy landscapes shown in the polar parts of Finland (Figure 4.10).

This fact is hardly surprising because Indian filmmakers choose a location based on their perception of a particular country. National stereotypes and iconic landscapes are the main vehicles for creating an image of the self and others. Second, Indian filmmakers often collaborate with local businesses and institutions, and,

Figure 4.10 Iconic landscapes are widely featured in Indian films shot in Poland, Sweden, Finland, Slovenia, and Switzerland. Lapland in winter (top left), modern urban centre in Scandinavia (top centre), Bled (top right), Tatra Mountains (centre left), Warsaw skyline (centre), downtown Ljubljana (centre right), Matterhorn aerial view (bottom left), Lake Brienz (bottom centre), and Piran peninsula (bottom right).

Source: Kushnirov Avraham (top left), Grigory Bruev (top centre), Maja Topole (top right), Artur Henryk (centre left), Wojciech Zieliński (centre), Tryfonov (centre right), 4Max (bottom left), Can (bottom centre), Csák István (bottom right). All photos but top right are from AdobeStock

third, national incentives and subsidies are often tied to shooting iconic landscapes (Janta and Herzog 2023). It can be concluded that Indian films retain and use stereotypical images of shooting countries and that European national ideas have been successfully transferred into Indian film production. Through iconic and widely known filming locations, Indian films perpetuate the European self-image.

The use of iconic landscapes and clear indications are probably the most important factors of recognisability. Studies (see Urbanc *et al*. 2021) show that recognisability is directly linked to distinctive features, clearly defined form, structure, and obvious meaning. All of these elements are found in the pool of scenes studied here.

Diverse and versatile landscapes

The results convey a wide variety of landscape elements that correspond to differences among the countries studied. The heterogeneity of Europe is well reflected in Indian films with European settings. This means that Indian filmmakers are not fascinated by a single type of landscape, but are attracted by diversity. The argument that supports this finding is the dynamic between scenes and settings; the shift

from one to another is rapid. Scenes tend to be short, and so Indian filmmakers present multiple settings in a relatively short time frame. The European territorial structure makes this possible. This finding is supported by Janta and Herzog (see Chapter 8) and Cucco and Scaglioni (2023), who state that landscape diversity and a multitude of options are one of the most important pull factors for Indian film teams in Switzerland and Italy, respectively.

Another pull factor is probably the availability of versatile landscapes that make it possible to substitute one location for another when filming. The countries in this pool offer locations that can be easily replaced, but the differences between countries are obvious. Comparing the endpoint countries in the number of fake filming locations (Switzerland 26% and Slovenia 2%) shows that the difference is not due to landscape diversity. In terms of geography, both countries have much more in common (yet it is hard to imagine a Slovenian town replacing, say, Chicago) than Slovenia and Poland, both of which are at the lower end of fake locations. Switzerland probably stands out not for its landscape diversity but rather for a long tradition of foreign (Indian) filmmaking, well-developed general and cultural infrastructure, and appealing financial incentives, as indicated by Janta and Herzog (see Chapter 8). More generally, the reason could be soft power (Brand Directory 2021), whereby Switzerland scored within the top five nations despite being vastly outperformed by the other four countries (Germany, Japan, the UK, and Canada) in terms of territory and population size.

Implications for research and practice

This study has considerable practical value. Films can have a positive impact on the general perception of a particular country. That country, in turn, can have an impact on the tourism and leisure industry and have a spillover effect on other sectors (sales of products, attractiveness as a study destination, etc.). Indeed, Indian filmmakers often use economic potential as an argument when negotiating with European partners (see Chapter 8), yet the potential for building and strengthening a country's soft power is less often addressed. Therefore, this chapter can encourage authorities at all levels (EU, national, regional, and local) to consider foreign filmmaking as an important way to strengthen the presence of Europe as a whole or an individual country on the world map.

This study also suggests several topics that may be of scholarly interest. The general topic concerns the impact of European settings in Indian films on tourism and general perceptions of Europe. The second is cultural differences between Europe and India, and how their appreciation raises a myriad of issues directly related to the portrayal of European landscapes, particularly the extent to which human activities that shaped the landscape (e.g. agriculture) are considered. Is the processual and dynamic aspect represented at all, or are only the results of this activity (e.g. cultivated open grassland) acknowledged? If one considers film an important tool for developing people's relationship with their environment, a comprehensive view can pinpoint the character of the landscape in relation to people and their activities, thus contributing to a more responsible attitude towards the landscape.

Limitations

A few limitations merit acknowledgement. First, no similar studies were found to draw possible parallels with. Some studies have looked at landscapes in films (e.g. Lefebvre 2006; Harper and Rayner 2010; Melbye 2010), but with evident dissimilarities. Because of the qualitative approach to analysis, they differ significantly from the analysis presented in this chapter. Different approaches and data collection only allow for indirect assessment. Second, the film selection was based on criteria other than randomness. Although there is a rational explanation for this approach, the results and their generalisation to the population of motion pictures in selected European countries should be interpreted with caution. Third, four national teams conducted the coding. No matter how much effort went into aligning and standardising this process, bias is inevitable. Fourth, some variables have different meanings in different national contexts. For example, rurality is a spatially and culturally dependent category. In other words, the criteria for the meaning of *rural* can (and do) differ across countries.

Conclusion

This chapter deals with the representation of European landscapes and landscape elements in Indian films shot in Europe. The objective is to identify geographical elements of European film locations and provide insight into how they are used in Indian film production. The research featured in this study is based on four concepts: film, landscape, visuality, and representation – in particular, landscape representation. The results of a detailed quantitative analysis of 34 films with 594 scenes shot in five European countries (Finland, Poland, Slovenia, Sweden, and Switzerland) show a great diversity of landscape elements with a clear urban orientation in Indian filmmaking in Europe. Urban areas are mainly represented by historical and modern imagery, and green and blue infrastructure. The countryside is predominantly represented by forests, meadows and grasslands, villages, mountains, and fields. Mountains are a moderately pronounced feature, usually in the background of song sequences, and serve as a captivating background motif. Though an important component of Indian iconography, water is rarely depicted, primarily in song sequences. In general, song sequences predominate over storyline scenes. The former usually contain historical and heritage elements, whereas the storyline scenes are more often shot in modern settings. In addition, there is a clear divide between central and northern Europe, with the former relying on (medieval) heritage, culture, and tradition. In contrast, northern Europe relies more on modern urban fabric.

The findings convey that Indian films that include scenes in Europe use and integrate the most iconic European landscapes but do not incorporate national and historical narratives. Landscapes are understood as a way of seeing, which leads to the next general ascertainment: that diversity and versatility are valued and desired. There is a dichotomy between recognisability through iconic landscapes and non-recognisability through the use of generic and versatile landscapes. A dichotomy is apparent but not clear.

Acknowledgement

The project FilmInd, The Indian Film Industry as a Driver of New SocioEconomic Connections, was carried out within EU-India Platform for Social Sciences and Humanities and financed by national funding of the participating countries. The authors acknowledge receipt of funding from the Ministry of Education, Science, and Sport of the Republic of Slovenia and the Slovenian Research Agency (Research programme P6–0101).

We thank the entire FilmInd project team included in the study of European locations by the Indian film industries for their contribution to the selection of variables and data collection: Marcin Adamczak, Malwina Balcerak, and Krzysztof Stachowiak from Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland; Oona Haapamäki and Therese Sunngren-Granlund from Novia University of Applied Sciences, Finland; Hanna Janta from the University of Basel, Switzerland; and Rok Ciglič from the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Slovenia.

References

Aitken, S. C. and Dixon, D. P., 2006. Imagining geographies of film. *Erdkunde*, 60 (4), 326–336.

Aru, S. and Capineri, C., 2021. La 'grande bellezza': Thirty years of Italian set locations. *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 38 (2), 262–285.

Banaji, S., 2013. Hindi film audiences outside South Asia. *In*: K. Gokulsing and W. Dissanayake, eds., *Routledge handbook of Indian cinemas*. London: Routledge, 391–401.

Brand Directory, 2021. *Global soft power index 2021*. Available from: https://brandirectory.com/globalsoftpower/download/brand-finance-global-soft-power-index-2021.pdf (access date 12.02.2022).

Brickell, K. and Garrett, B. L., 2013. Geography, film and exploration: Women and amateur filmmaking in the Himalayas. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 38 (1), 7–11.

Cosgrove, D., 1998. *Social formation and symbolic landscape*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Cucco, M. and Scaglioni, M., 2014. Shooting Bollywood abroad: The outsourcing of Indian films in Italy. *Journal of Italian Cinema & Media Studies*, 2 (3), 417–432.

Cucco, M. and Scaglioni, M., 2023. On the Italian trail of Indian films through the lens of media industry studies. *In*: K. Stachowiak, H. Janta, J. Kozina and T. Sunngren-Granlund, eds., *Film and place in an intercultural perspective: India-Europe film connections*. Routledge, forthcoming.

Davison, M. and Falihi, A., 2010. The conscious gaze: Visuality as practice in the post-modern world. *International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities & Nations*, 10 (3), 139–149.

Dijkstra, L. and Poelman, H., 2014. *A harmonised definition of cities and rural areas: The new degree of urbanisation*. Available from: http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/work/2014_01_new_urban.pdf (access date 18.02.2022).

Eurostat, 2018. *Over 40% of the EU covered with forests*. Available from: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/-/edn-20180321-1 (access date 18.02.2022).

Farsø, M. and Petersen, M., 2015. Conceiving landscape through film: Filmic explorations in design studio teaching. *Architecture and Culture*, 3 (1), 65–86.

Garrett, B. L., 2011. Videographic geographies: Using digital video for geographic research. *Progress in Human Geography*, 35 (4), 521–541.

Glynn, K., 2015. Visibility, media events and convergence culture: Struggles for the meaning of 9/11. *In*: S. P. Mains, J. Cupples and C. Lukinbeal, eds., *Mediated geographies and geographies of media*. Dordrecht: Springer, 293–312.

Gyimóthy, S., 2018. Transformations in destination texture: Curry and Bollywood romance in the Swiss Alps. *Tourist Studies*, 18 (3), 292–314.

Harper, G. and Rayner, J., eds., 2010. *Cinema and landscape: Film, nation and cultural geography*. Bristol: Intellect Books.

Jacobs, J., 2013. Listen with your eyes: Towards a filmic geography. *Geography Compass*, 7 (10), 714–728.

Jacobs, J., 2016. Filmic geographies: The rise of digital film as a research method and output. *Area*, 48 (4), 452–454.

Jain, P., 2019. *Sara Jahan Hamara*: Indian films and their portrayal of foreign destinations. *Visual Anthropology*, 32 (3–4), 343–352.

Janta, H. and Herzog, M., 2023. Contemporary Indian film productions in Switzerland. *In*: K. Stachowiak, H. Janta, J. Kozina and T. Sunngren-Granlund, eds., *Film and place in an intercultural perspective: India-Europe film connections*. Routledge, forthcoming.

Josiam, B. M. *et al*., 2014. 'Namastey London': Bollywood movies and their impact on how Indians perceive European destinations. *Hospitality Review*, 31 (4). Available from: https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/hospitalityreview/vol31/iss4/2 (access date 18.02.2022).

Kirby, P., 2021. Geography and film music: Musicology, gender, and the spatiality of instrumental music. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 46 (3), 570–583.

Konjar, M., Kosanović, S., Popović, S. and Fikfak, A., 2018. Urban/rural dichotomy and the forms-in-between. *In*: A. Fikfak, S. Kosanovič, M. Konjar and E. Anguillari, eds., *Sustainability and resilience: Socio-spatial perspective*. The Hague: TU Delft Open, 149–169.

Kozina, J., ed, 2021. *Comparative report on the use of European locations by the Indian film industries*. Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU.

Kumar, H. and Pandey, G. J., 2017. Deconstruction of symbols of reality in Hindi cinema: A study on calendar girls and Haider. *Media Watch*, 8 (3), 388–400.

Kumer, P., 2019. Representation of Slovenian filming locations in narratives of foreign-produced movies. *Geographical Bulletin*, 91 (1), 95–116.

Leach, J., 2010. The landscapes of Canada's features: Articulating nation and nature. *In*: G. Harper and J. Rayner, eds., *Cinema and landscape: Film, nation and cultural geography*. Bristol: Intellect Books, 269–280.

Lefebvre, M., ed., 2006. *Landscape and film*. New York: Routledge.

Lourenço, I., 2017. Bollywood in Portugal: Watching and dancing practices in the construction of alternative cultural identities. *Etnográfica*, 21 (1), 175–202.

Lukinbeal, C., 2005. Cinematic landscapes. *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 23 (1), 3–22.

McLoone, M., 2010. Landscape and Irish cinema. *In*: G. Harper and J. Rayner, eds., *Cinema and landscape: Film, nation and cultural geography*. Bristol: Intellect Books, 131–146.

Melbye, D., 2010. *Landscape allegory in cinema: From wilderness to wasteland*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mitchell, T. W. J., 1994. *Picture theory: Essays on verbal and visual representation*. London: The University of Chicago Press.

Morisson, A., Bole, D., Kozina, J., Goluža, M., Turner, C. and Mayer, H., 2021. *Transformation in industrial towns in Slovenia and Switzerland* (CRED Research Paper 34). Bern: CRED – Center for Regional Economic Development.

Olwig, K. R., 2005. Representation and alienation in the political landscape. *Cultural Geographies*, 12 (1), 19–40.

Rajagopalan, S., 2006. Emblematic of the thaw: Early Indian films in Soviet cinemas. *South Asian Popular Culture*, 4 (2), 83–100.

Ravi, K., 2016. *Romancing the rain in Hindi cinema*. Available from: https://theculturetrip.com/asia/india/articles/romancing-the-rain-in-hindi-cinema/ (access date 18.02.2022).

Saunders, R. and Strukov, V., eds., 2018. *Popular geopolitics: Plotting an evolving interdiscipline*. London: Routledge.

Sharma, K. N., 2008. Water in India: Spiritual and technical aspects. *In*: H. Selin, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the history of science, technology, and medicine in non-western cultures*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Sommerlad, E., 2022. Film geography. *In*: P. C. Adams and B. Warf, eds., *Routledge handbook of media geographies*. London: Routledge, 118–131.

Spicer, P., 2010. Japanese cinema and landscape. *In*: G. Harper and J. Rayner, eds., *Cinema and landscape: Film, nation and cultural geography*. Bristol: Intellect Books, 231–242.

Tissot, T., 2019. *Bollywood's long-standing love affair with Switzerland*. Available from: https://houseofswitzerland.org/swissstories/history/bollywoods-long-standing-love-affair-switzerland (access date 18.02.2022).

Urbanc, M., Fridl, J. and Resnik Planinc, T., 2021. Landscapes as represented in textbooks and in students' imagination: Stability, generational gap, image retention and recognisability. *Children's Geographies*, 19 (4), 446–461.

Urbanc, M., Gašperič, P. and Kozina, J., 2015. Geographical imagination of landscapes: Analysis of the book of photographs Slovenian landscapes. *Acta Geographica Slovenica*, 55 (1), 99–125.

Urbanc, M., Ferk, M., Fridl, J., Gašperič, P., Ilc Klun, M., Pipan, P., Resnik Planinc, T. and Šmid Hribar, M., 2016. *Oblikovanje predstav o slovenskih pokrajinah v izobraževalnem procesu [Shaping the Geographical Imagination of Slovenian Landscapes in Education]*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC.

Wylie, J., 2009. Landscape. *In*: D. Gregory *et al*., eds., *Dictionary of human geography*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 409–411.

5 European locations in Bollywood songs

Exploring mobile bodies and new song genres

Shikha Jhingan

In *Ae Dil Hai Mushkil* (2016), Anushka Sharma and Ranbir Kapoor travel to Europe from London, for a weekend getaway. In one comic sequence, they recreate 'Tere mere hothon pe/a sweet melody on our lips', a song originally performed by Sridevi and Rishi Kapoor in *Chandni* (1989) (Figure 5.1).

The choice of location matches the stunningly beautiful and serene panoramic view in the original number. Framed as an irreverent parody of the original duet number, the sequence shows Anushka struggling with the long *pallu* of her yellow chiffon sari. This re-creation draws attention to the playback system that allowed actors to lip sync songs pre-recorded by a few playback singers in the industry. Ranbir carries a boom box, places it at the location, and plays the song from his mobile phone. As soon as the introductory music flute fades up, Anushka starts lip syncing the words, while imitating the dance movements of the original number (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). The next shot takes us to a new location, a snow-clad vast expanse; Anushka is now in a red chiffon sari. Ranbir falls, complaining of the cold. Anushka shouts at him for being a wimp, reminding him that she is not wearing any warm clothes. This retro imagination references the popularity of the original 1980s song, while giving us a glimpse of the material practices and labour involved in the production of these songs. This self-conscious performance by the duo reminds us of the dominance of the romantic duet song that became almost synonymous with the staging of European locations as spectacular sights. This was made possible through a sudden shift from the narrative to song sequences that involved a quick transformation in location, costumes, mood, and bodily gestures.

Europe was one of the preferred locations for the visualisation of song sequences since the 1960s in the Hindi film industry. This relationship, however, between European landscape and film songs intensified in the 1990s post-globalisation period. Through the enactment of parody, Karan Johar, the director of *Ae Dil Hai Mushkil*, reflexively made fun of song sequences of his own erstwhile films, like the popular 'Tum paas Aaye', a fantasy number that was shot in Scotland for *Kuch kuch hota hai*. As Ranjani Mazumdar has suggested, these song sequences disrupted space and time, by swiftly moving to characters in foreign locations, without any narrative logic (2007, p. 94). Cinema, according to Mazumdar enabled the 'spectator's gaze to travel', as a contemporary form of flânerie (ibid.). Focusing on the history of filmed space in Hindi cinema, Priya Jaikumar has argued that as

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-7

Figure 5.1 In the song 'Tere mere hothon pe', we see Sridevi and Rishi Kapoor at a picturesque location in Switzerland in *Chandni* (1989).

Source: Yash Raj Films

Figures 5.2 and *5.3* On a weekend trip to Europe, Alizeh (Anoushka Sharma) and Ayaan (Ranbir Kapoor) recreate the song from *Chandni* by playing it through a boom box.

Source: Dharma Production (*Ae Dil Hai Mushkil*, 2016)

'a spatio-temporal form' cinema can help us better apprehend the transformations in the architecture and geography of a place through its material indices and affective registers (2019). I am tempted to ask, what happens when transformations in technologies and material practices of cinema engender new sensory, affective encounters with the architecture and geography of a place?

In recent work on sound and sonic geographies (Gallagher *et al*. 2017, listening is viewed as a bodily practice in relationship to space. They make a strong case for expanded listening as a methodology to explore how 'bodies reveal themselves as malleable and porous, and in some cases highly susceptible to sound' (622). While drawing attention to the role of sound in producing space, Brandon LaBelle has insightfully suggested its significance in thinking about the experience of the 'contemporary condition' of globalisation (2010, p. xvii). Schafer's conceptualisation of soundscape as an acoustic field of study has been used productively by film scholars to think about the spatial marks of sound in cinema (2012). Helen Hanson for instance has shown how soundscapes 'provide auditory cues to dimensions, moods and qualities of narrative urban space' in the cinematic city (2013, p. 288).

Discussions on soundscapes of Bombay cinema have highlighted the dominance of post-synchronised sound that includes dialogues and background score, while ambient sounds created in studios by foley artists were always given a subservient status.[1] Dialogues were re-recorded in sound secure studios through the use of dubbing (ADR) after the filming was over. This meant that sounds recorded on location during the process of filming were not used in the final soundtrack.[2] According to Rakesh Ranjan, sound effects in Hindi films were used for their 'performative and narrative attributes' rather than as cues for spatial settings or psychological terrains (cited in Pemmaraju 2013, p. 66).[3] While dialogues and background music were created in the post-production stage, songs were recorded prior to filming, so that actors could lip sync the lyrics in front of the camera.

Several scholars have paid attention to the way songs as stand-alone commodities or as pre-fabricated entities were loosely integrated into film narratives Prasad (1998), Gopalan (2002), and Pemmaraju (2013). The introduction of sync sound coupled with digital recording practices in the early 2000s brought significant transformations in filming practices. While giving importance to the vocal performance of actors during filming, sync sound aims to capture the soundscape of the location as part of the narrative event. Production practices linked to sync sound recording have changed the way locations are selected, along with a mobilisation of specialised technologies and gear for producing the scene as a sonic event. Priya Jaikumar has shown how sync sound recording led to 'a demand for trained creative technicians and sound engineers' as well as those able to 'work as bouncers or sound-security personnel on the field' (2017).

By focusing on the processes behind the creation of song sequences filmed in Europe, I want to consider how directors, production personnel, music composers, sound designers, and actors respond to locations as sonic bodies and form networks that engender deep sensory encounters with geographical territory. By replacing lip-synced songs with background songs, song sequences acquire a modular form,

providing a gritty and layered experience of lonesome and precarious immigrant bodies. On the other hand, diegetically produced musical numbers stage the creation of the song, revealing to us the source of the music. The placement of the boombox in *Ae Dil Hail Mushkil* needs to be seen not just as a nostalgic recreation of a Bollywood song of the 1990s but also as a sign of new production practices that lionise collaborative processes in the creation of music. In the last section, I will discuss dance-driven 'production numbers' that demand highly coordinated mobilisation of musicking bodies that are harnessed through media-driven networks of dance (Usha Iyer 2020). Methodologically, I have developed my formal analysis of song sequences in films like *Queen*, *Rockstar*, *Jab Harry Met Sejal*, and *Tamasha* in conjunction with my field work in Bombay that has given me a deeper understanding of production practices in the film industry. This ethnographic material is in dialogue with the internet archive that allowed me access to the making of the song videos, interviews with choreographers, production crew, music directors, and sound engineers. The latter as I hope to demonstrate rework the song at the post-production stage to connect it back with the soundscapes of European locations, drawing on locally grounded musical practices. I draw on Andrew Leyshon's idea of musical network, underlining the connections between network and geography to elaborate on new sonic practices and embodied engagement with filmed space in song sequences narratively located in Europe (2001).

Decoding Film Songs as Sonic Entities in European Locations

Locating romantic duet songs in Europe became a trademark style of Yash Chopra films in the 1990s.[4] Transporting spectators to bucolic settings, outdoors cafes, public squares and appealing architectural sites of Europe, these songs ruptured the soundtrack, from dialogues mixed with foley or dubbed sound to pre-recorded song sung by playback singers. In *Dil To Pagal Hai* (1997), for instance, the song is introduced to transport us from Bombay to a virtual space in Europe, to mark the 'special moment' when the protagonists fall in love with each other. The song, 'Dholna' fades up in a moment of passion, drowning the heroine's heavy breathing sounds that marked the arousal of forbidden desires. As the couple get locked in an embrace, the chords of the rhythmic guitar followed by a dramatic chorus create a sonic bridge: we are now transported to the grassy slopes of Europe as we see Madhuri Dixit running towards Shahrukh Khan in an open lush green expanse. The pre-recorded song takes over the sound track with the two leading stars lip syncing to the voices of Lata Mangeshkar and Udit Narayan. Atmospheric conditions, weather, traffic, and bystanders are part of the visual landscape of these filmed locations, but remain sonically occluded (Figure 5.4).[5]

However, we see a noticeable shift in the aural and visual style of song sequences, evoking new aesthetic forms in the post-millennial period. A marked change was the way romantic duet songs were slowly replaced by 'background songs', with a more organic link with the narrative. These songs convey the inner journey of characters as they negotiate public spaces in European cities such as lake side parks, city squares, or public transport, adding to the tone, the mood, and the visual

Figure 5.4 Shahrukh Khan and Madhuri Dixit in a European location in *Dil To Pagal Hai* (1997).

Source: Yash Raj Films

density of the scene. By introducing city sounds, they make porous the boundaries between song, background score, and noise, adding a thick auditory layer to the gritty encounters of immigrant characters as precarious, isolated bodies.

In *Queen* (2012), a lonesome Rani lands up in Paris for her 'honeymoon', sans her fiancé, who has ditched her just an evening before her wedding. The song 'Badra Bahar/O rain cloud' is built into the narrative, as Rani steps out into the city with a map in her hand. Amit Trivedi uses the sound of brass instruments and guitar in the beginning to set the tone.[6] The edgy sounds of traffic emphasise Rani's unease and disenchantment with the city. As soon as Rani looks up (towards the Eiffel Tower), the song halts, giving way to a momentary silence. The expected viewing of Eiffel Tower is deferred, as the sequence cuts to a flashback from Rani's point of view: we are made privy to her conversation with Vijay about their upcoming honeymoon in Paris to see this iconic site. We return to the present with the shot of the Tower looming large at us (Figures 5.5 and 5.6). The sound of low bass rumble mixed with low traffic sounds is grafted on a slow motion-image of the tower seen through the glass surface of a tourist bus. This reverie is intruded upon by an obtrusive car horn as we see Rani in a daze in the middle of a street. The song resumes after a 30 second break. The intermittent use of song and ambient sounds places Rani in a larger sonic terrain, illustrating her visceral response to the city. Towards the end of the song when Rani accidently bumps into a salesman selling miniature Eiffel Towers, the edgy sound of Rani gasping for breath becomes part of the soundtrack even as the song is playing in the backdrop.

As with any new technological practice, the introduction to sync sound recording in the Bombay film industry was a slow and uneven process. Combined with the arrival of digital work stations and new software like pro tools, the first decade of the new millennium involved a seismic shift in the way the film industry started adopting production practices that would lay emphasis on aural realism. According to Budhaditya Chattopadhyay, sync sound recording brought a new approach

Figures 5.5 and *5.6* In *Queen* (2012), 'Badra Bahar', a background song is used to capture Rani's uneasy encounter with the Eiffel Tower in the city of Paris.

Source: Phantom Studios

that 'helped reconstruct the site's spatial presence within the diegetic story-world' (2021, p. 72).[7] I contend that the practice of sync sound recordings in conjunction with digital sound practices brought a marked shift in the production and aesthetic practices that had a bearing in the way songs were blended into narratives, even in films that did not use sync sound recording. Background songs in film narratives changed the way songs were presented as sonic entities. Sound designers used digital technologies to introduce ambient sounds to portray the protagonist's embodied and material connection with filmed space. Field recordings at locations played a key role in bringing out the soundscape of the city that were used in background songs (Parmar 2020). Amit Trivedi, the music director, and sound designers Allwyn Rego and Sanjay Maurya travelled to Paris to get a sense of its sonic character. Trivedi listened to the music heard in public places, especially focusing on street music and busking groups in the city. For the sound designers, this was their first trip to Europe, very similar to the way Rani travels to Paris and Amsterdam in the film (Rego and Maurya 2020). The duo followed the same route as Rani in the

film and made field recordings in both cities that became references for creating the tracks of songs like Badra, with ambient sounds mixed into the musical track. According to Allwyn Rego, their approach to sound design was aimed to evoke Rani's struggle with the city of Paris. As he says:

> We paid attention to little things like pedestrian crossings where we can push a button and it goes tak tak tak, we got these alarm sounds as well. The tik tak is for 25 seconds for you to cross. And then the screeching sound of traffic when she [Rani] is trying to cross the road. She is distracted and confused so we needed to create an ambience like that. And there also there is a difference between Paris and Amsterdam. In Amsterdam people are more friendly to her.

Sanjay Maurya added:

> We also just heard a lot and put that in our head. Not everything was recorded. We tried to listen and experience that soundscape and then tried to recreate it.

In their work on tourism, Waitt and Duffy draw our attention to the non-visual experiences of tourists through the rubric of embodiment (2010). By tracking music festivals as performative sites they show how listening practices involve 'openness and exchange, where bodies are affected and affect each other in and through place' (ibid., p. 462). In *Queen*, the mood of the film shifts when Rani moves to Amsterdam and starts shacking in a budget hostel dorm with three other boys. In contrast to being under a 'sonic attack' in Paris, we see Rani's immersive engagement with the city of Amsterdam in rhythm with its music and busking culture. 'Gujariya', and 'Queen', two background songs deploy a montage of images to show Rani's adventures as a solo traveller. The introductory musical piece in 'Gujariya' draws on electronic sounds carrying the immersive experience of the city as we see Rani hanging out with fellow hostel mates in a casino lined up with slot machines and gaming plazas.[8] The faster pace of the city and Rani's mobility are referenced sonically through electronic dance music (EDM) sounds, as well as the acoustic music played by filming the busking artists of the city, bringing in the urban soundscape of Amsterdam.

Sound design in cinema in the digital era works not just through a process of selection and foregrounding of ambient sounds, but also through the creation of an acoustic space with a subtle layering of tracks. A wide dynamic range makes it possible for sound designers to create subtle layers beneath the music tracks in song sequences. Access to a combination of various kinds of hardware, software, and multiple tracks has helped sound designers to push the bar to create sound tracks that bring in the sensory environment embodied by the protagonists.

While song sequences in *Queen* follow Rani's journey and her encounter with the two cities, in *Cocktail* (2012), background songs played an important role in bringing out the dark tonalities of London.[9] The film describes the roller coaster journey of free spirited and wild Veronica (Deepika Padukone) whose life takes a

turn when she meets Meera (Diana Penty), a woman jilted by her husband upon arrival as an immigrant. At a chance encounter in a public loo, Veronica notices Meera's hapless state and asks her to move in with her as she is financially comfortable and 'cool'. The two, start bonding with each other. Soon, Veronica meets Gautam Kapoor at a bar and starts a no-strings-attached relationship with him. Gautam moves into Veronica's apartment as her live-in partner. The film captures the emotional journey of the three protagonists as casual relationships turn into love, seriously pushing them to think about who they really are and what they want in life. Songs that appear in the soundtrack work to create an emotional geography of the city: locations such as city parks, markets, streets, tube stations and bars become important sites as the three characters negotiate the city. Background songs like 'Lutna' and 'Jugni' in *Cocktail* carry forward the narrative through montage sequences that locate the characters in three distinct spaces. As 'Lutna' fades into the soundtrack, we see Veronica in a restless state, getting dressed for another night of revelry. A heightened experience of Veronica's sensate, intoxicated, and precarious body is effected through the use of EDM-driven beats combined with strong melody and Sufi lyrics. Frustrated that Gautam is not responding to her messages, Veronica flings the phone at the rest room mirror, scaring the other users. Next, we see her in a car with other drug users in a dazed state. Acknowledging the experiences of the South Asian diaspora in UK, the film shows Meera moving out of Veronica's elite neighbourhood to relocate herself in Brick Lane, a residential hub of the South Asian immigrant community. Gautam is shown hanging around the downtown area sleeping on benches or trying to catch a glimpse of Meera, as she leaves her workplace (Figures 5.7–5.9)

Both songs draw on the Sufi tradition of Punjabi music evoking in a nuanced way, shared experiences of the South Asian immigrants in London. Using a combination of guitars, drums and synth sounds with Lohar's powerful style of singing in the opening section, 'Jugni' evokes an immersive, embodied presence of the three lead characters with each undergoing intense emotional turmoil. We follow Meera's every day commute from the down town office complex to Brick Lane. The rumble of the city with its traffic and movement of tubes become part of the soundscape of the song. Framing the view from Meera's Brick Lane apartment, we get a sense of the claustrophobia of the setting, both in the interiors of the apartment as well as the lack of any view from the window of her room. Signs of traffic jams, route diversions, and road repairs add to the visual landscape further highlighting the alienating experience of the metropolitan city.

Diegetic Music in Film Songs

In a parallel move, along with the rise of background songs is an upsurge in the diegetic song sequences filmed in Europe. I focus on sequences that highlight diegetic musical performance as raison d'être for the placement of songs. At the outset, these sequences work much harder to use European locations as performative spaces of music where characters are shown as 'musicking bodies' (Christopher Small 1998).[10] At a time when background songs are becoming a norm,

Figures 5.7–5.9 In *Cocktail* (2012), the background songs depict the emotional journey of the three protagonists in three distinct spaces.

Source: Maddock Films Private Limited and Eros International Media Limited

these diegetic song sequences allow characters the chance to sing on screen by lip syncing to a playback singer's voice.[11] However, by unpacking production practices involved in the creation of these songs, I hope to demonstrate the greater sonic attunement to locations, involving the labour and creativity of local artists. In *Rockstar* (2011), Prague became a site for the performance of diegetic music involving a complex network with other performing bodies, both in front of the camera and sound studios. Imtiaz Ali brings to us a layered soundtrack co-created through a collaboration with several European artists. In the narrative, the central protagonist Janardan/Jordan travels to Prague to perform and record his music, representing an Indian music company. However, Jordan also hopes to reunite with Heer, his love-interest, who has moved to Prague with her husband. Instead of using a touristic vision of Prague, Imtiaz Ali uses space to bring out the city's dark beauty, underlining its ancient architecture, gothic style facades, and stories of witchcraft. Prague, according to Ali, was an ideal location for the two characters to explore their hidden and passionate relationship.[12] Ali also mines the city of Prague known for its rich musical history and known for its music recording industry. An interesting sequence in the film is the prelude to the 'Hawa Hawa' song. We see Jordan walking down a narrow lane while the sound of music pulls him towards the Maltézské Náměstí (The Maltese Square) in the Lesser Town of Prague, where a group of Gypsies are playing music. Jordan is intrigued by their music and unusual rhythm patterns. The sequence frames Jordan as a listener soaking in the music of Prague and then turns our attention to Jordan as a musician, getting into the flow of the performance. This musical section becomes a prelude to 'Hawa Hawa/The wind', as Jordan starts singing, dancing, and interacting with the musicians and the crowd (Figure 5.10).

The production practices involved in the creation of 'Hawa hawa' also demonstrate how the figure of the musician is depicted 'as an auditory and embodied

Figure 5.10 *Tiger Zinda Hai* (2017) ends with the 'Swag' song shot at Mykonos, Greece with a large crew of dancers and performers.

Source: Yash Raj Films

self that responds and resounds' (Born 2013). According to Imtiaz Ali, the song was created after he met several folk musicians and performers in Prague, while researching the locations for the film. This involved sharing with the local artists the subject of his film and inviting ideas from them for a collaborative project.[13] Additionally, after attending a gypsy festival in France, he invited some musicians for the shoot in Prague. 'Hawa hawa', was finally written by Irshad Kamil, incorporating one of the legendry tales of Sleepy Haunsa/Sleepy John.[14] The song is woven around the story of a queen who slips out at night to party in the depth of hell. By making references to the queen's escapades and the consequences she has to face, the song becomes a metaphor for Heer's transgressions with Jordan that ultimately leads to a tragic situation in the course of their lives.

Unlike the self-enclosed pre-fabricated song that was earlier used for aural reference to help actors lip sync or perform with its rhythm, the diegetic song production involved a recalibration of its sonic aesthetics. Paul Theberg's concept of a networked studio highlights a shift in the spatial logic of music recordings, where the arrival of new technologies have made studios become spatially diffused (2004). Furthermore, Andrew Leyshon (2001) has underlined the connections between networks and geography by enumerating four kinds of networks, that of creativity, reproduction, distribution and consumption. These networks possess distinctive but overlapping functions, temporalities, and geographies. Leyshon's ideas are based on a critique of Jacques Attali's (1985) political economy approach that emphasises the succession of musical codes in tune with a 'stagist approach' to social change.[15] Even though 'Hawa Hawa' had already been recorded for filming in Prague (especially those sections that involved lip syncing), the post-production practices involved a reworking of the song, by mobilising creativity and incorporating the sounds of musical instruments that were recorded on location in Prague. According to Imtiaz Ali:

> We had already recorded the song with Rahman but recording happens in layers and it was possible for Rahman Sir to incorporate the sounds of local instruments. So, he could use these live instruments to replace some of the electronic sounds. . . . It is very easy to bring in these layers with Rahman because he works in this way.[16]

Access to digital technologies and multiple tracks enables musicians and sound engineers to introduce diverse sounds, expanding the tonalities of the song and the sonorous space that has been created in the film. This brings in an 'audiovisual realism', acknowledging the presence of the musicking and dancing bodies on location (Jaikumar 2019 p. 285). Furthermore, if we consider the production practices, we can see how networks of creativity, reproduction, and consumption overlap with each other, at the film location. In the song 'Aur Ho' that follows 'Hawa hawa', Rahman collaborated with Alma Ferovic, a Bosnian singer and performer from Sarajevo. The song was created through a collaboration that occurred across continents with the help of the internet and digital delivery technologies.[17] After explaining the context of the narrative, Ferovic was asked by Rahman and Imtiaz

Ali on a skype call to respond to the particular situation in the film, and then compose and sing a Sevdelinka song in her own language.[18] Later, Ferovic was invited to Prague and performed the song with Ranbir Kapoor in the film. Once in Prague, she recorded the song again with some minor changes that the track demanded.

In Imtiaz Ali's *Jab Harry Met Sejal*, Harry and Sejal travel to several cities of Europe to recover Sejal's lost engagement ring. Harry, a tour guide, works for wealthy South Asians who arrive in Europe for their summer vacations. In the course of the film, we discover that Harry left his native village in Punjab for Canada to make a career in music. He works as a tour guide in Europe and is often haunted by the memories of the past that remain ineffable. In his trip across the continent with Sejal, Harry's inner journey starts to peel off, as music becomes an important trigger to reveal stories about migration, displacement, and longing that have a universal valence. In Lisbon, Harry and Sejal visit a Fado club where a local artist is performing live for the guests. This deeply haunting song narrates the story of a woman waiting for her beloved who has gone to India by sea and not returned. The tonality of the song, the lighting in the space, and the performance of the lead actors work to heighten the affective registers of the song. This sequence is placed at a point in the film when the protagonists are coming to terms with the fact that their journey together is coming to an end. The singer breaks into an English translation of the song making references to the stories of sailors/men on trade routes that connected Portugal to India through the sea. In the next scene, we see Harry and Sejal near the sea where Harry tells Sejal about his past in Nurmahal, a village in Punjab. Predicting the outcome of their failed romance, Harry starts calling out Sejal's name while facing the sea, revisiting the narrative of departure and loss in the Fado song. The sonic trace of this Portuguese song is carried forward in 'Yadon mein/in my memories', a background song that is introduced when Harry and Sejal are travelling in the tram in Lisbon. Based on the tune and the tonal quality of the Fadon song, 'Yadon mein' invites the spectators to witness the haunting and repetitive cycle of migration, exile, and an unknown future that connects the colonial history of Europe to the post-colonial condition of migration and displacement. Furthermore, the Fadon song in the film played as a diegetic performance and the use of its sonic features to create a background song in the film demonstrate the way filmmakers are listening and conducting research on the soundscapes of locations from where their narratives are emerging.

In *Tamasha* (2015), the island of Corsica becomes an important site for the two characters to meet each other and live their fantasy of a short, unencumbered friendship while they are in this beautiful island. As a prelude to the 'Matargashti/Loitering' song, we see an elaborate Parade De La Bastill, with local residents singing, performing, and walking through the city during the time of the Shepherd festival. Later in the sequence Imtiaz Ali uses diegetic performances of acapella singers and the sound of Caramusa (Corsican bagpipe) that is played by shepherds during the local festivals. In another sequence, we see the two lead characters loitering through the lanes of Corsica with a sense of abandon and freedom while we hear the haunting song of Benedictus in the soundtrack. Later, we see a group of artists dressed in black performing the song in a local church. The dense soundscape of

Corsica forms an important sensory layer that invites us to connect with the locations along with the lead protagonists, as they explore their hidden selves.

The Dance-Driven Production Number

My final discussion is about song and dance numbers that involve a large crew and the labour of a number of background dancers. Unlike the usual Bollywood dance numbers that place the lead artists prominently in front of the camera with several dancers lined up in the background, the new dance-oriented production numbers employ specialist dancers and gig performers who demand a complex use of space and choreographic practices. Here, I want to focus on two songs from *Befikre* and *Tiger Zinda Hai* that were shot in Paris and Mykonos, respectively, and demanded the involvement of a complex network of labour, technologies, and infrastructures across continents and the mobilisation of diverse genres of dance and public art practices.

In the prelude to 'Nashe Si chad gayi/She is an intoxication', in *Befikre*, we see Shyra and Dharam meeting each other for the first time at a daytime soiree in the heart of Paris. Cheeky conversation between them is framed against the backdrop of a crowd of local young Parisians dancing to music with a DJ playing tracks at the base of Pont Alexandre III. The sequence finally leads to the most popular song of the film – 'Nashe Si Chad Gayi', with Shyra and Dharam dancing to the trendy track. The sequence choreographed by Vaibhavi Merchant was mounted with the aid of professional dancers from various parts of France and several rehearsals to prep for the shoot. This involved a complex auditioning of dancers accessed through local agents, watching show reels of selected dancers and conducting online conversations. The song shows several dancers performing hip-hop style movements in a semi-circle with the lead dancers performing in the middle. Unlike the usual Bollywood dance numbers where background dancers have to repeat the same gestures as the lead dancers, creating symmetrical lines, the hip-hop dancers in 'Nashe Si Chad Gayi' perform with a more open and creative style, enjoying the moment in the middle of the city of Paris. A third layer is formed by another set of bystanders watching the performance from a distance and moving in rhythm with the music. Thus, the camera and the editing reveal to us a vast acoustic territory that becomes the space for performance. In the last section of the song, as night falls, we see the two protagonists moving away from the rest of the dancers in slow motion and walking towards the bridge.[19]

The film *Tiger Zinda Hai* ends with the 'Swag' song which was shot in Mykonos, Greece, with a large crew of dancers, performers, and the production crew (Figure 5.10). The idea behind the song, according to the director Ali Abbas Zafar, was to create 'an anthem of love'.[20] In an interview, Meghdeep Bose, the music producer of the song, shared his strategy of starting the song with the 'big' sound of 20 synthesisers premixed together, playing the 'tiger theme' music. For Bose, this created the sound of unison that worked for the theme of the song.[21] According to Vaibhavi Merchant, 'Swag se karenge sabka swagat/we welcome everyone with style' was conceptualised as a dance number with a message of oneness and

peace, and therefore she decided to work with 'unique people with unique swag' that included ballerinas, Afro dancers, B Boyers, cyclists, and football tricksters, who were all brought under one roof.[22] The pre-production of the song involved formal and informal networks, infrastructures, technologies and the logistics of movement. The hip-hop dancers were selected via agents from Paris who had helped the same production house for the *Befikre* song. A larger pool of artists were called to Athens, and the final selection was done by the choreographers. Finally, 90 dancers and artists were hired to perform for the song in Myknos. Apart from the performers, these dance numbers required the involvement of crowd managers and production staff enabling inter-cultural interactions and an embodied engagement with filming locations.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced transformations in the aural and visual style of song sequences of the last decade, along the axis of industrial practice and aesthetic style. By focusing on films like *Queen* (2013), *Rockstar* 2011, *Cocktail* (2012), and *Jab Harry Met Sejal*, I have highlighted the emergence of a distinct style of song presentation in films shot in European locations. The non-lip-synced background songs in particular mark a shift from the romantic duet songs associated with films like *Dilwale Dulhaniya Le Jayenge* (1995) of the 1990s. Songs in *Queen*, *Rockstar*, and *Cocktail* depict character moods as affective states that seem to emanate from the locations in which they reside. These songs present a darker feel of the European city, subtly incorporating its sonic characters, through the experience of South Asian immigrant bodies. Songs that highlight the diegetic performance of music in filmed space can be linked to the deployment of sync sound recording and the rise of global music cultures and digital infrastructures. High energy dance numbers that draw on the labour of highly eclectic performers involve the mobilisation of mobile musicking bodies and new infrastructures that have expanded the sonic geography of New Bollywood.

Acknowledgements

This chapter has come out of research conducted under the aegis of Equip: EU-India Social Science and Humanities Platform, funded by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR).

Notes

1 Foley artists create ambient sounds for film and other media at the post-production stage with the help of props.
2 An often cited reason for following this practice was that film cameras that were used for capturing scenes were very noisy and would therefore interfere with sounds that needed to be recorded from the perspective of the narrative.
3 Rakesh Ranjan is the HOD of sound design at Whistling Woods International and has worked on several Hindi films as a sound designer and mixer.

4 "Dekha ek khawab" (*Silsila*, Yash Chopra 1981) shot at the Keukenhof Tulip Gardens, Netherlands became an iconic song, in which we see Amitabh Bachchan and Rekha romancing with each other. Until then Yash Chopra had used Kashmir as a romantic setting for films like *Kabhie Kabhie* and *Silsila*.
5 In "Dholna", in many shots, we see the grass and vines in a vineyard swaying in a gentle motion to the wind but we never hear the sound of wind.
6 Amit Trivedi is the music director of *Queen*.
7 In the dubbing era, in contrast, sound designers used foley sound to create an ambient environment indicated as spatial markers.
8 The song was shot in various locations of the city of Amsterdam.
9 In a YouTube video describing the making of *Queen*, Vikas Bahl described it as a film "about life not going as per plan and then how people she encounters, she meets, how she lives, how she survives". See available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=8A7hTyGNOP8.
10 The term musicking has been coined by Christopher Small to highlight music as a process, a verb that may involve performing, listening, rehearsing or practicing (1998).
11 In an interview on YouTube, Karan Johar shared that he decided to make *Ae Dil Hai Mushkil* in which his lead character is a musician because he wanted to show his protagonist singing in the film.
12 Interview with Imtiaz Ali was jointly conducted with Ranjani Mazumdar in March 2020 in Mumbai.
13 Ibid.
14 Irshad Kamil is a celebrated lyricists of Bollywood who has had a successful partnership with Imtiaz Ali. He has written lyrics for the songs of *Rockstar*, *Tamasha* and *Jab Harry Met Sejal*, all three films directed by Imtiaz Ali that are discussed in this paper.
15 Attali's four musical orders are sacrifice (ritual), representation (enactment), repetition (recording and stockpiling) and composition (collective play).
16 Interview with Imtiaz Ali in Bombay during field work in March 2020.
17 In an interview with Devdutta Baji available on YouTube, Alma Ferovic has described how she was approached by Rahman and the song was created with Ferovic bringing in the Sevdalinka style of singing in the opening section of the song. Talk Studio | Devdutta Baji with Alma Ferovic | Tamasha|Rockstar | Pune Podcast | Part 2 – YouTube.
18 According to Christian Lopac, Sevdalinka are deeply emotional Balkan folk songs that draw from a mix of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Sufi traditions (2022). They are also generally described as songs about unfulfilled love.
19 Describing her experience of choreographing the song, Vaibhavi Merchant has shared that the crowds gathered at the site of filming refused to move even after the shooting had ended, as they continued to sing and move with the groove of the song. See available from: www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cgsgn6c1TbY.
20 See available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gqf2ctBQ83k.
21 Available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=QXMnbW-3NRM.
22 See available at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gqf2ctBQ83k.

References

Attali, J., 1985. *Noise: The political economy of music*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Born, G., 2013. Introduction. *In:* G. Born, ed., *Music, sound and space: Transformations of public and private experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–70.

Chattopadhyay, B., 2021. *The auditory setting: Environmental sounds in film and media arts*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Gallagher, M., Kanngieser, A. and Prior, J., 2017. Listening geographies: Landscape, affect and geotechnologies. *Progress in Human Geography*, 41 (5), 618–637.

Gopalan, L., 2002. *Cinema of interruptions: Action genres in contemporary Indian cinema*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hanson, H., 2013. The ambience of film noir: Soundscapes, design and mood. *In:* A. Spicer and H. Hanson, eds., *A companion to film noir*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 284–301.

Iyer, U., 2020. *Dancing women: Choreographing corporeal histories of Hindi cinema*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jaikumar, P., 2017. *Out of sync: Gendered location sound work in Bollywood*. Available from: https://soundstudiesblog.com/2017/11/06/out-of-sync-gendered-location-sound-work-in-bollywood/.

Jaikumar, P., 2019. *Where histories reside: India as filmed space*. Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan.

LaBelle, B., 2010. Introduction: Your sound is my sound. *In: Acoustic territories: Sound culture and everyday life*. New York: Continuum, 15–17.

Leyshon, A., 2001. Time – space (and digital) compression: Software formats, musical networks, and the reorganisation of the music industry. *Environment and Planning A*, 33 (1), 49–77.

Lopac, C., 2022. Six Bosnian Sevdalinka songs. *Delos*, 37 (2), 207–217.

Mazumdar, R., 2007. *Bombay cinema: An archive of the city*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Parmar, C., 2020. *Interview conducted in Mumbai in March 2020.*

Pemmaraju, G., 2013. Soundbaazi: Space, place and meaning in the Hindi film soundtrack. *Art Connect*, 7 (1), 60–81.

Prasad, M., 1998. *The ideology of the Hindi film: A historical construction*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Rego, A. and Maurya, S., *Interview conducted during field work in Mumbai in March 2020*.

Schafer, R. M., 2012. The soundscape. *In*: J Sterne, ed., *Sound studies reader*. London: Routledge, 95–103.

Small, C., 1998. *Musicking*: *The meanings of performing and listening*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Théberge, P., 2004. The network studio: Historical and technological paths to a new ideal in music making. *Social Studies of Science*, 34 (5), 759–781.

Waitt, G. and Duffy, M., 2010. Listening and tourism studies. *Annales of Tourism Research*, 37 (2), 457–477.

Part III

On location

Film production, film policy, and place

Figure 3 Lisbon in Portugal. Portugal features as one of the destinations offering generous incentives.

Source: Hania Janta

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-8

6 On the Italian trail of Indian films through the lens of media industry studies

Marco Cucco and Massimo Scaglioni

Introduction

In 2013, the Italian press made great play of how various Indian audiovisual productions had elected to film in Italy. Many had shot in Milan and the surrounding region of Lombardy, prompting one of Italy's main weekly magazines, *L'Espresso*, to publish a piece titled "Bollywood: Miracolo a Milano" (*Bollywood: Miracle in Milan*), riffing on the title of one of Italy's most famous Neorealist films (*Miracolo a Milano*/*Miracle in Milan*). It stated that as many as 14 productions had chosen Lombardy in the space of 18 months, with an estimated total economic impact of €11m (Sasso 2013). Intrigued by what we read, we immediately decided to study the phenomenon of Indian productions filmed in Italy; the results were published in the *Journal of Italian Cinema and Media Studies* (Cucco and Scaglioni 2014).

Nine years on, we are returning to the India–Italy relationship, in particular that between the Indian audiovisual industry and Italian locations. We asked ourselves whether Indian productions are still coming to film in Italy. If so, why Italy? Have the changes in recent years (the COVID-19 pandemic, the new Italian film policies, the on-demand services that are now producing and screening films) impacted on Italy as a filming location of choice? On one hand, this second study serves to confirm, disprove, or reshape the results of the first. On the other, it extends the study period (from 2010 to early 2022) and thus offers a more reliable panorama. In other words, this second study will help to understand whether the 2010–2013 Indian filming boom was merely a blip or the start of a trend.

To answer these questions, we have divided this chapter into four sections. The first summarises the results of our 2013 study, analysing why many Indian films and TV series were shot abroad and in particular why some Indian producers chose Italy. The second probes the more significant changes in the Italian and global audiovisual landscape between 2014 and early 2022 that may have influenced the relationship between Indian productions and Italian locations. We theoretically discuss the potential impact of VOD platforms, new national and local film policies introduced in Italy, and the COVID-19 pandemic. The same events will be investigated during an interview with a key-mediator in the Italy–India relationship (third section) in order confirm or refute our considerations. The third section also examines the list of films and television series shot in Italy between 2010 and 2022

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-9

with a view to identifying trends. And the fourth offers a critical appraisal of the Indian audiovisual productions' relationship with Italian locations.

This chapter uses a media industry studies approach (Herbet *et al*. 2020). Specifically, it brings together two study traditions linked to media industry studies: the political economy of media (Wasko 2015) and production studies (Caldwell 2008; Mayer *et al*. 2009; Szczepanik and Vonderau 2013). The former is a useful tool for relating companies' actions to the public policies regulating and/or supporting the media industry and for highlighting key trends in the market and corporate strategy. Production studies, meanwhile, are especially important for understanding the production cultures in which the companies operate and where the audiovisual products are created, to examine the operational dynamics of the production processes and how they affect the final output.

The outsourcing (in Italy and abroad) of Indian shoots: a recap

Our earlier study on the delocalisation of Indian film shoots in Italy (Cucco and Scaglioni 2014) had three main stages: a) desk research on the Indian audiovisual industry and the delocalisation of filming based on political economy studies; b) in-depth interviews in Italy and India with audiovisual-industry professionals in order to understand dynamics and production cultures of both countries in relation to the outsourcing of Indian shoots in Italy; c) a survey of Italian film commissions aimed at collecting data and providing a quantitative support to our research. For the purposes of our study, we had identified three principal push factors underlying overseas delocalisation, in particular in Western countries, of shoots for Indian film and television series: a) logistical reasons, b) financial reasons, and c) the search for a wider audience, including the pursuit of specific key targets.

The logistical reasons concern how Indian crews find working conditions more congenial in the West: as many interviewees told us, the cities are less chaotic than in India, and the services available from the state and local businesses are more efficient, resulting in reduced costs and a higher-quality final output. The effectiveness of the host territories' services is down to the efforts of the film commissions and film offices now active throughout all Western countries as pull factors leveraged by the local-government bodies. Film commissions and film offices assist crews with location scouting, obtaining permits, recruiting local skilled workers, finding local services (hotels, catering, etc.), offering special discounts, etc. In 2013, no such services existed in India, and the necessary permits had to be applied for at various government departments (Ernst & Young and LA-India Film Council 2012). In logistical terms, India's monsoon season poses particular problems: the unpredictable weather can delay filming and thus increase costs. Another logistical benefit of delocalisation is that filming becomes simpler and less stressful, as the actors and crews are not besieged by fans and paparazzi in the West as they are in India.

The second type of push factor is the funding and economic incentives offered to audiovisual productions by many local- and national-government bodies. Subsidies and tax breaks seek to attract productions and thus stimulate the host locations'

economies (Goldsmith 2015; Cucco 2018a). Pertinently, India's public bodies have long failed to support the audiovisual industry, even subjecting it to very high taxation on the same footing as the gaming sector (Ganti 2017).

The third factor is the desire to make films with audience appeal and to reach specific targets. This goal works in three different directions. First, shooting abroad aims to make films more spectacular. To compete with the satellite pay channel offerings, film producers have begun to make fewer titles but with bigger budgets. With these extra resources, movies could be made that stood out from the routine television fare with lower production values, fulfilling their box office potential better and justifying the ticket price (Ganti 2007, 2012). In this context, foreign and exotic locations were a means to make films different, unusual, appealing, and thus more spectacular, even though the overseas locations were often mere backdrops. There was no cultural, linguistic, or political interaction with the host areas – except for the most famous cities and some of their celebrated landmarks, it was often hard to identify where the action was happening. As Rao recalls, "these spaces and geographies (and, implicitly, cultures) are Indianized by locating Mumbai film actors, actresses, and extras, speaking Hindi, in them" (2010, pp. 9–10).

Second, the use of material filmed abroad serves to attract a more affluent audience that can afford the more expensive tickets at the multi-screen cinemas that have recently appeared, an audience interested in seeing a different world from India, especially a Western one. Foreign films have a tiny market share in India, so Indian films shot abroad are among the few opportunities to see different milieux on screen. But the attempt to attract and satisfy a well-to-do audience is part of a broader process of gentrification that Indian cinema has followed in this millennium, aiming to position cinema as a cultural and economic activity acceptable to politicians and the influential strata of society (Ganti 2012).

And third, films shot overseas appeal to first- and second-generation Indian expats – non-resident Indians (NRIs) – who may like to watch films shot abroad with Indian actors or to engage with stories that may be similar to their own. Between the late 1990s and the start of the millennium, the perception of NRIs changed in India. Once seen as those who had abandoned the country for glamour and comfort abroad, they have now become an "icon of the desirable cosmopolitan Indian citizen straddling the globe" (Athique 2012, p. 282). Their representation on screen is thus of interest for Indian audiences too. In this context, it is useful to remember that ticket prices are higher in the West, so tickets sold abroad in dollars, euros, or pounds are worth more than those sold in India.

The Italian case study has confirmed two of these three reasons. Our survey and interviews have shown that Indian productions choose Italy for logistical reasons and for the spectacular settings. Logistically, there are film commissions all over Italy, while the mild and sunny climate makes it possible to shoot for many hours a day and many months a year, especially during the Indian monsoons. In terms of the spectacular, Italy offers a great variety of landscapes – sea, mountains, rolling hills, plus cities historic and modern, large, and small, and Indian productions have used them all, sometimes combining very diverse settings even in the same picture. In this framework, funding reasons are not relevant. National public financing in

Italy is accessible only for Italian films and international co-productions with Italy. Foreign films can apply for local public financing, but local grants are too scant for motivating far-away crews to move to Italy.

Do all these motivations still apply nine years later? What intervening changes in India and Italy might have influenced filming delocalisation processes?

Outsourcing: a different framework

Looking at the period from 2013 to today, there are some factors that could theoretically have influenced the relationship between Indian audiovisual productions and Italian locations.

The first is the advent of the on-demand platforms. The streaming service companies differ considerably from one another, operating to different business models and in different-sized markets. Some provide content in one country only; others work internationally or even globally. The best-known and most widespread platforms in the world are currently Netflix and Amazon Prime Video. Both operate in 200+ countries (in India since 2016), offering self-produced/-funded content or material bought in from other producers. In April 2020, also Disney+ entered the Indian digital market with the VOD platform Disney+ Hotstar. To what extent can the establishment of global on-demand services impact on the foreign delocalisation of Indian audiovisual productions?

The big platforms use their own original productions for different purposes (Lobato 2019). On the one hand, they are interested in content that plays well in their various markets, with a view to extracting the maximum possible return on their economic investments in production. This can lead them to produce films and television series with transnational appeal, aided by outsourcing. Some studies have indeed shown that having locations from different countries in the same film or series can increase its appeal to global audiences, which is why many sequels feature more locations than the preceding product did (Cucco 2015). On the other hand, the platforms use their original productions to obtain a foothold in the countries they wish to penetrate. Here, productions are conceived mainly for a national market – to boost subscriptions in that country, to collaborate with local companies and to avoid offering content that is foreign to the national audience. This is especially important for a country like India, where although there are no political and commercial barriers to entry for foreign films, audiences strongly prefer local content. Box office performance makes this clear: in pre-pandemic 2019, Indian films had an 87% market share in India; foreign ones, just 13% (European Audiovisual Observatory 2020, p. 54). In other words, the platforms' effect on outsourcing could be twofold, working paradoxically in opposite directions.

As regards what has changed in Italy, the last ten years have seen a constant growth in the film commissions' offerings.[1] Through the experience gained on the ground and the results achieved, film commissions can now provide increasingly competitive and effective services. Also, nearly all Italian film commissions offer one or more local funds for the various stages of production (development, preproduction, and shooting), some of which are open even to foreign productions made

in Italy. These local funds have a primarily economic aim: to attract inward investment (Cucco 2018a). So public funding provided to foreign companies also helps to achieve the set objectives and thus to attain a collective benefit.

While the individual Italian regions are increasingly active in attracting film and other audiovisual shoots, the Italian government has bolstered the audiovisual and cinema tax incentive schemes and put more money behind them. Tax credits have proved useful in encouraging private investment and, more generally, a greater alignment between Italian audiovisual productions and the market. It is important to note here how the tax incentive programme has continually grown. It is dedicated to foreign films, shorts, TV series, documentaries, entertainment shows, and web products shot at least partly in Italy and with an Italian executive producer. The tax credits now on offer represent 40% of the Italian executive producer's costs, up to a total annual funded value of €50m. Through this measure aimed at foreign productions, Italian locations are no longer just an exotic dimension that adds to a film's appeal: they have become a strategic tool for accessing generous tax incentives by bringing an Italian company on board. This measure is effective at attracting investment into Italy, but with a side-effect that the government did not envisage: it is now in foreign companies' interest to have an Italian executive producer rather than an Italian co-producer (Cucco 2018b).

Another major factor that may have been pivotal in the relationship between Indian production companies and Italian locations is of course the COVID-19 emergency. The pandemic halted film and audiovisual production for months all over the world. And when production managed to restart, delocalisations seemed particularly at risk, for positive COVID cases could suddenly shut down filming – with all the costs to the producer of being forced to stay idly overseas. Moreover, with Indian productions, the vaccines' arrival did not necessarily help: those who received Covishield (widespread in India) had to wait for the vaccine to be recognised by Europe's individual national agencies before being able to travel freely as in pre-pandemic days.

Indian shoots in Italy (2010–2022) and Occhi di Ulisse

To map the Indian films and series shot in Italy, we consulted the Italian film commission websites, which almost invariably have a record of the productions hosted in their area.[2] The Indian titles we found always involved the Italian production services company Occhi di Ulisse, set up in 2009 by Ivano Fucci and Michele Saragoni. Our 2013 survey of the Italian film commissions had already identified this company's central role as a key intermediary between India and Italy, which is why in 2013 we had interviewed Ivano Fucci, line and executive producer for Occhi di Ulisse. The confirmation of the company's continued importance prompted us to seek a second in-depth interview with Fucci to examine in detail the Indian productions with which Occhi di Ulisse has worked.[3]

Occhi di Ulisse acts as an intermediary between Italy and foreign productions – often from India but also other countries from France, Hungary, and Switzerland to the Czech Republic in recent years. From the year it was founded to early 2022, Occhi di Ulisse was involved in the making of 47 Indian audiovisual works in Italy (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Indian audiovisual productions filmed in Italy (2010–2022).

Year	*Film title*	*Production company*	*Origin*	*Italian region(s) + foreign countries*
2011	Badrinath	Geetha Arts	Hyderabad	Veneto
2011	Paglu	Surinder Films	Kolkata	Lombardy, Tuscany
2011	Rajapattai	PVP Production	Tamil Nadu	Lombardy, Tuscany
2012	Devudu Chesina Manushulu	Sri Venkateswara Cine Chitra	Hyderabad	Aosta Valley
2012	Paglu 2	Surinder Films	Kolkata	Aosta Valley, Lombardy, Piedmont
2012	Ajab Gazab Love	Vashu Bhagnani's Production	Mumbai	Aosta Valley, Lombadry, Tuscany
2012	Baadshah	Parameswara Art Productions	Hyderabad	Lombardy, Piedmont
2012	Sarocharu	Vyjayanthi Production	Hyderabad	Lombadry, Tuscany
2012	Mirchi	UV Creations	Hyderabad	Lombadry, Tuscany
2012	Rocky	Shree Venkatesh Films	Kolkata	Sicily
2013	Attarintiki Daredi	Sri Venkateswara Cine Chitra	Hyderabad	Aosta Valley, Lombardy
2013	Rangbaaz	Surinder Films	India	Lazio, Lombardy
2013	Majnu	Surinder Films	Kolkata	Lombardy
2013	Matt & Juliet	Shree Venkatesh Films	Kolkata	Aosta Valley, Lombardy, Veneto
2013	Bramhan	K Manju Cinemaas	Chennai	Aosta Valley, Lombardy
2013	Irumbu Kuthirai	AGS Entertainment	Chennai	Tuscany, Veneto
2014	Bangali Babu English Mem	SVF Entertainment	Kolkata	Veneto
2014	Bramman	Anto Joseph Film Company, K Manju Cinemaas	Kerala	Lombardy
2014	Race Gurram	Sri Lakshmi Narasimha Productions	Hyderabad	Lombardy
2014	Alludu Seenu	Sri Lakshmi Narasimha Productions	Hyderabad	Veneto
2014	Irumbu Kuthirai	AGS Entertainment	Chennai	Liguria, Lombardy, Tuscany
2015	Herogiri	Surinder Film	Kolkata	Campania + Switzerland
2015	Besh Korechi Prem Korechi	SVF Entertainment, Surinder Films	Kolkata	Aosta Valley, Lombardy
2015	Vedalam	Shri Saai Ram Creations	Chennai	Aosta Valley, Tuscany
2016	One Way Ticket	Mekbrand	Mumbai	Liguria + France, Spain
2016	Abhimaan	Grassroot Entertainment	Kolkata	Lombardy + Switzerland
2016	Haripada Bandwala	SVF Entertainment	Kolkata	Lombardy
2017	Katamarayudu	Northstar Entertainment	Hyderabad	Lombardy
2017	Mister	Light House Movie Makers, Sri Lakashmi Narasimha Productions	Hyderabad	Lombardy

2017	Radha	Sri Venkateswara Cine Chitra	Hyderabad	Lombardy, Trentino-Alto Adige
2017	Ami Je Ke Tomar	SVF Entertainment	Kolkata	Lombardy
2017	Fu: Friendship Unlimited	Mahesh Manjrekar Movies	Mumbai	Lombardy
2017	Andhhagadu	A.K. Entertainments	Hyderabad	Campania
2017	Rangbaaz	Rup Rong Films, SVF Entertainment	Kolkata	Lombardy, Trentino-Alto Adige
2017	Vunnadhi Okate Zindagi	Sravanthi Cinematics	Hyderabad	Lombardy, Trentino-Alto Adige
2017	Jawaan	Arunachal Creations	Kolkata	Aosta Valley, Lombardy
2018	Inspector Notty K	Surinder Films, Jeetz Filmworks	Kolkata	Liguria
2018	Krishnarjuna Yudham	Shine Screens	Hyderabad	Campania, Liguria + Czech Republic
2018	Aravindha Sametha Veera Raghava	Haarika & Hassine Creations	Hyderabad	Lombardy + Switzerland
2019	Saaho	UV Creations, T-Series Films	Hyderabad	Lazio + Croatia
2019	Chanakya	AK Entertainment	Hyderabad	Aosta Valley, Lombardy
2019	Roam Rome Mein	Rising Star Entertainment, Eros Worldwide	Mumbai	Lazio
2020	Bheeshma	Sithara Entertainments	Hyderabad	Apulia, Campania
2021	Red	Sri Sravanthi Movies		Trentino-Alto Adige, Tuscany
2021	Bony	Surinder Films	Kolkata	Lombardy, Tuscany
2022	Radhe Shyam	Gopikrishna Movies, T-Series Films, UV Creations	Hyderabad	Aosta Valley, Lazio, Liguria, Piedmont, Tuscany
2022	Thank You	Sri Venkateswara Creations	Hyderabad	Piedmont

Source: Own elaboration, based on data from Occhi di Ulisse and the Internet Movie Database.

There is no register of foreign films shot in Italy, so we cannot be sure how many or which Indian productions chose to delocalise filming in Italy. Our research, however, has not found any titles beyond those in this table. The relationship between Indian productions and Italian locations, therefore, is mediated essentially by just one company: Occhi di Ulisse. No competition seems to exist in this specific business, despite there are not entering barriers for national or foreign companies.

Table 6.1 facilitates various immediate deductions. First, the number of productions hosted in Italy has tended to increase – tripling from three in 2011 to nine in 2017. The phenomenon detected in our initial study (2010–2013) was not therefore a one-off but the start of a trend that has strengthened. Second, the works hosted in Italy are both films and TV series. Thus the delocalisation strategy serves the aims of the film and television industries alike. Third, these 47 works are by companies based in different cities and are thus an expression of different regional cinemas. This means that delocalisation in Italy transcends the differences between the industries in the various regions, linking Bollywood (whose output is also intended for export), for example, to the country's other producers. Fourth, the Indian productions have used various Italian regions from the north, centre, and south; in particular, some movies have been filmed simultaneously in several regions with different traits. Often, for example, individual films and TV series shot in Italy combine big cities with small villages and urban settings with natural landscapes (mountains, lakes, and the sea). This shows how Indian productions exploit Italy's scenic variety to lend their works a particular visual richness, making them spectacular and thus attractive.[4]

Figure 6.1 is based on the data collected in the previous table, and it provides a map of the Italian regions touched by Indian shoots. Despite the variety of regions involved, a predilection for the north of the country looks quite evident: Lombardy hosted 29 audiovisual works, while Aosta Valley 11. Lombardy counts on several strengths: small-, medium-, and big-sized cities, modern buildings and infrastructures, industrial areas, and a rich environmental heritage (mountain, lakes, rivers, etc.). However, in 27 cases out of 29, the audiovisual works involving Lombardy have been shoot entirely or partially is Milan, the economic heart, the fashion capital, and the most international city of Italy. The appealing of the main Italian metropolis is in some way balanced by Aosta Valley, which holds the second position of the ranking. In this case, Alps probably play a key role in attracting Indian companies, as it happened in the case of Switzerland (Schneider 2011). Moreover, the combined use of these two regions within the same audiovisual work (seven cases) allows the access to a wide spectrum of different locations and guarantees a spectacular backdrop for Indian films and TV series.

Tuscany, located in the centre of Italy, hosted 11 Indian audiovisual works too. In this case, two hypotheses stand out the other ones. The first is related to the region's beauties and its international fame. The second one concerns Ivano Fucci, line and executive producer at Occhi di Ulisse, that we already mentioned earlier. Tuscany is his home region, and the Table 6.1 reveals that Tuscany has been selected at the beginning of the decade more than at its end.

Figure 6.1 Map of Italian regions involved in Indian audiovisual works (2010–2022).
Source: Own elaboration

It means that probably when Occhi di Ulisse entered the business of film locations, Ivano Fucci started to work by looking around himself, by exploiting his own personal network of contacts, and suggesting his most familiar places to Indian companies.

The in-depth interview with Ivano Fucci enabled us to probe these initial considerations further and to deepen our understanding of the Italy – India relationship. The interview confirmed that Italy appeals to Indian producers for two main reasons: locations and tax breaks. Italy has a richly varied array of locations. Not all Italian regions are equally enticing to Indian producers: although very attractive to foreign producers for their scenic beauty, Puglia and Sardinia, for example, are not very sought-after, as parts of India are similar. This shows that Indian producers

choose Italian locations to make their films more spectacular and unique and thus more attractive to audiences.

Nevertheless, Ivano Fucci maintains that access to tax incentives currently matters more to Indian producers than the locations. That does not mean that production cost savings are more important to them than content appeal. Essentially, spectacular and exotic locations can be found in various countries, but some are more generous with incentives than others. This understandable logic now works in Italy's favour, although it does entail the risk that Indian productions may go elsewhere if other countries offer equally or more competitive tax breaks.[5] According to Fucci, Italy's main competitors are now France, Hungary, and the UK[6]; the latter has an advantage over them all, as the English language facilitates communication, agreement, and cooperation between Italian crews and local stakeholders. So there is no guarantee that Indian productions will still be using Italian locations in the long term, although presumably they will continue to while the Italian government offers incentives that the producers find worthwhile.

Tax incentives are not the only economic carrot that Italy can offer. As we have noted, nearly every Italian region now has at least one audiovisual-production fund provided by its film commission, some available to overseas projects too. Yet as Ivano Fucci observes, these contributions are meagre at most (maximum €250,000/project) and are not enough to attract Indian productions on their own. On this regard, the data that we collected (Figure 6.1) confirm Fucci's words: Lombardy is the main Italian destination for Indian films, but Lombardy does not have a film fund. It means that local public financing is not a key pull factor for attracting Indian crews in Italy. In addition, an Indian producer looking to access these funds must monitor the regions' invitations to tender, apply with all the necessary paperwork, and wait for the adjudication to be made. This all takes time, planning and a familiarity with how Italian public bodies operate, so it tends to put Indian and foreign producers off. It seems much more straightforward for them, however, to bring in an Italian executive producer, thus rendering the project eligible for the tax incentives while the Italian partner handles all the admin.

In this scenario of business strategy and public policy, Ivano Fucci's insights also remind us how production processes are often influenced by chance and by unpredictable circumstances that demand instant solutions and timely decisions. As with *Made in Heaven*, a series exclusive to Amazon Prime Video centring on two wedding planners, for which Occhi di Ulisse was line producer. The series was to be shot in Italy, but the Italian authorities' delay in recognising Covishield prompted the production company to switch filming to France.[7]

The eventual recognition of the Indian vaccine made it possible to shoot *Radhe Shyam* in Italy; it was one of the most expensive films in Indian cinema history, with an estimated budget of $30m. It was set in 1970s Italy across five regions: Lazio, Piedmont, Tuscany, Liguria, and Valle d'Aosta. In this case, the Italian settings were not merely window dressing but were justified by the storyline. The film was shot in two languages (Hindi and Telugu) and will be dubbed into five, with distribution on Netflix too.

New horizons: platforms and tourism

The *Radhe Shyam* case offers a springboard for some important observations. First, the film was the umpteenth confirmation of how supplying hospitality services to film and audiovisual productions could prove lucrative for the Italian regions. *Radhe Shyam*'s arrival entailed foreign capital being spent in Italy, a boost to local employment, increased local tax receipts, etc. Had the Indian producer gone elsewhere, these benefits would have been lost to other countries. In this context, the relationship with India is especially crucial given that India is the world's main film producing country with ever-growing numbers of titles: from 1,845 in 2015 to 2,446 in 2019, an annual rise of 7.3% (European Audiovisual Observatory 2020, p. 13). Singularly too, production remained high during the pandemic, with 1,238 films made in 2020 and 1,818 in 2021 (European Audiovisual Observatory 2022, p. 15). Also, the corporatisation of Indian cinema has boosted the solidity and stability of the Indian firms operating in this arena (Ganti 2012, 2017), a source of confidence for Italian stakeholders.

The second consideration is that having the film in the Netflix catalogue affords the Italian locations great visibility among Indian and international audiences. And this can lead to increased interest in Italy as a travel destination. Unfortunately, film tourism is still a very difficult field for quantitative study since a reliable methodology still has to be achieved (Cucco and Richeri 2021). Some researchers have shown a bent for film tourism on Indian viewers' part (Josiam *et al*. 2020), although we do not yet know whether Indian films and TV series shot in Italy over the last ten years have had an impact on tourism. Also, although some countries – for example, Switzerland (Frank 2016) and Spain[8] – have offered tourism experiences linked to Indian films shot there, this has not happened in Italy, thus limiting the scope for monitoring and studying the Indian film tourism phenomenon. Given these necessary contextual considerations, the advent of the platforms and the boost that they have given to the international circulation of audiovisual content can be said to have favoured tourism. For the more people see the content, the greater the chance that some of them will become film tourists.

For those locations that aim at increasing their touristic flows, it is important to remind that film tourism could need to be encouraged and incentivised, since in some cases it does not emerge spontaneously. In the case of Indian audiovisual works, it is vital that viewers know in which Italian cities and regions the films and TV series that they have seen were shot in; often, though, these locations remain anonymous. Their role is merely decorative, evocative, and spectacular. As we noted in our earlier study, in many cases Italy's presence in Indian films is often down to three types of dance and song sequences (Cucco and Scaglioni 2014, pp. 427–428). The first is the romantic song – choreographed scenes centring on the male and female leads and their love story. Romantic songs normally require stunning landscape backdrops, either the natural beauty of hill and mountain, lake and sea, or the historic beauty of piazzas and city streets. The second type are the transition songs, which punctuate or link up the film's narrative dynamic, resolving a series of negative events that have built up to that point. Small villages are

suitable locations for these songs, where the characters might take a walk together. A third type are the party songs, scenes with crowded gatherings where the actors are normally introduced at the start of the film. Clearly, in most Indian films shot in Italy, the need for settings for musical scenes is bound up with the dreamy atmosphere of these moments and is not prompted or justified by specific references in the storyline to actual places. The location remains an evocative backdrop that chimes with the characters' emotions rather than linking to points in the plot. Of course, Indian producers and directors have no particular interest in making the Italian locations recognisable, so it is hard to imagine how this problem could be overcome.

Action would also be required to attract Indian filmgoers to Italy, which begs the question: who is responsible for promoting it? Presumably the Italian regions hosting the filming, but local government often lacks the necessary skills and resources. Film tourism is still also unpredictable and hard to manage, thus disincentivising ad hoc initiatives. In other words, Indian film shoots in Italy are currently a resource that is only partially exploited, offering as yet unexplored avenues (e.g. tourism).

Finally, it should be noted that the advent of the platforms serves not only to promote tourism to the Italian locations by Indian visitors but also to potentially promote Indian films to Italian audiences. Here too, locations have a key role to play. In Italy, for example, very few Indian films make it into theatres: 0 in 2015 and 2016, 2 in 2017 and 2018, 12 in 2019, and 0 again in 2020 (source: www.cinetel.it). And the few Indian films that do come to Italy are distributed only in the big cities, so they do not reach a mass audience. Compared with this paucity, Italian subscribers of Netflix and Amazon Prime Video now have dozens of Indian films to watch. In this context of an unprecedented availability of Indian films in Italy, the use of Italian locations may prove pivotal. Italian locations might theoretically represent a bridge, drawing Italian audiences into a cinema that they are unaccustomed to encounter.

Some concluding considerations

As the analysis shows, Indian audiovisual productions' choice of Italian locations is not an exceptional phenomenon but rather a trend that has remained stable throughout the last decade. The delocalisation of Indian film shoots in Western countries has three types of driver: logistical, financial, and appealing. These categories can be further broken down. For delocalisation in Italy, our analysis has confirmed these three types, albeit in just some of their forms. As Figure 6.2 shows, delocalisations are down to good local services, the weather, tax incentives, and a desire for the spectacular. Our study has not, however, looked at Indian audiences, so we hope that future studies may fill this gap and show whether Italian locations really can appeal to affluent Indian audiences or NRIs.

The comparison with our 2013 study shows how tax incentives have grown in importance – understandably since film production in India has long received no public support, and even after the corporatisation of cinema in Italy, public funding remains marginal (Ganti 2017). Italy now offers various incentive schemes,

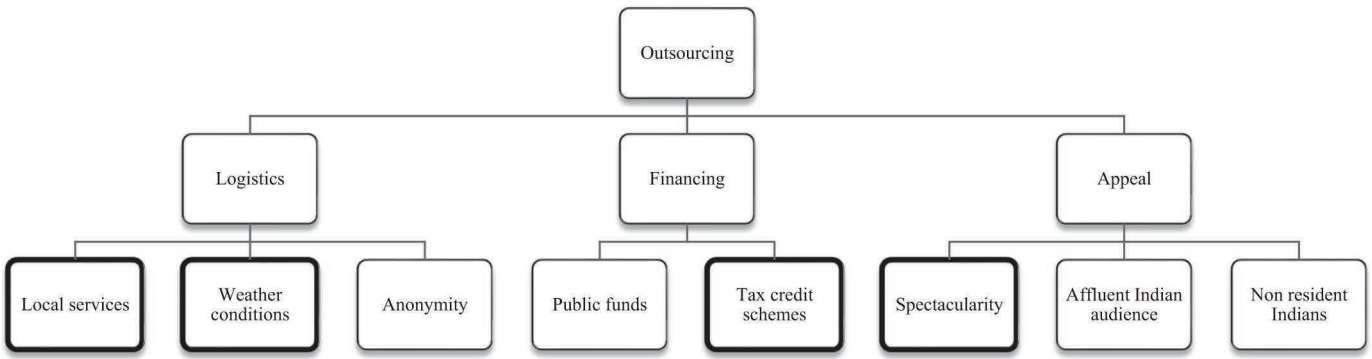

Figure 6.2 The reasons for outsourcing Indian film shoots (black outlines indicate the drivers found for Italy).

Source: Own elaboration

which have become particularly generous during the pandemic, as the Italian government has deemed them the most suitable tool to help relaunch the sector. The importance of tax incentives in attracting film shoots nevertheless exposes Italy to considerable uncertainty: if other European countries offer bigger incentives, Italy risks losing out. Italy does not have a monopoly on sunshine and varied, attractive landscapes, so that might not be enough to maintain its current flow of hosted productions.

In this context, it remains uncertain how the on-demand services will affect delocalisation. The platforms use their own original productions for different purposes; delocalisation sometimes serves their aims and sometimes does not at all. The Italy analysis uncovered only two cases where the platforms were involved: *Radhe Shyam* and *Made in Heaven* (actually shot in France because of problems with the Indian vaccine). On this front, therefore, the Italian case study cannot yet identify any specific trends.

It has, however, proved extremely useful in reflecting on the relationship between audiovisual productions and local areas and its specific nature in the case of Indian productions. This relationship has been mediated in Europe for nearly 20 years by public intermediaries – the film commissions, which provide primarily logistical support and mediate on three levels. First, they act as intermediaries between the audiovisual production (production companies, directors, and screenwriters) and the host area (local institutions and the community). These stakeholders have different goals; they are not in with the industry lingo; and their work is subject to timescales that are hard to reconcile. Second, film commissions encourage collaboration between different production cultures – professionals that the audiovisual productions bring to a given place for the filming and professionals recruited in situ from local and non-local people. In other words, film commissions help to create bespoke teams whose members have different habits and ways of working. Third, film commissions incentivise a brand-new collaboration between the audiovisual production and the tourist sector. These two worlds have traditionally always been separated, unaware of each other's dynamics yet capable of achieving significant economic results when they work together (Cucco and Richeri 2021).

The study of Indian films shot in Italy shows how this economic and cultural intermediation can also be performed by a private company, in our case Occhi di Ulisse. This inevitably raises the question of why the Indian companies, which could deal with the Italian film commissions directly, have chosen to go through a private firm. We can offer some explanations. The spirit of initiative and professionalism of Occhi di Ulisse founder Ivano Fucci has certainly played a part. Perhaps Italy's film commissions are not very proactive with far-off film industries whose products are not popular in Italy and Europe. Or perhaps (and this is our preferred hypothesis) the Indian film industries still strongly favour informal relationships based on trust. Ivano Fucci knows Indian culture well; he spends much of the year in India and has built his reputation in the field. This may offer greater traction with the Indian producers than an Italian public body like a film commission. And regardless of this specific case, this dynamic reminds us once again how each film industry has its own peculiarities, its own *modus operandi* and its own

preferences. Each industry is part of a specific production culture and needs suitable intermediaries in order to collaborate with external entities.

One final note: as we have just observed, when film crews go abroad, this is always an encounter between two cultures. The public debate in Europe is firmly centred on sustainability, which also impinges on audiovisual productions, especially during shooting. Green protocols are becoming increasingly adopted across the industry in a practice that is strongly recommended by the institutions and is also a subject of study and training (Pabiś-Orzeszyna and Keilbach 2021). Italy is no exception. So green policies and how they can affect the ability to attract (or deter) shoots from other production cultures will undoubtedly be a future theme informing the relationship between Indian film shoots and Italian locations.

Notes

1 For a map of local film funds and services for national and foreign companies shooting audiovisual works in Italy, please consult the website Italy For Movies, available from: www.italyformovies.it/.
2 We consulted the websites of the 19 film commissions affiliated to the association Italian Film Commissions. The links to the film commissions' websites are available in the "Members" section of the association's website, available from: www.italianfilmcommissions.it/.
3 Interview with Ivano Fucci made by the authors on 15.01.2022, via Microsoft Teams.
4 Some of the listed works were also filmed in other European countries, primarily Switzerland but also Croatia, France, Spain and the Czech Republic.
5 For a comparative analysis of tax incentive schemes in Europe, please consult the European Audiovisual Observatory report (Milla *et al*. 2016). There are no more recent reports providing a comparative approach.
6 Competition between countries to attract audiovisual shoots is no longer a novelty but a reality documented for several years now (see for example Miller *et al*. 2005; Wasko and Erickson 2008; Cucco 2015; Goldsmith 2015). Every production has its own specific needs, however, so the countries competing for them vary from case to case.
7 While France recognised Covishield vaccine in July 2021, Italian Ministry of Health did it at the end of September 2021. See the communication of the Embassy of Italy in New Delhi, available from: https://ambnewdelhi.esteri.it/ambasciata_newdelhi/en/ambasciata/news/bacheca-consolare/2021/09/riconoscimento-dell-equivalenza.html.
8 In 2013, Lonely Planet launched a guide to Spain aimed specifically at the Indian market, and travel agencies advertise tours to the locations featured in *Zindagi Milegi Na Debora* (2011), a road trip entirely shot in Spain. In return for the support received by locals during the shooting stage, the producer agreed to include a short advertisement promoting Spain before the start of the film. After the film release 60,444 Indians visited Spain, nearly double the 2011 figure. Source available from: www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jun/19/spain-courts-bollywood-productions-to-attract-more-indian-tourists.

References

Athique, A., 2012. Addressing the nonresident: Soft power, Bollywood, and the diasporic audience. *In*: A. G. Roy, ed., *The magic of Bollywood: At home and abroad*. New Delhi: Sage, 277–294.

Caldwell, J. T., 2008. *Production culture: Industrial reflexivity and critical practice in film and television*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Cucco, M., 2015. Blockbuster outsourcing: Is there really no place like home? *Film Studies*, 13 (1), 73–93.

Cucco, M., 2018a. The vertical axis of film policies in Europe: Between subsidiarity and local anarchy. *In:* N. Mingant and C. Tirtaine, eds., *Reconceptualising film policies*. New York: Routledge, 263–275.

Cucco, M., 2018b. The many enemies of co-productions in Italy: Moviegoers, broadcasters, policymakers and half-hearted producers. *In*: J. Hammett-Jamart, P. Mitric and E. N. Redvall, eds., *European film and television co-production: Policy and practice*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 191–206.

Cucco, M. and Richeri, G., 2021. European film commissions as transcultural promoters and mediators. *Journal of Transcultural Communication*, 1 (1), 45–57.

Cucco, M. and Scaglioni, M., 2014. Shooting Bollywood abroad: The outsourcing of Indian films in Italy. *Journal of Italian Cinema & Media Studies*, 2 (3), 417–432.

Ernst & Young and LA-India Film Council, 2012. *Roadmap for single window clearance for production in India: A prelude*. Available from: https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/view/47254009/roadmap-for-single-window-clearance-for-film-production-in-india-a-prelude.

European Audiovisual Observatory, 2020. *World film market trends: Focus 2020*. Strasbourg: European Audiovisual Observatory.

European Audiovisual Observatory, 2022. *World film market trends: Focus 2021*. Strasbourg: European Audiovisual Observatory.

Frank, S., 2016. Dwelling-in-motion: Indian Bollywood tourists and their hosts in the Swiss Alps. *Cultural Studies*, 30 (2), 506–531.

Ganti, T., 2007. And yet my heart is still Indian: The Bombay film industry and the (H) Indianization of Hollywood. *In*: J. F. Codell, ed., *Genre, gender, race, and world cinema*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 439–457.

Ganti, T., 2012. *Producing Bollywood: Inside the contemporary Hindi film industry*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Ganti, T., 2017. Complicating paradigms of media industry analyses: The case of Bollywood. *Economia della Cultura*, 27 (4), 511–526.

Goldsmith, B., 2015. 'It's Africa. It's Arizona. It's Antarctica. It's Afghanistan. Actually, it's Alberta': Marketing locations to film producers. *In*: N. Mingant, C. Tirtaine and J. Augros, eds., *Film marketing in the twenty-first century*. London: BFI, Palgrave Macmillan, 174–184.

Herbet, D., Lotz, A. D. and Punathambekar, A., 2020. *Media industry studies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Josiam, B. M., Spears, D. L., Dutta, K., Pookulangara, S. and Kinley, T., 2020. Bollywood induced international travel through the lens of the involvement construct. *Anatolia: An International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 31 (2), 181–196.

Lobato, R., 2019. *Netflix nations: The geography of digital distribution*. New York: New York University Press.

Mayer, V., Banks, M. and Caldwell, J. T., 2009. *Production studies: Cultural studies of media industries*. London: Routledge.

Milla, J. T., Fontaine, G. and Kanzler, M., 2016. *Public financing for film and television content: The state of soft money in Europe*. Strasbourg: European Audiovisual Observatory.

Miller, T., Govil, N., McMurria, J., Maxwell, R. and Wang, T., 2005. *Global Hollywood 2*. London: BFI, Palgrave Macmillan.

Pabiś-Orzeszyna, M. and Keilbach, J., 2021. Green(ing) media (studies). *Necsus*, 2, 105–112.

Rao, S., 2010. 'I need an Indian touch': Glocalization and Bollywood films. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, 3 (1), 1–19.

Sasso, M., 2013. Bollywood: Miracolo a Milano. *L'Espresso*, 05.11.2013. Available from: https://espresso.repubblica.it/visioni/societa/2013/11/04/news/bollywood-miracolo-a-milano-1.139735/.

Schneider, A., 2011. La Suisse et Bollywood: Un 'Disneyland de l'amour'. *CinémAction*, 138 (20), 62–66.

Szczepanik, P. and Vonderau, P., 2013. *Behind the screen: Inside European production cultures*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wasko, J., 2015. The study of the political economy of the media in the twenty-first century. *International Journal of Media & Cultural Policy*, 10 (3), 259–272.

Wasko, J. and Erickson, M., 2008. *Cross-border cultural production: Economic runaway or globalization?*. Amherst: Cambria Press.

7 Contemporary Indian film productions in Switzerland

Hania Janta and Metka Herzog

Introduction

The globalisation of film production has led to numerous socio-cultural and economic impacts at filming destinations and, today, many destinations seek to attract foreign productions to their locales, in the hope of achieving long-term benefits. Film-induced, tourism business opportunities are the well-researched, (mostly) positive, impacts that derive from hosting foreign film productions (Connell 2012; Beeton 2008; Ward and O'Regan 2009). Other beneficial factors include: i) cultural diplomacy, which results in the establishment of important business and cultural links between countries; ii) knowledge exchange and innovation; and iii) employment opportunities; although the importance of these factors for the local hosting economies has been debated (Hill and Kawashima 2016).

Filming abroad, by Indian film producers, is not a new trend: the first Bollywood film production "Sangam" (*Confluence*) was shot in Switzerland and France in 1964 (Euroscreen 2015; Frank 2016; Gyimóthy 2018). As a result of the conflict in Kashmir during the Indo-Pakistani War, many productions moved to the Swiss Alps, because the region resembles the mountainous landscapes of Kashmir. The pristine settings are a popular background for romantic scenes. From the film producers' points of view, filming abroad adds value to their film productions and helps reach affluent audiences by showcasing exotic locations and consumption practices (Cucco and Scaglioni 2014). Practicalities are also important; filming abroad entails working in easier weather conditions. However, recently, economic reasons have been seen to dominate as producers are spoilt by invitations from regions and countries that attempt to attract them by offering generous financial and non-financial incentives (see Chapters 8 and 9 on Central and Eastern European film productions in this volume). Despite the availability of new global locations, today, Switzerland continues to be used in Indian productions, although, as will be argued in this chapter, on a different scale and form.

This chapter contributes to the literature examining globalised film production, film policy, and attraction factors of a destination (e.g. Cucco and Scaglioni 2014). It focuses on one destination, Switzerland, which, historically, has been important for Bollywood film producers. By examining one location, the chapter enhances our understanding of changing film policies, production cultures and

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-10

globalisation processes, as well as the evolving requirements of producers and audiences.

The next section reviews the literature on globalised film production, emphasising the push and pull factors that motivate producers to film abroad. The second part of the literature review outlines the case of Switzerland – a popular location for Indian producers. The qualitative methodology is then explained, followed by the findings, which outline: i) the film policy landscape of Switzerland; ii) the current interest in filming in Switzerland and the key attraction factors of Swiss locations, including the country's top business environment and its proximity to diverse landscapes, high-end facilities, and specialist labour. The chapter ends with a discussion and conclusions.

Globalised film production

Writing about the globalisation of film production, Goldsmith and O'Regan (2008, p. 21) noted: "In the past, few places had the right mix of facilities, skilled crews, production capacity, infrastructure, and ancillary services (hotels, airline connections) to host single large-scale incoming productions, let alone regular, ongoing production". In recent years, the film policy landscape has experienced a significant change, facing intensive processes of *globalisation* of film production. Many more locations have joined the pool of countries offering the right infrastructure to host large-scale film productions.

O'Regan (2018) highlights the complex roles of a variety of governmental and industry agencies in supporting, marketing, and developing film-friendly infrastructures and resources, with new film commissions being formed globally to market film locations and ensure their "film friendliness" (p. 11). These commissions are typically responsible for allocating generous film incentives, such as tax rebates, cash incentives, and service production, but Cucco and Richeri (2021) argue that the film commissions' roles are more significant than just incentives; they are cultural mediators between local rules and foreign producers, promoters of transcultural communication and planners of future film tourism development (p. 10). A variety of different stakeholders (including ministries of culture and tourism, economic development agencies, local authorities, and private businesses) see the value in attracting film productions to their destinations (Goldsmith and O'Regan 2008), although it has been noted that there is limited alignment between the different organisations needed to fully capitalise on the benefits of hosting foreign film productions (World Tourism Organisation and Netflix 2021).

Today, almost all European destinations set up national and regional film commissions, which try to attract foreign producers through generous incentive schemes (Cucco and Dagnino 2018; Cucco and Richeri 2021). The situation in Switzerland remains somehow different. Following the exclusion of Switzerland from the European Union's (EU) MEDIA programme in 2014 (Cucco 2021), three film commissions were established in Switzerland: the *Zurich Film Commission*, the *Ticino Film Commission*, and the *Lucerne & Central Switzerland Film Commission*. Their creation was a reaction to the removal of EU funds for the

Swiss film industry and the introduction of a new fund devoted to films shot in the Swiss territory. Compared to its neighbours (e.g. Austria or Italy), Switzerland does not provide country-level film incentives. As will be discussed later in the chapter, current incentives offered locally are modest, leaving Switzerland in a non-competitive position.

Whereas economic reasons form an important pull factor for the producers, non-economic factors can be equally vital for filmmakers when choosing a foreign locale. Previous research has explored, to a certain extent, what constitutes an ideal foreign filming location and its amenities. According to Beeton (2008), producers seek places that provide easy access and good transport to the sites, accommodation for cast and crew, catering and access to a local, skilled, and semi-skilled workforce. Writing specifically about the Gold Coast in Australia, Ward and O'Regan (2009) note that a selection of services and capabilities geared to high production standards can give a region a reputation of being a film-friendly destination; a "pleasurable" place to film. Finally, trust, loyalty and personal contacts have an influence on location selection and, therefore, unsurprisingly, producers tend to return to past destinations (Irimias 2015; Cucco and Scaglioni 2014).

Writing specifically about Indian producers, Cucco and Scaglioni (2014) and Nanjangud (2021) examine a number of factors that motivate producers to use foreign locations rather than filming at home. The factors relate to practicalities such as working in easier, less chaotic conditions and avoiding extreme weather conditions, such as the monsoon season. Other factors relate to the film's end value and overall reception. Consumption practices featured in the films (in relation to fashion, travel, shopping, dance, and food) portray the lifestyle of the super-rich and these can be appealing to the growing middle class in India (Gyimóthy 2018). Moreover, the portrayal of the lives of non-resident Indian characters is an additional attraction and can appeal to the large Indian migrant population (Cucco and Scaglioni 2014). Tobías (2017, p. 274) calls European locations featured in Bollywood "sanitised paradises" as they deeply contrast with the image of chaotic, polluted and uncontrollable Indian cities. As such, the exposure of European locations in Indian cinema offers viewers an escape from their everyday challenges.

The globalisation of film production has led to numerous socio-cultural and economic impacts on foreign destinations. Knowledge exchange, innovation, employment opportunities, increased hotel stays, and general location spending by film crews are some of the positive impacts noted from hosting foreign film productions. Knowledge exchange seems to be particularly important to destinations that lack modern film infrastructure because it offers them the opportunity to acquire new skills, such as from more advanced technology (Szczepanik 2016). Cultural diplomacy and soft power skills have been cited as important for filming, allowing locations to build national prestige abroad (Lee 2022). Finally, it has been well documented that the enhanced destination image of a filming location results in increased tourism flow (e.g. Beeton 2006; Gyimóthy 2018).

Some film-friendly destinations have become so popular that even when the setting does not match a film's plot, producers still choose to shoot in these locales.

In these cases, the film-friendly destinations are used as "fake locations", creating what film tourism researchers call, "location dissonance" (Frost 2009) or "displacement aspect" (Bolan *et al*. 2011). Historical films often involve the use of different locations and settings (Butler 2011). Examples include Romania used as the 19th-century Appalachians in the United States in "Cold Mountain" (Hudson and Ritchie 2006), Hungary as medieval England in the television series "Cadfael" (Busby *et al*. 2003), or Ireland as Scotland in "Braveheart" (Frost 2009). Some places have developed expertise in standing in for other places, for example, Prague (Goldsmith and O'Regan 2008). The availability of the right infrastructure in these fake locations encourages producers to sacrifice the authenticity of their filming locations.

Dreaming of Switzerland in Mumbai

The focus on Switzerland as a filming location for Indian film producers is justified for a number of reasons. Collaborations in the film industry between India and Switzerland were established decades ago, with the first film being shot in 1964. A conflict in Kashmir was the cause for the first Bollywood directors to seek mountainous landscapes outside India; Hindi directors based in Mumbai became interested in filming in the Alpine scenery (Ganti 2012; Frank 2016). The most important period of Swiss–Indian collaborations took place during the 1990s and early 2000s; at this time, Bollywood director, Yash Chopra, was filming a song-and-dance sequence in Switzerland two to three times per month (Nanjangud 2021). His hallmark 1995 film, "Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge" was shot extensively in Switzerland, in numerous locations, and is still being shown in Indian cinemas today (Switzerland Tourism 2020).

A variety of landscapes are featured in Chopra's films: lakes, rivers, glaciers, mountains and meadows, as well as historical buildings and town squares. The images of Switzerland, portrayed in Bollywood films, as a heavenly, unspoiled, peaceful place, subsequently triggered large tourism flows from India to Switzerland and provided economic opportunities for Swiss businesses (Gyimóthy 2018; Frank 2016). The two towns of Engelberg and Interlaken, located in the Berner Oberland region, which have been portrayed in Indian films, remain the top destinations among Indian tourists (Switzerland Tourism 2020). At the time of writing this chapter, there are three Bollywood tours in Switzerland that take tourists to a selection of Bollywood film locations: i) Bollywood Tour, organised by the town of Gstaad-Saanenland; ii) Indian Film Location Tour, based in Gstaad; and iii) Bollywood Tour of Switzerland, by Erwin Tours of Switzerland. A must-see on all these tours is a landmark in the village of Saanen, a bridge, where a couple from the 1995 film "Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge" danced romantically (see Figure 7.1).

Undoubtedly, Yash Chopra, through his films, was the greatest ambassador of Switzerland. In 2002, Chopra received the Swiss Filmfare Award from the Swiss government (Switzerland Tourism 2020) in recognition of his contribution to the development of a "dreamlike" destination among the Indian audience. Following his death in 2012, the late Chopra was honoured by the federation for the promotion

Figure 7.1 The iconic bridge in Saanen, outside Gstaad, where the hallmark 1995 film *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* was shot.

Source: Own resources

of Switzerland, and in 2015, a statue of him was placed outside Hotel Jungfrau in Interlaken, one of the director's favourite locations (see Figure 7.2).

Undoubtedly, Bollywood cinema played an important role in the development of the relationship between India and Switzerland. However, contemporary cinema in India comprises many regional film industries (e.g. Telugu, Tamil, and Kannada), each with their own language (Ganti 2012). These regional film industries entered globalised film production much later than Bollywood. They now offer new opportunities to the destinations in which they film (Cucco and Scaglioni 2014), and they are increasingly present in Switzerland.

Methodology

The research presented in this chapter is part of a larger international project examining the various mobilities inspired by Indian film industries and Europe and its aim was to understand socio-cultural and economic impacts deriving from Indian film shooting in selected European countries (see Chapter 1). A qualitative research approach was used to examine the perceptions and experiences of location stakeholders in Switzerland when collaborating with Indian film industries. Twenty in-depth interviews were conducted in 2020 and 2021. The respondents included: film

Figure 7.2 One of the authors posing with the statue of Bollywood director, Yash Chopra, in Interlaken.

Source: Own resources

industry professionals in Switzerland (e.g. line/unit managers, scouts, cameramen); representatives of state and local authorities; members of organisations that use filming for their own purposes (e.g. tour operators); destination marketing organisations; and regional film commissions. The main research question for this study was: How does Switzerland across different scales (country/region/city) attract the Indian film industry? The interview guide covered various questions related to the

strategies of attracting foreign film productions, organisational arrangements, and collaborations between film productions and local companies.

The participants were accessed via LinkedIn or via professional websites using a snowballing technique. Some were identified from recent films shot in Switzerland as their names were listed in the film credits. The interviews, each lasting from 30 minutes to more than two hours, were conducted in English or German, then audio-recorded and transcribed. Due to the global challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 and 2021, the interviews were mostly conducted online via Zoom or Skype but occasionally, also, in person or over the phone. The interviews were later anonymised: the names of the interviewees, as well as any information that could potentially identify them, were removed from the interview extracts. Ethical issues were addressed throughout the data collection process and before the interview took place; the respondents were informed about, and accepted, the interview terms via a signed consent form. The data were analysed using codes and categories (Lune and Berg 2017).

Although some of the interviewees were of Indian origins, the perspective presented in this chapter is that of the local stakeholders: those representing Switzerland. However, at the time of the interviews, some of the participants, mainly those who acted as mediators between the two countries, partially lived in India.

Contemporary Indian film productions in Switzerland

The role of Swiss Film Commissions

Although virtually all European States now provide tax incentives at a national level, this is not the case for Switzerland (Cucco and Dagnino 2018, p. 444). Currently, Switzerland has three separate film commissions: the *Zurich Film Commission*, the *Ticino Film Commission*, and the *Lucerne & Central Switzerland Film Commission*. As noted earlier, compared to its neighbours (e.g. Austria or Italy), Switzerland does not provide country-level film incentives organised by the Swiss Confederation. Launched in 2014, the Ticino Film Commission is the largest Swiss film commission and the only one that explicitly encourages film producers to its region by offering film incentives and film-related services. Ticino is the Italian part of Switzerland and has picturesque terrain with lakes, palms, and beaches. The commission's incentives and services are targeted at foreign films, shot in Ticino and including clear location references, with a view to making Ticino recognisable to the audience. The incentives are modest; the focus of the commission is mostly on providing services as a Ticino Film Commission employee explained:

> *The condition to get that money, of course, is . . ., first of all, that the production is shooting in Ticino. Depending on how many days and how many people are employed. Also, how the location will be shown in the final project. . . . Depending on how many expenses will be left in Ticino; in hotels, meals, professionals and so on, we then decide with our board of directors to give an incentive and how much. But we have to say that the incentives*

> *that we give are quite small. The biggest one, the highest one, that we gave was about 15,000 Swiss francs, well, it's really a small incentive. And for the location scouting it is that maybe we pay someone who together with us to do this job and we can also offer some night hospitality to the production, to the director who is coming to Ticino to see the location and so on. . . . What is our strength, is our job, our service to connect, to ask for permissions, to get facilities, to get discounts with the hotels and so on*.
>
> *(R15)*

As argued by Cucco and Richeri (2021), the role of film commissions is to mediate between various stakeholders and facilitate the complex film production. Nonetheless, a desire to offer attractive financial packages to the film producers was clearly expressed by the two film commissions interviewed in our project, although they recognised that incentives should be settled at a national level. One of the key line producers from India operating in Switzerland noted that the lack of incentives is discouraging Indian productions:

> *Ideally, there should be worked out something soon because we are losing to many countries, to Portugal*.
>
> *(R11)*

The reference to Portugal, a low-cost destination that offers generous film incentives to producers, points to the importance of the economic aspects of film destination selection. The quote also indicates that competition between countries in attracting so-called "fly-in fly-out productions" is fierce and that new emerging destinations have the potential to become favourite sets for Indian film producers. Switzerland is not an affordable country and the high costs of filming in Switzerland remain a challenge, making it a less competitive destination from an economic perspective.

Why do Bollywood filmmakers shoot in Switzerland?

Indians were exposed to the Alpine scenery, particularly from the 1990s until early 2000 through so-called "massalah-films" – films with a certain predictable plot as indicated in the quote here. Yash Chopra travelled to Switzerland two to three times per month at the peak, to film song-and-dance sequences (Nanjangud 2021). A trade Commissioner for Switzerland, who worked closely with the late director, explained the content of the popular genre:

> *So this genre of romance, you know what we call[ed] a "massalah-film" those days. Because each film had a certain plot and you had a good actor and an actress. You had either a bad mother-in-law or a bad father-in-law. You had one villain, there was always one or two rape scenes. There were ten songs. One of them was shot in the rain. And then at the end, there was a fight and happily ever after. You know, basically, what was Bollywood? It's a form*

> *of escapism. You get away from reality for those three hours and you come back feeling nice. Today's film is not that way. Today you come back and say that's actually happened in my country. That's the difference*.
>
> *(R2)*

Following years of intense exposure, the interest of Bollywood producers in filming in Switzerland weakened. The death of the director in 2012 marked an end of a certain era in the Bollywood film industry. Generous incentive schemes provided by countries across the globe made Bollywood producers seek other destinations, more in line with new genres, such as action films.

As explained earlier, the Indian film industry comprises many regional film industries, not just the famous Bollywood. While Bollywood is now exploring new topics and looking for new locations, other Indian film industries have become attracted to Switzerland due to its Alpine scenery:

> *The Tamil film industry and Telugu Film, they haven't been exposed much to Mr Chopra's films. Because they are very, I won't say they are anti-Hindi but they have pride in their language. . . . They are still going there. But Bollywood has been, I mean, let me say, Switzerland has been a victim of its own success*.
>
> *(R8)*

Today, other Indian industries, such as Telugu, Tamil, and Kannada, show an increased interest in filming in Switzerland. This is not to say that Bollywood producers have stopped filming in Switzerland. Some recent Bollywood productions shot in the Alpine settings, such as "Simmba", "Krish 3", "War", and "Dhoom 3", have achieved success in India and beyond.

Despite the changing film production landscape, film producers continue to take advantage of the significant film infrastructure in Switzerland, as its high-quality infrastructure remains an appealing pull factor for filmmakers. Our study demonstrates that the key factors that make Switzerland continuously appealing are *i) Top business environment and proximity; ii) Diverse Settings: Alps, Riviera and meadows; iii) Filming in substitute locations; iv) A luxury destination;* and *e) Qualified professionals*. These are discussed in turn in the following.

Top business environment

The key features of a film-friendly destination are its connectedness (its close proximity to the filming locations) and low levels of bureaucracy. Bureaucracy-free conditions in the pre-production phase, involving a straightforward process of applying for a visa to film, is important when choosing Switzerland as a foreign location. During our research, diplomats working at the Indian Embassy in Bern said they do not receive queries from film industry people because the application process is simple so there is no reason to intervene. In contrast, one of the interviewees explained the complex process of applying for a visa to shoot in the

United States, in which professionals are asked to verify what their speciality is. For example, a group of dancers was asked to travel hundreds of miles to perform a dance routine for officials at the Embassy. Application practices such as this are big deterrents to film producers when applying for visas to shoot in certain foreign countries.

> *In Switzerland, accessibility is very easy. As we land, we can immediately film the next day. . . . It is quite welcoming from the Swiss companies, so the producers and directors have easy access to these places. . . . So, we write to, for example, Freiburg police a week in advance, or three days in advance, and they give you the permission instantly. And, you know, they also give you the cover with the police, in case of any problem with anyone from the public. You can always call the police for support. So, they come and help you out.*
>
> *(R11)*

Close proximity to filming sites and international airports (as well as direct flights between India and Switzerland) are important factors in the past for film producers when choosing Switzerland over other less-established destinations. Zurich, a key city with the main international airport and plentiful rental houses, is never too far from any Swiss location. Close proximity to film settings and the ability to move around easily across the Swiss territory were perceived as key factors. However, more important factors seem to be the welcoming attitudes of the Swiss people. The openness of the public sector and the friendliness of its employees were frequently mentioned in the interviews. Despite the famously high costs in Switzerland (a "challenge" frequently mentioned by all the respondents), many of the public locations were offered to the producers without charge (a dynamic that occurs in many countries). This was illustrated by a film professional:

> *If it's a feature movie, it's going to be almost for free. Maybe you have to pay for their work, if they have to have the manpower to help us, of course, you pay that but you don't pay additionally for using the location . . . normally Switzerland is very open to feature films. I think it would be a little harder if you want to shoot advertisers. And the costs would be much higher. But if these are feature movies, you really can work quite good with authorities, they try to help you to get things done.*
>
> *(R9)*

Swiss authorities were cited as helpful and supportive when asked to obtain necessary permits to film. The supportive attitudes were reciprocated by the film producers and Swiss professionals, who made efforts to consider the authorities' responsibilities and priorities also. For example, film industry requests to film in busy transport hubs, such as international airports or busy railways stations, were carefully thought through in advance; the film producers were prepared to shoot outside of rush hours and at night. One of the interviewees who worked frequently

with Indian producers described the factors that were important to take into account before approaching the authorities:

> *[Y]ou really need to have a plan. How you block it. What time. What day. It's exactly back to the day. If you do it Monday morning at 5 o'clock, it is much better than trying to do it in the rush hour. And like, normally to also need to get a permit to go to mountains at 6 o clock I can get it within an hour. It's just the price. The price to get up. And can they organise their people to open the gondola that early? But you also want to go there as early as possible.*
>
> *(R17)*

According to the latest Tourism and Travel Competitiveness Index (2019), which ranks various factors that contribute to the development and competitiveness of a country, Switzerland is placed third out of 140 countries for its business environment. This is reflected in the respondents' comments that emphasise red-tape-free conditions at the pre-production and production stages and the friendliness of authorities that facilitate work in the Swiss territory.

Diverse settings: Alps, "Riviera", and meadows

In addition to the easy proximity of the Swiss locations, another positive factor is their diversity. Despite being a small country, the country offers a wide-range of landscapes that can meet various creative needs, ranging from the dramatic Alpine views, lakes, rivers, and meadows to the relaxing Mediterranean-looking Riviera with palm-lined lakes in the Italian part of the country. This diversity, combined with efficient communication networks that facilitate mobility, offers countless prospects in terms of locations, landscapes, and yearly seasons. Historically, Bollywood films portrayed specific regions of Switzerland. Alpine towns from Berner Oberland canton, such as Interlaken, Engelberg and Gstaad have become must-see destinations among Indian tourists as the towns featured extensively in the most popular films of all times (Gyimóthy 2018; Frank 2016). In the course of one of the interviews conducted for this study at the end of 2020, during the second COVID-19 lockdown in Switzerland, a film industry professional with a rich experience of collaborating with Indian film producers was particularly positive about the value of Switzerland for "fly-in-fly-out productions":

> *We have facilities, the glacier, we have close by very good hotels. For sure they will come back. It is just a question of when we are back again, how it . . . was before. You know there are not that many countries where you have very easy access to mountains and Switzerland has that.*
>
> *(R4)*

The possibility of shooting in unspoiled locations in the mountains, accessible only by a gondola and then on foot was a reason to choose Switzerland. Next to the mountainous landscapes, the Swiss territory offered other scenery: lakes, rivers,

meadows, charming villages as well as quaint old streets, medieval castles, and other historical buildings, giving the producers a possibility of filming in diverse settings, easily reachable by road.

Availability of substitute locations

The diverse, attractive, and pristine geographical settings of Switzerland, including the country's linguistic diversity, translate into another opportunity: into using the small country sites as substitute locations. There are four official language regions of Switzerland: German, French, Italian, and (the very small) Romansh; these make it easier to use the regions to represent locations in Germany, France, or Italy. For example, in some of the recent Indian films, Swiss locations have represented Germany (*Doon Seenu* 2010) and France (*Endukante . . . Premanta* 2012), while in the blockbuster *Dhoom 3* (2013), various scenes were shot in Switzerland, not in Chicago.

A number of interviewees brought up the Dhoom 3 film, which was partially filmed in Switzerland. A Swiss landmark, Versasca dam, was eventually chosen, because it fulfilled a specific vision of the director and because it worked logistically. As a film professional working on the film explained:

> *Why "Dhoom 3" ended up in Switzerland, because they wanted to shoot actually the scene where they jumped out, the dam, they wanted to do it on the Hoover dam, next to Las Vegas. . . . But there was another crew already there for a long time so they had to find a new dam. And they had a Swiss stand coordinator on their site and he proposed the dam in Ticino. That's why the whole thing ended up being in Switzerland basically because normally it was not planned to shoot anything in Switzerland.*
>
> *(R9)*

A very specific, curved dam where two actors could perform a bungee jump in the final scene was required for the film. Together, the difficulties related to the accessibility of the desired dam in the United States and the challenging administration process to obtain permission to film there directed the producers to the European country:

> *It is really, really hard to get permission to shoot in Chicago. And in the States if you want to shoot, you have to shoot with the local film companies, they have a very strong union, they can't just come with their own crew, and shoot in their location, and in Switzerland it's much easier.*
>
> *(R4)*

Compared with the United States, no strict regulations about local staff employment exist in Switzerland, which makes filming in Switzerland much easier for film crew to organise. The producers have more freedom in choosing which professionals they want to bring directly from India and who they want to employ locally, either from Switzerland or neighbouring countries. Once the strategic venue was secured

for filming Dhoom 3, the producer decided to shoot more scenes in Switzerland, particularly because of the factors mentioned earlier, namely, easy access to permits for challenging locations, such as international airports. Friendly film policies resulted in the producer shooting three additional scenes on the Swiss territory.

Our findings indicate that sometimes unforeseen decisions are taken when choosing locations. Concepts such as "location dissonance" (Frost 2009) or "displacement aspect" (Bolan *et al*. 2011) are relevant here – Switzerland is being used as a fake location. While the use of replaced, or mock, locations may have an undesired effect for the country, a representative of the regional film commission that collaborated with the Dhoom 3 producer noted, in an interview, that there had been interest in the location, Vercasca valley; the falsely portrayed location was attracting Indian tourists (see Figure 7.3).

A luxury destination

Another factor that was mentioned by our interviewees refers to the choice of Switzerland as an appealing destination for celebrities, which gives producers greater leverage to attract the desired actors. Cucco and Scaglioni (2014) note that the most popular actors in India like working abroad; they have more privacy because they

Figure 7.3 *Dhoom 3* features on the marketing material of a bungee jumping company located in Vercasca, Ticino.

Source: Own resources

are more anonymous. Therefore, being mobbed by fans or journalists is less likely in Europe than it is in India. Additionally, the Swiss environment and high-end facilities, such as the availability of luxury 5-star hotels, act as an incentive. Filming abroad is also seen as a bonus for directors who have more control over celebrities' time when the latter are outside their home countries. In a humorous manner, the following quote describes working on a film in India with a male celebrity:

> *You'll be shooting in Bangalore and suddenly his wife calls him or his girlfriend calls him and so he can go and meet her. You know, so you're really just waiting in Bangalore, waiting for him to come back. And he just said to spend a weekend with his girlfriend. But if I take him he can't do that. So he stays with me. That's number one. And then of course from morning to evening. I mean an early start.*
>
> *(R8)*

Switzerland is one of the world's top tourist destinations (The Tourism & Travel Competitiveness Report 2019), and filming in Switzerland guarantees the use of luxury accommodation, access to helicopters during early hours' shootings, and other, similarly luxurious, incentives – all the factors that play a role in the lives of celebrities. Moreover, film producers can work full days without interruptions. Clearly, when it comes to attracting sought-after celebrities, a country with developed infrastructure and a high-end hospitality industry that is used to catering to demanding visitors has a clear advantage over other competing destinations that are not so well established.

Qualified professionals

The availability of creative labour, including aerial filming professionals and technical staff, is another pull factor. Some of the recent Indian films were shot in mountains, thus requiring aerial filming specialists, helicopter pilots, and aerial film directors. When asked about the local staff employed in the latest Indian film production, one of the film industry professionals recalled the following:

> *Of course, it is like the key grip group, because they are in touch with the rental houses. They know the equipment. And they have each assistant with them. . . . And we had, I had my own assistant, I think the unit manager, XX (name removed), he had his own assistant. And then ACs, PAs, that is, production assistants, and runners. They just drive; drivers and helping hands. Because it is always good to have Swiss people if you shoot in Switzerland, because of communication, and, because you have like some policemen coming up to Indians, that would be difficult (laughter).*
>
> *(R9)*

The quote illustrates that a good number of local film industry professionals were employed in this Indian film production. Communication, cultural understanding,

and practicalities are some of the reasons why locals being present among the filming crew can facilitate a smooth filming process. Providing jobs for creative industry professionals is one of the local benefits that film commissions in Switzerland highlight among their key aims. However, despite the potential benefits to both the film crew and locals, our interviews revealed diverse views on the employment of local staff.

One of the interviewees, representing one of the film commissions, expressed disappointment when speaking about the use of the local workforce by the Indian film producers, commenting on the large size of the crews coming directly from India, including drivers and cooks. We also found that, in some cases, professional dancers employed for the dance-and-song sequences were recruited from other European countries rather than Switzerland; this was due to established networks in Europe where producers collaborate with various companies, based, for example, in France.

Specific local talent can be utilised by producers, for example, when the film's narrative directly refers to Swiss culture and heritage. In these cases, local talent is always employed.

> *If they need a few locals for, you know, like somebody playing the Alphorn in the background or you know, a few dancing women in Swiss costume.*
>
> *(R7)*

Our findings reveal that, in practice, a large proportion of the staff come from India, which suggests that there is limited, positive economic impact on the host destination in terms of employment. However, as illustrated earlier, this finding, which can be perceived as negative, also reflects a positive reason for choosing Switzerland as a filming location – producers appreciate having the freedom to choose with whom they want to work in the foreign location.

Conclusions

This study is based on qualitative data collected via 20 in-depth interviews conducted with location stakeholders based in Switzerland who have collaborated with the Indian film industry. Owing to one particular Bollywood director, Yash Chopra, India and Switzerland established a strong collaboration in the film industry that reached its peak in the 1990s and early 2000s (Frank 2016). The images of Switzerland as an immaculate, pristine and heavenly place, portrayed in Bollywood films, triggered large tourism flows from India to Switzerland and benefitted Switzerland culturally and economically (Frank 2016). However, in recent years, the emergence of a global production infrastructure has resulted in increased competition in attracting Indian filmmakers to new European locations through tax breaks, free services and other incentives (Cucco and Scaglioni 2014; Cucco and Richeri 2021). As a consequence, Switzerland is now facing challenges in keeping its status as a film-friendly destination.

Our findings illustrate that, despite the lack of film incentives provided by Switzerland, it continues to play a role in the Indian film industry, although at a smaller

scale than before. Fewer Bollywood productions are shot in Switzerland, although other Indian film industries are choosing the country to film their productions in. Our findings illustrate that well-known attributes, such as efficient business administration, proximity to high-end tourism facilities and a selection of qualified local staff, together play a key role in attracting large-scale productions. Additionally, the pristine environment and diverse linguistic and geographical landscapes create opportunities for filmmakers to use multilingual Switzerland as a substitute location.

The attraction factors include the right business conditions, from a smooth visa organisation process to the ease of accessing filming permissions and full support of authorities during filming. The key feature of a film-friendly destination relates to the connectedness and close proximity to the key locations. The small size of the country, its linguistic diversity, efficient transport links, and diverse landscapes, ranging from the dramatic Alpine views to the relaxing Mediterranean Riviera offer a range of possibilities to film. The same geographic and linguistic diversity offers another opportunity – to use Switzerland as a substitute location. Some recent Indian films shot in Switzerland have done exactly that; they have used the infrastructure in Switzerland to film scenes in mock locations, which film history shows is not an unusual practice (e.g. Bolan *et al*. 2011). Switzerland, as a source of diverse mock locations, is an opportunity for Indian film producers from Bollywood and other Indian film industries.

Being one of the top, high-end tourist destinations in the world acts as a significant pull factor to attract the best actors for whom the luxury filming conditions in Switzerland are more appealing than filming in their home country where chaos, abuse from fans and difficult weather conditions play a role (Cucco and Scaglioni 2014). Also, having a developed infrastructure (including the hospitality industry, which is used to cater for demanding visitors) is a strong advantage over other destinations that are trying to catch up and compete. Another major benefit of Switzerland is the access it offers to specialist professionals, for example, aerial filming directors, when they are needed. There is a caveat to this final benefit though, which is that many of the film crew tend to come directly from India rather than being employed locally.

This chapter contributes to the research exploring globalised film production processes and the attraction factors of choosing destinations as a filming location (Cucco and Scaglioni 2014). By examining one destination, this chapter enhances our understanding of the changing film policies, production cultures, and globalisation, as well as the requirements of the producers and audiences. Future research could examine the attraction factors in a comparative perspective to gain a better understanding of the economic, and other, incentives that are important to film producers when selecting foreign film locations.

Acknowledgement

This research is part of the FilmInd project, funded by EqUIP, SNSF: IZEQZ1_180340.

References

Beeton, S., 2006. Understanding film-induced tourism. *Tourism Analysis*, 11 (3), 181–188.

Beeton, S., 2008. Location, location, location: Film corporations' social responsibilities. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 24 (2–3), 107–114.

Bolan, P., Boy, S. and Bell, J., 2011. 'We've seen it in the movies, let's see if it's true': Authenticity and displacement in film-induced tourism. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 3 (2), 102–116.

Busby, G., Brunt, P. and Lund, J., 2003. In Agatha Christie country: Resident perceptions of special interest tourism. *Tourism*, 51 (3), 287–300.

Butler, R., 2011. It's only make believe: The implications of fictional and authentic locations in films. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 3 (2), 91–101.

Connell, J., 2012. Film tourism – evolution, progress and prospects. *Tourism Management*, 33 (5), 1007–1029.

Cucco, M., 2021. Learning from Switzerland in the Brexit era. The MEDIA programme case study. *Studies in European Cinema*, 18 (1), 22–36.

Cucco, M. and Dagnino, G., 2018. Public film policy and the rise of economic Principles: The case of Switzerland. *In:* P. C. Murschetz, R. Teichmann and M. Karmasin, eds., *Handbook of state aid for film: Finance, industries and regulation*. Cham: Springer, 427–445.

Cucco, M. and Richeri, G., 2021. European film commissions as transcultural promoters and mediators. *Journal of Transcultural Communication*, 1 (1), 45–57.

Cucco, M. and Scaglioni, M., 2014. Shooting Bollywood abroad: The outsourcing of Indian films in Italy. *Journal of Italian Cinema & Media Studies*, 2 (3), 417–432.

Euroscreen, 2015. *Bollywood in Europe: A case study*. Report commissioned by Film London and the Euroscreen Partnership, Rzeczow. Available from: https://issuu.com/euroscreen_casestudies/docs/euroscreen_case_study_bollywood (access date 10.02.2022).

Frank, S., 2016. Dwelling-in-motion: Indian Bollywood tourists and their hosts in the Swiss Alps. *Cultural Studies*, 30 (3), 506–531.

Frost, W., 2009. From backlot to runaway production: Exploring location and authenticity in film-induced tourism. *Tourism Review International*, 13 (2), 85–92.

Ganti, T., 2012. *Producing Bollywood: Inside the contemporary Hindi film industry*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Goldsmith, B. and O'Regan, T., 2008. International film production: Interests and motivations. *Cross-Border Cultural Production: Economic Runaway or Globalization*, 13–44.

Gyimóthy, S., 2018. Transformations in destination texture: Curry and Bollywood romance in the Swiss Alps. *Tourist Studies*, 18 (3), 292–314.

Hill, J. and Kawashima, N., 2016. Introduction: Film policy in a globalised cultural economy. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 22 (5), 667–672.

Hudson, S. and Ritchie, J. B., 2006. Film tourism and destination marketing: The case of Captain Corelli's Mandolin. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 12 (3), 256–268.

Irimias, A., 2015. Business tourism aspects of film tourism: The case of Budapest. *Almatourism-Journal of Tourism, Culture and Territorial Development*, 6 (4), 35–46.

Lee, S. T., 2022. Film as cultural diplomacy: South Korea's nation branding through Parasite (2019). *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 18, 93–104.

Lune, H. and Berg, B. L., 2017. *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. Harlow: Pearson.

Nanjangud, A., 2021. Navigating the film-industry: Interview with Mr. Natarajan Ramji, chairman and managing director, travel master's India on what it means to be a location scout in India. *South Asian Popular Culture*, 19 (2), 233–246.

O'Regan, T., 2018. Revisiting film cities and film services: Methodology, theory and applications. *Journal of African Cinemas*, 10 (1–2), 9–29.

Szczepanik, P., 2016. Transnational crews and postsocialist precarity globalizing screen media labor in Prague. *In*: M. Curtin and K. Sanson, eds., *Precarious creativity: Global media, local labor*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 88–103.

Switzerland Tourism, 2020. *Indien und die indischen Gaste in der Schweiz. Zahlen und Fakten*. Available from: https://www.stnet.ch/app/uploads/2021/09/aa_factsheet_medien_indien20_d-1.pdf.

Tobías, I. C., 2017. Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara: Exotic Spain, film tourism and the imagined geographies of the Indian middle class. *In:* A. Dhingra and G. López-Nadal, eds., *Indo-Spanish cultural encounters (1956–2016), impacts and visions*. New Delhi: Centre of Spanish, Portuguese, Italian & Latin American Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 271–286.

The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report, 2019. *World economic forum*. Available from: https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_TTCR_2019.pdf (access date 10.01.2022).

Ward, S. and O'Regan, T., 2009. The film producer as the long-stay business tourist: Rethinking film and tourism from a Gold Coast perspective. *Tourism Geographies*, 11 (2), 214–232.

World Tourism Organisation and Netflix, 2021. *Cultural affinity and screen tourism – the case of internet entertainment services*. Madrid: UNWTO.

8 Slovenia as a new contender in attracting Indian filmmakers within the context of Central and Eastern Europe

Jani Kozina and Ana Jelnikar

Introduction

> *I predict that the more time that passes, the more respected popular Eastern European cinema will become as an object of academic study*.
>
> *(Mazierska 2010, p. 12, opening article in Studies in Eastern European Cinema)*

India has long been known for its film industry and remains by far the largest film producer in the world (Ghosh Dastidar and Elliott 2020). Indian film industries produce between 1,500 and 2,000 films annually (Jain *et al*. 2016). While Indian cinema has had a presence in certain parts of the world linked to its diaspora, more recently, it has crossed over to non-South Asian audiences (Bandyopadhyay 2008; Therwath 2010; Banaji 2013). This expansion has also led to widespread incorporation of new filming locations outside India (Hafeez and Ara 2016). Territorially embedded Indian filmmaking enables the promotion of tourism (Mittal and Anjaneyaswamy 2013; Jain 2019; Josiam *et al*. 2020), employment opportunities (Cucco and Scaglioni 2014), cross-cultural exchange (Lourenço 2017), and country branding with long-term economic and transcultural effects (Ernst & Young and LA-India Film Council 2012).

Many studies exist evaluating the scope and role of Indian filmmaking in Australia (Madan 2000), Latin America (Ghosal 2013), non-South Asia (Karan and Schaefer 2020), North America (Roy and Huat 2014), and Western Europe (Cucco and Scaglioni 2014). However, there is no concrete study describing the situation in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). This region has recently seen an increased Indian investment in film shooting (Parvulescu and Hanzlík 2022), which is in line with an increasing number of film production companies moving from mature markets into emerging ones (Jenster 2020). Some authors refer to CEE as a "semi-periphery", contributing to the production and export of a variety of goods, including cultural and creative goods (Stachowiak and Stryjakiewicz 2018). CEE has become an interesting destination for foreign filmmakers after the start of European integration. The new political and economic reality has enabled the free flow of goods, people, and information and the rise of prosperity and social justice, which made it easier for foreign productions to film. The popularity of CEE has significantly grown and

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-11

diversified over the last decade (Mitric 2021). However, little is known about the success factors of Indian producers in mobilising filming locations in this part of Europe, as well as the obstacles they have to face when doing so.

This chapter explores the structures, mechanisms, and cultural contexts that have popularised filming destinations in CEE among Indian producers. It aims to specifically analyse the pros and cons, the strategies, experiences, and impacts of Indian filming in Slovenia. The term CEE is highly contested and defined in multiple ways. To avoid any confusion, we decided to attribute it to European countries with a post-socialist tradition and concrete tendencies towards European integration. The focus is on Slovenia as the smallest of the countries belonging to CEE. Here we highlight both the Slovenian characteristics for Indian filmmaking that are similar to those of other CEE countries and those that are attributed more specifically to Slovenia.

By way of context, it should be noted that Slovenia, like most of the countries of CEE, is a Slavic country that experienced the socialist tradition from 1945 to 1991. Within this period, it was one of the six republics of Yugoslavia that distanced itself from the Soviet type of socialism in 1948. Yugoslavia invented its own type of socialism, which followed the principles of labour and social self-management and thus already carried the seed for the development of direct democracy. A softer form of socialism and a geostrategic location close to countries such as Austria, Germany, and Italy allowed Slovenia to have relatively close relations with the Western world during this period and a smoother transition to democracy after the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1991 and its independence. Notwithstanding this, Slovenia underwent similar processes of European integration, which culminated in the largest enlargement of the European Union (EU) towards CEE in 2004. Since then, Slovenia has behaved very similar to other CEE countries within the common political, economic, and cultural framework of the EU (Kosi *et al*. 2020; Nared *et al*. 2020).

The structure of the chapter is as follows. The following two sections provide the theoretical overview of CEE as a film shooting destination, particularly for Indian filmmakers. The fourth section describes the data collection and analysis through interviews with key informants (in)directly associated with filmmaking in India and Slovenia, while fifth to ninth sections present the results. The last section outlines the main findings and recommendations for Indian filmmaking in Slovenia, arguing that while generalisations can be made regarding the wider region, Slovenia, being the smallest of the CEE countries with some unique historical and geographical specificities, and home to only about 4% of the locations of Indian films in the CEE region (Bole *et al*. 2021), displays characteristics and challenges that seem to be uniquely her own.

Central and Eastern Europe as a film shooting destination

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the subsequent break-up of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, cultural industries were the first to suffer massive cuts and withdrawal of secure funding early in the 1990s. Cinema was

affected most notably (Iordanova 1999). The state-owned and state-controlled film financing and distribution infrastructure had entirely collapsed in all of the post-Socialist countries in CEE. The shift to a market economy affected every level of the film industry, from its basic infrastructure to its mode of funding and management (Ostrowska and Rydzewska 2017). Although the main changes resulted in basic operational modifications and did not have such an impact on the specifics of the artistic output (Iordanova 2003), the crumbling production routines also caused a creative crisis in many filmmakers (Iordanova 1999).

Suddenly, as it were, Western European countries, alongside the United States playing the leading role, became the much-sought-after partner for filmmakers from all CEE countries (Iordanova 2002; Stachowiak and Stryjakiewicz 2018; Mitric 2021). In the new international division of labour, the countries of CEE were relegated to a supporting role. In the 1990s, the film studios of CEE hosted a number of Western runaway productions, which kept the facilities busy and employed local filmmakers without further recognition of the participation of the country providing the services. In co-productions, the partners of CEE typically acted as minority producers rather than as majority ones. However, such minority participation hardly counted as contributions to a national film culture (Iordanova 2002). For these reasons, well into the 2000s, CEE was still very much enclosed within its national film frames and, compared to other European regions, played a less important role in co-productions (Kanzler *et al*. 2008).

European integration, most notably expressed through several waves of the EU enlargement in 2004 (Czech Republic, Estonia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia), 2007 (Romania and Bulgaria), and 2013 (Croatia), began to change the narrative and to slowly reverse the downward spiral. Foreign investment and the venture of big-budget filming in some countries of CEE provided jobs for film personnel and ensured investment in film production infrastructure, consequently saving production from the same decline experienced in the early 1990s by the exhibition sector (Bergfelder 2005; Parvulescu and Hanzlík 2022). Increasing internationalisation (Stachowiak and Stryjakiewicz 2018) brought the proliferation of CEE-West co-productions, the emergence of transnational producers (young, English-speaking, with liberal values) and the political decision of national CEE governments to invest significant public funding in film-subsidy structures (Mitric 2021).

Despite all the efforts, CEE is ultimately not a large market for the film industry in Europe, as the "Big Five" – France, Germany, UK, Italy, and Spain – account for about 80% of releases, industry turnover and employees (Katsarova 2014). The EU research suggests that the film industry in CEE is generally uncompetitive and non-commercially oriented at this stage (Mitkus and Nedzinskaitė-Mitkė 2016; Stachowiak and Stryjakiewicz 2018). The reasons for this are complex. For example, Mitkus and Nedzinskaitė-Mitkė (2016) blame CEE filmmakers' systematic belief that film art and film business are polar opposites, while Parvulescu and Hanzlík (2021) argue that EU-funded VOD (video-on-demand) platforms tend to favour larger European film cultures like France to the disadvantage of smaller ones like those from CEE (Czech Republic, Romania, Hungary, etc.).

One of the rare studies attempting to understand both the reasons for the existing situation and also provide ideas of how to mitigate the obstacles and unveil the potential of CEE for foreign film shooting is that done by Jenster (2020). Her comparative study of four CEE countries (Hungary, Czech Republic, Croatia, and Poland) exposed numerous ways in which a film production can increase the economic return in the hosting country. They are concentrated on increasing auxiliary services, raising awareness of cultural values and increasing tourism initiatives, incentives, and co-production to strengthen the network and reduce overall costs. However, her recommendations tend to be general in nature and could apply to any type of foreign film production.

The Slovenian professional film production began in 1948 with the film *On Our Own Land* by the director France Štiglic (Slovenian Film Centre 2022). During Yugoslav period, Slovenia was an attractive destination for Western filmmakers who recognised diverse and pristine nature and preserved cultural heritage as suitable scenes for their movies. Important factors for outsourcing were low-cost coproduction agreements with Yugoslavian market-oriented film companies, low production prices, and freer political atmosphere compared to the Soviet bloc countries (Kumer 2019). Their interest, however, started to wane during 1980s when Yugoslavia as a whole descended into a series of political, economic, and ideological crises that ended with the dissolution of the country (Stanković 2012). The process of dismantling the film industry was similar to that in other countries of CEE. The period between 1995 and 2015 represents the resurgence of Slovenian film and its increasing importance in the landscape of the world film and especially European film (Slovenian Film Centre 2022). However, the film industry in Slovenia remains a systemically disordered area and the most undernourished in the entire cultural sector (Gričar 2015). Slovenia as an attractive shooting destination for foreign filmmaking was rediscovered only recently by Indian filmmakers and Western European and American companies which found advantage in recently introduced tax rebate policy (Kumer 2019).

Central and Eastern Europe as a destination for Indian filmmakers

In spite of the fact that Europe pioneered both technological and content innovation in cinema, the European film landscape has become characterised by the strong presence of Hollywood productions after WWII (Guback 1969). In 2013, Hollywood held a share of nearly 70% of the EU market, while European productions represented only 26% (Katsarova 2014). Only a very small portion could be attributed to productions from other continents. Among them, however, we can trace the increasing role of Indian filmmaking whose presence in the old continent dates back to the late 1960s when political unrest in Kashmir as the preferred filming location forced Raj Kapoor and other Indian directors to search for suitable foreign locations, especially within Europe (Josiam *et al*. 2020). This trend accelerated in the 1970s to 1990s when productions were transported to striking European locations like the Swiss Alps and Britain's Summer Isles, which became the primary backdrops of many Yash Chopra productions (Josiam *et al*. 2014).

Following the open market policy and economy, Indians gained wider access to Western films and television and thereby faced mounting competition for Indian movies, especially in areas of action and special effects. The new trend resulted in mega-budget films with a particularly high focus in the action and sci-fi categories. Sequences shot overseas have proven a real box office draw, so Indian film crews started to increasingly film in Australia, New Zealand, North America, Europe, and elsewhere (Hafeez and Ara 2016). The focus in Europe was, to a large extent, set on Western countries, especially Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, and the UK (Cucco and Scaglioni 2014).

As reported by Josiam *et al*. (2020), a vast majority of Bollywood movies, particularly their song sequences but also parts of the film, are shot abroad, with filmmakers believing that scenic foreign landscapes contribute to the success of the film. Cucco and Scaglioni (2014, 2023) identified three principal push factors underlying overseas delocalisation, in particular in Western countries, of shoots for Indian filmmakers: a) easier logistics compared to the more chaotic Indian context (transport, services, etc.); b) funding and economic incentives offered to audio-visual productions by many local- and national-government bodies; c) the search for a wider audience (affluent Indians and non-resident Indians) and a spectacular appeal.

Although some authors mention that Indian cinema is popular in CEE (Lorenzen and Taeube 2007; Bhatt 2013; Frank 2016; Banerjee and Srivastava 2019), a more detailed structural and contextual analysis of the spread and intensity of Indian filmmaking in this part of the world is still missing. So far, we have limited information from only a few CEE countries. Kaveri Devi (2018) hypothesised that among them, Poland, with its castles, parks, palaces, monuments, gardens, and old cities and towns, has taken the lead in attracting Indian filmmakers. Parvulescu and Hanzlík (2022) reported that effective service organisation for foreign productions has recently attracted Indian investment (alongside American and German) to the Czech Republic. Banasiak (2015) mentioned Poland and Romania to be on the rise with Indian filmmakers. Polish visibility could, to a large extent, be attributed to the campaign "I like Poland" where Polish Tourist Organisation (PTO) used a grant from the EU to promote Polish locations in India. PTO also organised location tours for Indian filmmakers in 2013, and their representatives travelled to Mumbai to meet the Bollywood producers in 2014. The outcome was a large influx of Indian tourists to Poland (ibid.).

Besides natural beauties, cultural heritage, built environment, and services, one could also argue that CEE has become more competitive compared to Western markets for its cost-effectiveness (Srivastava 2015). The Budapest Reporter (2021) has recently quoted Saran Raparthy – the executive producer at Geetha Arts – as saying that CEE is *more flexible in terms of budgets and time spent on location*.

Since there is no concrete academic input about the growing connections between CEE and Indian filmmakers, it would be relevant to study these phenomena in a deeper and more structured way. Our aim in this chapter is to use the specific example of Slovenia, which has attracted a dozen of Indian filmmakers in the last decade.

Research design

This study is based on ten in-depth interviews conducted with key informants from India and Slovenia between December 2019 and July 2021 (Table 8.1). The respondents belong to two main categories. The first group consists of stakeholders working directly in the film industry and other creative industries related to filming (e.g. actors, producers, line producers). The second group represents stakeholders indirectly linked to filmmaking, such as state and local authorities and other organisations that use film for their purposes (e.g. destination marketing organisations, diplomats, film commissions). Some interviewees belong to both types of groups. The main reason for choosing these two categories is to bring out more clearly the patterns of the relationship between film and place by examining this connection within and outside the film industry. Half of the correspondents originate from India and a half from Slovenia, as we wanted to give equal representation to the experiences and perspectives of both the collaborating countries. Due to mobility restrictions during the COVID-19 crisis, most of the interviews were held online via Zoom, but some were implemented on location. The interviewees were accessed via professional networks as well as a snowballing technique. Some were identified in public media highlighting Indian filmmaking in Slovenia. Each interview lasted between one hour and two hours. They were conducted in English or Slovene, recorded, transcribed, and thematically analysed.

Table 8.1 The characteristics of the interviewees from India and Slovenia.

ID	*Interviewee directly connected to film industry*	*Interviewee indirectly connected to film industry*	*Indian origin*	*Slovenian origin*	*Location of interviewee*	*Type of interview*
R1	/	Diplomat	●		Ljubljana, Slovenia	On location
R2	/	Diplomat	●		New Delhi, India	Online
R3	Producer	Diplomat	●		Mumbai, India	On location
R4	/	Film commission		●	Ljubljana, Slovenia	Online
R5	Line producer			●	Celje, Slovenia	On location
R6	Bollywood dancer, actress, model	/		●	Ljubljana, Slovenia	Online
R7	Line producer	/		●	Maribor, Slovenia	Online
R8	/	Diplomat	●		New Delhi, India	Online
R9	Line producer	Travel agent		●	Bangalore, India	Online
R10	Producer, actor	Indian restaurant owner	●		Ljubljana, Slovenia	Online

Source: Own elaboration.

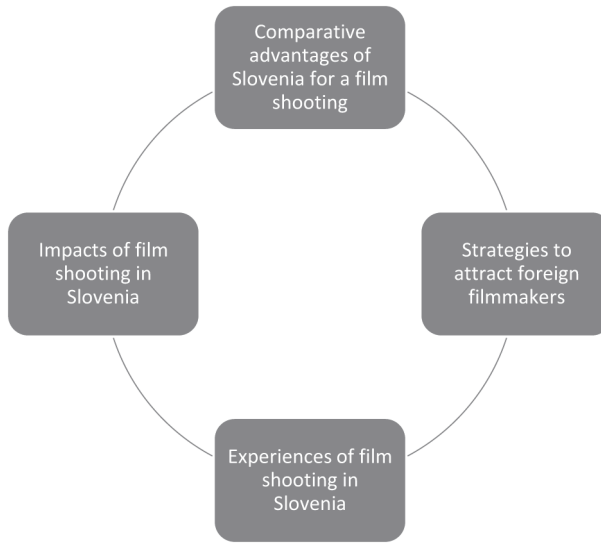

Figure 8.1 The analysed topics of Indian film shooting in Slovenia.
Source: Own elaboration

We built our analysis of Indian filmmaking in Slovenia around four broad topics (Figure 8.1). First, we wanted to determine the comparative advantages of Slovenia when it comes to hosting Indian film shooting. The focus was on geographical, social, and cultural characteristics. Second, the recognised conditions could serve as a basis to think productively about the various kinds of initiatives and strategies to attract Indian filmmakers to Slovenia. We were interested in understanding the established mechanisms related to incentives, promotional campaigns, networking, etc., and what their role, or lack thereof, has been up until the present moment. Third, based on established collaborations between Indian filmmakers and Slovenian stakeholders, we were interested in recording and analysing their experiences. The focus was on different sorts of organisational arrangements and cross-cultural impacts on film production. Fourth, as a final outcome, we were eager to explore the spatial and sectoral impacts of Indian film shooting in Slovenia. We were particularly interested in the local spillover effects of filmmaking on places, businesses, and people.

Main characteristics of Indian film shooting in Slovenia

Until we began this study, Indian filmmakers had used Slovenia as a location for altogether 16 of their film productions. *Naayak* was the first film featuring locations shot in Slovenia to be released in 2013. Despite a decade-long history of film shooting, Slovenia however is still a relatively unknown destination in the eyes of Indian filmmakers, sometimes confused with Slovakia or imagined to be "somewhere in

Russia" (R6). So far, it has functioned merely as a backdrop for Indian filmmakers and solely for song sequences, never as part of the plot. Film producers, in other words, come to Slovenia to shoot a song-and-dance number in what to an Indian audience would be a new and attractive location (usually famous tourist places, such as Bled, Piran, and Ljubljana; see examples in Figures 8.2–8.6). In terms of dialogues, action and plot, Slovenian locations carry no significance whatsoever as far as the Indian film is concerned. This means that there is nothing in the film that would make Slovenia identifiable to the viewer. This would explain why Slovenia is still relatively unknown to the Indian filmmaker. Even as the focus of the viewers is on the hero/heroine in the song rather than the backdrop, the backdrop nonetheless does serve as an eye-catcher and could potentially put the host country on the wider tourist map.

Our interviewees agreed that in order for Slovenia to be clearly identifiable in the film by the Indian audience, at least one of the following would need to happen: 1) the Slovenian setting(s) would need to be explicitly mentioned by the hero/heroine in the script (a visual representation is not enough), 2) one of the characters would have to be an expatriate (e.g. a student in Ljubljana) and therefore the setting would figure in the plot itself, or 3) a memorable action would have to take place in a particular location (e.g. a boat chase on Lake Bled), while pre-publicity would need to reveal to the audience where the shot was actually taken. For this to change, the Slovenian government and local authorities would need to invest additional resources so as to intensify communication with Indian film producers to increase

Figure 8.2 Film shooting for the *Dhruva* project at Maribor Edvard Rusjan Airport, Slovenia.

Source: Azaleja Global

Figure 8.3 Film shooting for the *Dhruva* project in Maribor, Slovenia.
Source: Azaleja Global

Figure 8.4 Film shooting for the *Khaidi No. 150* project at lake Bled, Slovenia.
Source: Azaleja Global

Figure 8.5 Film shooting in Ljubljana Old Town, Slovenia.

Source: Azaleja Global

Figure 8.6 Film shooting in the site of high mountain herdsmen's villages Velika Planina, Slovenia.

Source: Azaleja Global

the recognisability of their concrete destinations. In turn, this would provide an added incentive and a boost to the tourism industry and other economic sectors.

Slovenian comparative advantages for Indian film shooting

What determines the attraction of location is rarely a single over-riding factor, but rather a unique combination of a number of considerations. At the same time what is seen to be an advantage for one Indian filmmaker can constitute a disadvantage for another. Our interlocutors have spoken of several comparative advantages for choosing Slovenia to shoot their song-and-dance numbers rather than a Western European country (or even a CEE country). It seems the Indian filmmakers prefer Slovenia over other territories because it is geographically small and as a new post-socialist country relatively unknown but diverse and relatively inexpensive location with beautiful natural scenery, preserved cultural heritage, skilled technicians and talented performers.

One of the main pull-factors for Indian filmmakers to come to Slovenia is the combination of a wide diversity of landscapes in a small territory. This characteristic can be said to be unique not only in the context of CEE but also at the wider European, possibly even global, level. Slovenia has just over 20,000 km^2 but encompasses high Alpine peaks, the Mediterranean Sea, the Pannonian plains and vineyards, the karst caves, extensive forests and numerous small and medium-sized towns with medieval and (neo)classical architecture (Ciglič and Perko 2013). Both the natural and cultural characteristics of Slovenia, the small distances between different locations with the possibility to "capture everything" in just a few days (green forests, blue rivers, sea and lakes, snowy peaks, etc.) is possibly the overarching consideration for most Indian filmmakers to come to Slovenia. As one Indian line producer has succinctly put it, giving Slovenia's "strategic location" as its main advantage:

> *One major reason why I particularly pitch for Slovenia for most of the producers is because of its strategic location. So, if I place the complete crew in Ljubljana and the director and the creative head want to go to, say a beach site, it is just a one-hour drive. If you want to go to the Alps, snow, it is one-hour drive. If you want to go to lake, say lake Bohinj or Bled, it is a one-hour drive. It is quite approachable. In the morning, when everybody gets up by 7:00, 7:30, in one-hour's drive we are there on the location, we are ready for the shoot, which is seldom what we see in other destinations*.
>
> *(R9)*

This exceptional view was reaffirmed from the opposite end by a Slovenian line producer:

> *I saw very quickly what they [i.e., Indian film producers] were looking for and they also saw very quickly what we could offer and that was what no one else could offer them, that is, on a small piece of land, all at hand. In the eight*

> *days of filming, we were often one day on Krvavec, where we filmed snow, the second day we were in Ljubljana, where we filmed a typical view of a big city or a European city, and the third day we were at sea, where it was as if we were in Spain. So, what we have may not even be offered by Switzerland, which is a European Mecca in terms of Indian film production*.
>
> *(R5)*

Slovenia's strategic location between Austria, Italy, Croatia, and Hungary has meant an additional incentive to some Indian film producers in terms of inviting cross-border collaborations. Namely, being wedged between other – mostly stronger – film centres within the CEE region and further afield, such as Venice, Vienna, Budapest, Istanbul, Prague and the neighbouring Croatia, Slovenia, so as to remain competitive, has needed to undertake a different strategy of action. This strategy has typically led Slovenian film producers to collaborate with neighbouring countries (e.g. Italy). In other words, Slovenia can compete with – or rather complement – the bigger players by offering something different (new attractive locations) as well as by providing more competitive prices (see later).

Slovenia's further comparative advantage is that it is a relatively young post-socialist country that fully opened its borders to the Western world only after the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1991 and its accession to the EU in 2004 (Kosi *et al*. 2020). In this sense, Slovenia, similar to the other countries of the CEE, was a completely unexplored territory until very recently. Foreign location, as one film industry player put it from her own experience as a Bollywood dancer and actress, constitutes a "cherry on the cake" (R6) within the film, typically feeding escapist appetites of those Indians who never get a chance to travel. Slovenia, alongside other CEE countries, has thus figured as part of the new search for unknown, attractive, and sometimes adventurous locations.

Although many well-known Slovenian locations have already been included in Indian films in the course of the last decade, interviewees expect this trend to intensify after the end of the COVID-19 epidemic, which has halted filming throughout the world. At the same time, the pool of interesting locations is not endless, especially for such a small country. One Indian line producer, working in the Kannada film industry, expressed some doubts about continuing the collaboration at the same pace and manner, rather suggesting new forms of shooting connected to regular scenes, if the trend is to expand or continue.

> *Well, there has been a saturation to go to Slovenia in terms of looking for locations only from the song perspective. If you just think of going to do songs in Slovenia, no, I think we are done with that. We have mobilised the optimum locations in Slovenia. Now, Slovenia can be used only for the purpose of scenes, a chase, a fight sequence from a different perspective. There is still a lot of potential. It all depends on the creative head and what the demand is of the movie. Based on that, we can definitely utilise Slovenia in a much better way than just simply showing the landscape, nature and things like that*.
>
> *(R9)*

Another important advantage of Slovenia compared to the wealthier countries in Western and Northern Europe is competitive prices, since one of the key considerations in choosing foreign locations relates to the budget constraint of a particular Indian film. Slovenia, like the other countries of CEE, can offer comparable sites to other, more economically developed European destinations, but at a considerably lower price. The Indian interviewees expressed themselves clearly on this:

> *The moment any movie maker thinks about shooting overseas, the first country to come to their mind is Switzerland. Because it is so popular in India. Everybody wants to go to Switzerland. And Switzerland can be afforded by industries like Bollywood and Hyderabad, who have a lot of money and can afford this kind of locations. But industries like Tamil or like our Kannada industry, they look for something similar, something beautiful and as good as Switzerland but economically it should be feasible for producers. That is when we pitch Slovenia to them. We say, you are looking for Switzerland, we will give you something better than Switzerland and for a cheaper price. So that is how we approach them with Slovenia.*
>
> *(R9)*

> *What Indian productions find, at least when they go to Eastern Europe for a shoot, is rich European heritage. It's similar scenes to Western Europe, the streets, the look, the architecture, everything. And at a much cheaper cost.*
>
> *(R3)*

Having enumerated the major pull-factors for Indian filmmakers to choose Slovenia for a film location, one disincentive in terms of reachability did crop up during the course of our interviews from several interlocutors: namely, the absence of direct flights between India and Slovenia. Usually, passengers need to stop over in the Middle East or Turkey, or they can opt for a direct flight to nearby Venice (Italy) or Zagreb (Croatia). Nonetheless, since both airports are within a couple of hours, this does not seem to be the deciding factor.

Slovenian strategies to attract Indian filmmakers

Slovenia wants to attract foreign film producers via two channels of promotion. First, the advertising campaign "Drive less. Film green. Film in Slovenia" (https://filminslovenia.si/) undertaken by the Slovenian Film Commission has launched Slovenia as a green destination for filming at various international fairs promoting film locations and putting it on the map on two major global platforms: Movie-Locations.com (www.movie-locations.com) and The Location Guide (www.thelocationguide.com). The advertising campaign promotes Slovenian landscape diversity, proximity, and geostrategic position as key factors for foreign filmmaking (Figure 8.7).

Slovenia's geostrategic position presents an added value also from the administrative point of view. Being a member of the Schengen area means that the holder of a Slovenian visa can travel anywhere throughout Europe. From this perspective,

Figure 8.7 The advertising campaign "Drive less. Film green. Film in Slovenia" of the Slovenian Film Commission.

Source: Slovenian Film Centre

Slovenia is a more competitive destination compared to some other Eastern European countries like Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, and Serbia, for example. However, the convenience of a Slovenian visa makes it also attractive to fraudsters who pretend to be filmmakers and use the visa to freely enter the EU. The Slovenian Embassy in India, aware of such misconduct from past experiences, has become rigorous in checking visa stakeholders through detailed verification and assistance of Indian partners (e.g. the Honorary Consulate of Slovenia in Mumbai). This has led to making the process of applying for visas timelier and more complex, sometimes negatively affecting the Indian–Slovenian film collaborations.

Second, the Slovenian Film Commission also supports foreign filmmakers with cash rebates. Slovenia is one of the last European countries to adopt monetary incentives for foreign film productions. This happened in 2016, and since then, the Slovenian Film Commission has had an annual budget of €1,000,000, which is significantly less compared to other European countries. The cash rebate amounts to up to 25% of the total acknowledged expenses for the realisation of the post-production of any given project realised on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia. Until recently, the applicants were required to submit their applications at least 45 days before the start of the shooting. This requirement has been reduced in early 2022 to a reasonable threshold of one day before the shooting commences.

However, with no strategy to attract Indian film producers specifically, no Indian film producer has received this kind of financial support so far, although there have been several attempts on behalf of Slovenian line producers collaborating with Indian film players to avail of this monetary incentive for their joint projects.

The main reason, according to both, is the lack of competencies to comply with "European standards", which are perceived as administrative barriers. The Indian filmmakers appear to be further dissatisfied with the form of these incentives, preferring to receive the funds upfront rather than having to reclaim them through the invoices after the project is completed. Moreover, the wording "up to 25%" is in itself confusing, because they want to receive exactly 25% of their costs and not less as reimbursement. The biggest hurdle, however, remains the fact that Indian producers usually only start talking to Slovenian line producers about the specifics a few weeks in advance of their arrival in Slovenia. In addition, such agreements may change entirely once at the filming location since Indian producers often follow their own rhythm, inspiration, and energy. A Slovenian line producer explains the challenges in more detail:

> *As far as this financial aid is concerned, it is true that it says that they reimburse up to 25% of the costs. I know that our administration is a big problem again. We tried twice and both times we were too late. They are too rigid. They can't expect us to provide, for example, an American style script, detailing exactly what is going to happen by the hour. This is not the case in India. And we can't tell them that. We can't think half a year in advance and write something with Indians on paper just so I can apply for these funds if it is a literal lie.*
>
> *(R7)*

In the absence of any clear national strategy and lack of incentives, the success of Indian filmmaking in Slovenia owes much to a strong entrepreneurial vision and organisational skills of Slovenian line producers who have established close personal relationships with Indian film producers. Before getting the first deals, all Slovenian line producers travelled to India to meet the right people and to learn about Indian business and culture. Previous online and electronic communication was usually pointless. The only decisive factor was to establish personal face-to-face contact.

> *I'm just telling you that if you're not present in India among production houses, if there aren't people out there looking for, following and knowing about new projects, then it's just one big coincidence or I don't know what has to coincide for someone here in Slovenia to get such a project, but at the same time nothing would be done on the other side.*
>
> *(R7)*

Our findings have also shown the (in)direct role of the Slovenian Embassy in India in facilitating and promoting filming in Slovenia: directly through consular services in issuing visas and indirectly through their networks and personal contacts, including honorary ambassadors well connected in the Indian film industry. Occasionally, though not so frequently anymore, we were told, a film producer wanting to shoot in Slovenia would turn directly to the Embassy (as, for example,

a Bollywood producer working with Salman Khan), in which case they would forward the enquiry to Slovene line producers. The importance of direct personal connections with Indian film industries, from Bollywood to Tollywood, and a physical presence in the field in India, was reiterated by all our interlocutors.

Experiences of Indian film shooting in Slovenia

Organisational arrangements for shooting song sequences for Indian films using Slovene locations reveal a close collaborative process between Slovene line producers and Indian location managers/gurus or film industry partners in both the pre-production and production stages. The nature of this collaboration, involving entrepreneurially minded individuals looking for new business opportunities both in Slovenia and India, has evolved over time, from trial-and-error beginnings to solid collaborations over the last few years. The Indian point of view, based on our interviews, has revealed that the decision to choose Slovene locations is primarily a commercial one, facilitated by any number of crucial factors, from accommodation facilities to logistics, concessions rates, permissions, etc. As one interlocutor put it, the pragmatic side is all important.

The process of scouting for a foreign location begins in India, with Indian film producers having ideas about *something they may have seen, or something they imagine would be good, possibly seeing it on Google, and giving this to the line producer in India who collaborates with the line producers abroad* (R7). The first step typically involves the Indian producer sending some visuals of what the film director is looking for, to the location managers in India, who begin a database search, while deferring with foreign line producers and partners to do the same from their side. Sounding out what the film director, the creative head, and the producer (but also the cameraman, the cinematographer, and the song director) are after, and what their particular requirements are, is where it all starts – typically in an office in India:

> *So, based on that, we give them ideas. If Slovenia fits their idea, we propose Slovenia, if not, we give them Italy, or Switzerland or Norway, Iceland, it all depends*.
>
> *(R9)*

Detailed knowledge of what Slovenia offers in terms of locations has been underlined by all key players in this co-production process, with Indian location managers regularly visiting the country and knowing its sites very well. Although Slovene film scouts also play their part in suggesting locations, their role comes to the fore more prominently in securing location permits, attaining equipment, finding a creative team (i.e. dancers), hiring props, booking hotels, finding appropriate catering services, local transportation, etc., everything needed for the film shoot before and during the production process.

Every movie has a shooting requirement of at least two songs in a foreign location. Doing only one song makes no economic sense, given the size of the Indian

crew, which includes the director, the camera team, the choreographer, the choreographer's assistant, the make-up artist, the hair artist, the heroine's assistant, the hero's assistant, the costume designer, alongside technical staff. The crew also includes a number of Slovene participants on the set, from technicians, and dancers to catering staff, alongside the logistics team. It is not uncommon for family members of the main actors to travel to a foreign location as well. One interviewee referred to them as *stow-aways*, seeing them as part of *the Indian way* of doing things. From the organisational point of view, shooting song sequences in a foreign location is a highly complex and demanding collaborative process, requiring substantial logistics and coordination skills on the part of everyone involved.

Slovene film professionals have all stressed the key importance of cross-cultural learning and negotiations in their joint projects with the Indian film industry. Unsurprisingly, the beginnings of this collaboration were seen to be challenging for rather inexperienced Slovene line producers and other stakeholders. Different (coping) strategies emerged to broach and negotiate what were perceived as differences in codes of communication and professional standards between Indians and Europeans more generally. This could be as trivial as not allowing the crew to eat on the bus to demanding a full advance payment for any extra services so as not to risk not being paid. In this, the insistence on everyone following the host-country's rules was something that needed to be clearly articulated from the outset, so as to minimise misunderstanding.

The interviews with both Slovenian and Indian interlocutors have led to formulations of certain "cultural" traits, even stereotypes, seen to be underlying their communication and constituting a challenge to their collaboration. Notions of "European standards" were evoked and contrasted with what was seen to be "Indian lack of professionalism", something that was remarked upon also by the Indian line producer:

> *Yes, there is a huge difference. We need to learn a lot on professionalism from European countries, though we Indians make so many movies, and we have made some really big projects, but when it comes to the professionalism, I still feel that we are lacking behind. Europe is way ahead in terms of commitments*.
>
> *(R9)*

Leaving everything *to the last minute* (R7), as one Slovenian line producer has noted, often introduced a measure of unpredictability and sometimes fed unrealistic expectations on both sides. For example, as noted earlier, the 45-day deadline from the film commission to apply for financial reimbursements has so far never been met from the Indian side (R7). Other examples of failed communication involved a project in which the Indian film director suddenly required orchestra musicians, without having the budget for it. The impromptu solution of lay musicians organised by the Slovene side was met with an angry response that these were "not real musicians". On the other hand, the sudden demand to put together a guerrilla camp in the middle of the forest for a shoot, which put an enormous strain

on the Slovene producers and organisers to obtain barbed wire, army tents, army vehicles, sand bags, etc., and assemble it in two days, was managed successfully. The lesson learnt was that clarity in what is being promised on the deliverables from the local side as well as careful preparation in advance to avoid miscommunication are of the utmost importance, though ultimately, as one interlocutor has put it half-jokingly and half-seriously, there has to be an acceptance of *this rock 'n' roll with Indians* and their *unpredictable* ways of doing things (R7). There are lessons to be learnt from cross-cultural communication and accepting difference in communication and ways of doing things was seen to be part of that learning process.

Therefore, even as conditions on the set, particularly when the crews are larger, can appear to be difficult to manage from the Slovenian point of view, all Slovene interlocutors could not but express a sense of amazement that *things always somehow work out at the end*. Our findings indeed testify to a collaborative process that can be challenging but also extremely rewarding, even as these rewards are often intangible. More than one interlocutor consider the years of collaborating across cultures as nothing less than a *school for life*, a life-changing experience.

> *Honestly, I must say that I kept and kept going back to India, I was so adamant to understand them, every caste in its own right, how they think, what they want, how they operate, and how to communicate with them. And I've learnt it all and am very proud of that*.
>
> *(R5)*

From our interviews, we have been able to establish that Indian film shooting in Slovenia has provided fertile ground for cross-cultural exchange; it has led to increased mutual awareness, a tempering of mutual misconceptions, as well as a desire to travel and actively explore a different culture and generate income for both sides. The trajectory of collaboration is seen to be upward and positive.

Impacts of Indian film shooting in Slovenia

A typical project of Indian filmmakers in Slovenia involves about 30–40 people who stay in Slovenia between one and two weeks and spend between €50,000 and €100,000. This amount includes the shooting, services of line producers and other subcontractors, accommodation, dining, and shopping. Wealthier Indian guests typically like to visit better restaurants, go for wine tasting, and engage in shopping. Middle-class Indians, on the other hand, usually prefer to consume Indian food. Direct spending by Indian visitors represents the major share of film-induced investments in Slovenia. No other significant expenditures, including film tourism, were reported by the interviewees to have emerged from film production.

According to our interlocutors, Indian tourism in Slovenia is still in its early development or nascent form, one reason being that, strategically, Indian visitors are not regarded as a priority. Several factors have contributed to this situation. On the one hand, the general experience with Indian tourists in Slovenia is not seen to be overly positive by the Slovenian tourist operators. Not least because, according

to them, Slovenia wants to avoid mass tourism and considers itself more suitable and interesting for boutique tourism due to its small size, lack of large cities and its predominantly "green" character.

> *Judging by the policy of the Slovenian Tourism Organisation, India is not one of the priorities. My personal opinion is that Slovenia does not want to become Barcelona or Venice. We do not want to be flooded with tourists. I think that should not be our goal, but that we need to be strategic, and I would say target this higher class of tourism. So, I personally think it would be worthwhile to go after the wealthier class, even if it means we only get small numbers.*
>
> *(R8)*

On the other hand, in comparison to other more developed countries, Slovenia lacks five-star accommodation, luxury spas, and boutique shops with prestigious brands of clothing, jewellery, etc. which would satisfy the needs of wealthier Indian guests.

> *I have travelled a lot in the world and I must say that the Indian five-star hotels are beyond comparison. The service you get in those hotels is exquisite, perhaps only in Thailand you get something comparable. I think that here in Slovenia we can learn a lot from India in the field of hospitality.*
>
> *(R8)*

The interviewees reported positive feedback from local communities and the media in response to joint Indian Slovene film ventures. Most people were surprised but also proud and cooperative when they heard about the purpose of the Indian visits to Slovenia. One Slovenian line producer responded in no uncertain terms:

> *And I must also say that all the local authorities in Slovenia, where we worked, were positive. Certainly, at the beginning with anxiety of what will happen now, but otherwise really positive. The locals, maybe not at the beginning, but very soon it was like a fairy tale.*
>
> *(R7)*

Similarly, Indian film producers shared some very positive experiences of their collaboration with Slovenian artists and other stakeholders that were conducive to what they perceived as an all-around supportive and rewarding working environment that seems to harness mutual respect. In the words of an Indian line producer:

> *I think they simply love Indian movies I feel. They are very inquisitive; they are very eager. Having worked with local crews as well, I have worked with a lot of Slovenian dancers and they are indeed phenomenal, fantastic dancers. Compared to any other European country. Apart from Italy, I have found the best dancers in Slovenia, they adapt so well to Indian music, they are very quick.*
>
> *(R9)*

Conclusions

This chapter has set out to investigate the structures, processes, and cultural contexts that have contributed to the popularisation of filming locations in CEE among Indian producers. Its aim was to specifically analyse the comparative advantages, strategies, experiences, and impacts of Indian filming in Slovenia as an example of a CEE country.

Our findings have shown that Slovene–Indian film collaboration is a relatively recent phenomenon, going back merely a decade. At the same time, it is part of a wider trend across the region, in which Slovenia has joined the club of countries in CEE with increased Indian investment in film shooting (Parvulescu and Hanzlík 2022). However, there are several specificities to the Slovenian scenario. First, the shooting locations have, up until now, served merely as an (exotic) backdrop to the dance-and-song numbers without being part of the film plot. Second, the collaborations have involved almost exclusively South Indian film partners and are yet to attract and venture out into Bollywood co-productions. And third, our findings have shown that without any governmental infrastructure supporting Indian-Slovene film co-productions, all past collaborations have relied mostly on personal initiatives of entrepreneurially minded individuals venturing out into India in search of new business opportunities.

Strategically – and against the backdrop of rising interest in new CEE locations – Slovenia has been shown to hold a number of competitive advantages as a geographically small, diverse, and inexpensive location with beautiful natural scenery and cultural heritage, skilled technicians, and talented performers. Bureaucratically, however, it presents several obstacles, particularly in terms of obtaining visas and the red tape involved in applying for financial remunerations. The organisational and cultural challenges too have been faced by both sides of the cross-cultural collaboration, leading to questions of who adjusts to whom. From the initial trial-and-error beginnings, the established solid connections between Slovene and Indian line producers, including other local participants, have given rise to a rewarding cultural-economic phenomenon of knowledge exchange with reasonably high hopes and expectations for the future.

It seems that the first step in developing Indian filmmaking in Slovenia would be to appeal to the Slovenian government to recognise (the Indian) film industry as a force for generating income, especially through tourism. Namely, Slovenia has no strategy to attract Indian film producers specifically, which is one of the main reasons that no Indian film producer has received any Slovenian financial support so far. Such an outcome in Slovenia stands in marked contrast to the political decision of national CEE governments to invest significant public funding to attract foreign filmmakers (Mitric 2021). The solution for this challenge could be to educate both members of the public and the representatives of governmental bodies of the importance and potential impact the Indian film industry could have on Slovenia. This would involve doing further research so as to obtain scientifically sound data to more efficiently run awareness-raising campaigns, showcase previous success stories in other countries, and engage different stakeholders in an ongoing fruitful

communication underpinned by a common goal. Sooner or later, the post-COVID times will witness a relaunch of Indian filmmaking in Europe. There are already calls for European countries to get ready to seize the opportunities once they arise (see Chapter 6). It will be interesting to observe how countries of CEE and Slovenia in particular, will behave within this reshaped film landscape.

Acknowledgement

FilmInd project – The Indian film industry as a driver of new socio-economic connections was carried out within EU-India Platform for Social Sciences and Humanities and financed by national funding of the participating countries. The authors acknowledge receipt of funding from the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport of the Republic of Slovenia and Slovenian Research Agency (Research programme P6–0101). The authors also thank the interviewees from India and Slovenia for their kind cooperation in the research.

References

Banaji, S., 2013. Hindi film audiences outside South Asia. *In*: K. M. Gokulsing, W. Dissanayake and R. K. Dasgupta, eds., *Routledge handbook of Indian cinemas*. London: Routledge, 391–401.

Banasiak, M., 2015. *Bollywood in Europe: A case study*. London: Film London and the EuroScreen Partnership. Available from: https://issuu.com/euroscreen_casestudies/docs/euroscreen_case_study_bollywood (access date 22.09.2022).

Bandyopadhyay, R., 2008. Nostalgia, identity and tourism: Bollywood in the Indian diaspora. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 6 (2), 79–100.

Banerjee, S. and Srivastava, R., 2019. Exploring export potential of Indian movies: A comparative advantage analysis of the Indian film industry. *Great Lakes Herald*, 13 (1), 14–26.

Bergfelder, T., 2005. National, transnational or supranational cinema? Rethinking European film studies. *Media, Culture & Society*, 27 (3), 315–331.

Bhatt, S. K., 2013. The popular culture of Bollywood in teaching Hindi as a foreign language: Facilitator or debilitator? *Electronic Journal of Foreign Language Teaching*, 10 (1), 321–333.

Bole, D., Ciglič, R., Gašperič, P., Kozina, J. and Urbanc, M., 2021. *Geoatlas of European screen locations in Indian film industries*. Available from: https://filmind-atlas.zrc-sazu.si (access date 21.09.2022).

Budapest Reporter, 2021. *Why Bollywood movies film in Eastern Europe*. Available from: www.budapestreporter.com/why-bollywood-movies-film-in-eastern-europe/ (access date 04.07.2022).

Ciglič, R. and Perko, D., 2013. Europe's landscape hotspots. *Acta Geographica Slovenica*, 53 (1), 117–139.

Cucco, M. and Scaglioni, M., 2014. Shooting Bollywood abroad: The outsourcing of Indian films in Italy. *Journal of Italian Cinema & Media Studies*, 2 (3), 417–432.

Cucco, M. and Scaglioni, M., 2023. On the Italian trail of Indian films through the lens of media industry studies. *In*: K. Stachowiak, H. Janta, J. Kozina and T. Sunngren-Granlund, eds., *Film and place in an intercultural perspective: India-Europe film connections*. Routledge, forthcoming.

Ernst & Young and LA India Film Council, 2012. *Film industry in India: New horizons*. Available from: http://producersguildindia.com/Pdf/Film%20Industry%20In%20India%20New%20Horizons.pdf (access date 08.07.2022).

Frank, S., 2016. Dwelling-in-motion: Indian Bollywood tourists and their hosts in the Swiss Alps. *Cultural Studies*, 30 (3), 506–531.

Ghosal, T., 2013. Empathic cross-fires: latinos in Bollywood . . . Bollywood in Latinolandia. *In*: F. L. Aldama, ed., *Latinos and narrative media*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 173–192.

Ghosh Dastidar, S. and Elliott, C., 2020. The Indian film industry in a changing international market. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 44, 97–116.

Gričar, N., 2015. *Kaj kulturno vladovanje prinaša novega v kulturno politiko? Primerjava kulturnega vladovanja v danskem in slovenskem modelu filmske politike [What does cultural governance bring to cultural politics? Comparison of cultural governance in the Danish and Slovenian models of film politics]*. Master Thesis, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences. Available from: http://dk.fdv.uni-lj.si/magistrska_dela_2/pdfs/mb22_gricar-nika.pdf (access date 21.09.2022).

Guback, T. H., 1969. *The international film industry: Western Europe and America since 1945*. London: Indiana University Press.

Hafeez, E. and Ara, A., 2016. History and evolution of Indian film industry. *Journal of History and Social Sciences*, 7 (2), 61–74.

Iordanova, D., 1999. East Europe's cinema industries since 1989: Financing structure and studios. *Journal of the European Institute for Communication and Culture*, 6 (2), 45–60.

Iordanova, D., 2002. Feature filmmaking within the new Europe: Moving funds and images across the East-West divide. *Media, Culture & Society*, 24 (4), 517–536.

Iordanova, D., 2003. *Cinema of the other Europe: The industry and artistry of East Central European film*. London: Wallflower Press.

Jain, N., Soneja, T. and Ahluwalia, J., 2016. *Indywood: The Indian film industry* (Deloitte Report). Deloitte. Available from: https://www2.deloitte.com/in/en/pages/technology-media-and-telecommunications/articles/indywood-indian-film-industry.html (access date 08.07.2022).

Jain, P., 2019. Sara Jahan Hamara: Indian films and their portrayal of foreign destinations. *Visual Anthropology*, 32 (3–4), 343–352.

Jenster, A. B., 2020. *Assessment of production opportunities in Eastern European emerging film markets: A comparative multi-case study analysis*. Dissertation, Universidade Católica Portuguesa. Available from: https://repositorio.ucp.pt/handle/10400.14/29676 (access date 06.07.2022).

Josiam, B. M., Spears, D. L., Dutta, K., Pookulangara, S. and Kinley, T., 2014. 'Namastey London': Bollywood movies and their impact on how Indians perceive European destinations. *Hospitality Review*, 31 (4), 1–22.

Josiam, B. M., Spears, D. L., Dutta, K., Pookulangara, S. and Kinley, T., 2020. Bollywood induced international travel through the lens of the involvement construct. *Anatolia*, 31 (2), 181–196.

Kanzler, M., Newman-Baudais, S. and Lange, A., 2008. *The circulation of European co-productions and entirely national films in Europe 2001 to 2007*. European Audiovisual Observatory. Available from: https://rm.coe.int/16807835ef (access date 30.06.2022).

Karan, K. and Schaefer, D. J., 2020. China and Bollywood: The potential for building the world's largest film market. *In*: Y. C. Kim, ed., *China-India relations: Understanding China*. Cham: Springer.

Katsarova, I., 2014. *An overview of Europe's film industry: Briefing*. Available from: www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2014/545705/EPRS_BRI(2014)545705_REV1_EN.pdf (access date 27.06.2022).

Kaveri Devi, M., 2018. Poland's enchanted Bollywood. *Journal of European Popular Culture*, 9 (2), 119–129.

Kosi, M., Preinfalk, M. and Svoljšak, P., 2020. The history of Slovenia: The middle ages to the present. *In*: D. Perko, R. Ciglič and M. Zorn, eds., *The geography of Slovenia: World regional geography book series*. Cham: Springer, 143–156.

Kumer, P., 2019. Representation of Slovenian filming locations in narratives of foreign-produced movies. *Geographical Bulletin*, 91 (1), 95–116.

Lorenzen, M. and Taeube, F. A., 2007. *Breakout from Bollywood? Internationalisation of Indian film industry*. DRUID – Danish Research Unit for Industrial Dynamics. DRUID Working Paper No. 07-06. Available from: https://wp.druid.dk/wp/20070006.pdf (access date 28.11.2022).

Lourenço, I., 2017. Bollywood in Portugal: Watching and dancing practices in the construction of alternative cultural identities. *Etnográfica*, 21 (1), 175–202.

Madan, M., 2000. Bollywood down under: Imagining new neighbourhoods. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 23 (1), 21–30.

Mazierska, E., 2010. Eastern European cinema: Old and new approaches. *Studies in Eastern European Cinema*, 1 (1), 5–16.

Mitkus, T. and Nedzinskaitė-Mitkė, V., 2016. The impact of globalisation to creative industries: The analysis of film industries of Central and Eastern Europe. *Creativity Studies*, 9 (1), 64–74.

Mitric, P., 2021. The policy of internationalisation of East European film industries: East-west co-productions 2009–2019. *Studies in Eastern European Cinema*, 12 (1), 64–82.

Mittal, N. and Anjaneyaswamy, G., 2013. Film induced tourism: A study in Indian outbound tourism. *Atna Journal of Tourism Studies*, 8 (2), 37–54.

Nared, J., Bole, D., Razpotnik Visković, N. and Tiran, J., 2020. Slovenian economy. *In*: D. Perko, R. Ciglič and M. Zorn, eds., *The geography of Slovenia: World regional geography book series*. Cham: Springer, 143–156.

Ostrowska, E. and Rydzewska, J., 2017. Developments in Eastern European cinemas since 1989. *In*: R. Stone, P. Cooke, S. Dennison and A. Marlow-Mann, eds., *The Routledge Companion to World Cinema*. London: Routledge, 167–180.

Parvulescu, C. and Hanzlík, J., 2021. The peripheralization of East-Central European film cultures on VOD platforms. *Iluminace*, 22 (2), 5–25.

Parvulescu, C. and Hanzlík, J., 2022. Beyond post-socialist and small: Recent film production practices and state support for cinema in Czechia and Romania. *Studies in European Cinema*, 19 (2), 129–146.

Roy, G. and Huat, C. B., 2014. *Travels of Bollywood cinema: From Bombay to LA*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Slovenian Film Centre, 2022. *Film in Slovenia*. Available from: www.film-center.si/en/film-in-slovenia/ (access date 21.09.2022).

Srivastava, A., 2015. *Eastern Europe – Bollywood's new favourite*. Available from: https://mediaindia.eu/destination/eastern-europe-bollywoods-new-favourite/ (access date 04.07.2022).

Stachowiak, K. and Stryjakiewicz, T., 2018. The rise of film production locations and specialised film services in European semi-peripheries. *Hungarian Geographical Bulletin*, 67 (3), 223–237.

Stanković, P., 2012. A small cinema from the other side of the Alps: A historical overview of Slovenian films. *Film History: An International Journal*, 24 (1), 35–55.

Therwath, I., 2010. 'Shining Indians': Diaspora and exemplarity in Bollywood. *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, 4, 1–19.

9 Production culture, interpersonal relations, and the internationalisation of filmmaking industry

The case of Indian film productions in Poland

Malwina Balcerak, Krzysztof Stachowiak, and Marcin Adamczak

Introduction

Globalisation processes and technological change, especially digitalisation, have created a global film industry and accelerated global competition. Local film industries were forced to undertake necessary reforms to compete successfully. Otherwise, they will be unable to attract investment and lose their talents. Due to historical circumstances and the relatively small local markets, the periphery and semi-periphery, like most Eastern and Central European countries, have film industries dependent on public subsidies (Jäckel 2003). They subsidise some of the production expenses of domestic producers or are used to attract foreign investment in the form of contracts or location shooting. Inward subsidies and other incentives have often been discussed in connection with possible trade distortions and competition between locations offering the highest incentives. However, financial incentives alone, without the development of complementary human resources and related infrastructures, are insufficient to yield local benefits except for short-term ones (OECD 2008).

As Stachowiak and Stryjakiewicz (2018) point out, many less-developed regions have been adapting by increasing international collaboration to keep up with structural changes in the global film industry. These collaborations take different forms: from co-productions and joint ventures providing services to foreign productions to individual collaborations. These different forms of film industry interaction mean that different "film production cultures" are increasingly coming together. In his seminal work, J. T. Caldwell (2008) introduced the idea of a culture of production and, thus, cultural practices and rituals that give meaning to workers in the film and television industry. He argues, among others, that workers' ideas about the industry are embedded in their daily practices and the media they create. In this chapter, we want to take Caldwell's arguments further and point to one element, interpersonal relations, as vital in understanding the internationalisation of the film industry and the sub-education cultures that clash as a result. We also build on Coe's (2000)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-12

argument on the embeddedness of the film industry in a network of interpersonal relations. The concept of "embeddedness", popularised in a seminal paper by Granovetter (1985), suggests that economic action, instead of representing some kind of free-floating logic or rationality, is embedded in networks and institutions that are socially constructed and culturally defined and therefore is influenced by aspects such as mutuality, trust, and cooperation (Zukin and DiMaggio 1990). In other words, economic action is inseparable from the social relations through which it is enacted. Bourdieu (1984) used the term "embodiment" to refer to similar processes at the organisational level. However, we would like to argue in this chapter that economic processes are embedded in key social actors and their networks and represent embodiment at the level of the individual. By contrast, economic sociology and economic geography research has thus far focused on how organisations and institutions are embedded in socio-spatial networks (Grabher 1993; Dicken *et al*. 1994; Hess 2004).

The chapter is structured as follows. In the first section, we introduce the concept of production culture and discuss it with reference to intercultural filmmaking experiences. The next section attempts to explain the background of the critical element in collaboration with the Indian film industry: interpersonal relationships. We argue that they may be the key to collaboration between the two film industries. Then we try to test it empirically by examining the Indian film production culture from the perspective of Polish filmmakers. In doing so, we present the differences between the Polish and Indian two production cultures. Furthermore, we try to show what the informal side of the film industry consists of, which plays an essential role in India. The last section tries to show how these differences in production cultures can be used to their advantage and how the rootedness in the network of interpersonal relationships was used in Polish–Indian film cooperation. The chapter closes with concluding remarks.

Production culture and cultural embeddedness

Towards the end of the first decade of the 21st century, the concept of "production culture" research, initiated by John T. Caldwell (2008) and further developed by his collaborators, attracted considerable interest in film studies. Their research's novelty consisted of directing attention to spheres hitherto considered marginal in academic film studies and pointing out their considerable significance and cognitive complexity. This refers primarily to the complex process of producing a film, which involves textual, human, technological, and financial factors. It has also been suggested that the methodological palette should be expanded to include ethnographic tools such as participatory observation and unstructured in-depth interviews, as well as others based on a much broader spectrum of analysed production documents, going beyond just the films and scripts themselves.

Two terms have been used interchangeably to describe Caldwell's proposed methods and scope of research: production studies and production culture. They form the titles of two significant books inaugurating this approach (Caldwell 2008; Mayer *et al*. 2009). In subsequent years, however, the term "production studies"

gradually began to displace "production culture". This happened not coincidentally, as it better characterised the research undertaken in the spirit of Caldwell's concept. What was being studied was film production: its institutions and market, the work of film crews, career trajectories, the complex process of creating film works, procedures, and working environments. It was film production that turned out to be the main focus of this strand of research. Culture, on the other hand, was slowly forgotten.

This was also because Caldwell paradoxically devoted little space and interest to it in his most important work. Despite including "culture of production" in the book's title (see Caldwell 2008), he deals with the concept of "culture" to an exceedingly moderate degree. He expounds his understanding of it discreetly in a brief footnote. His followers thus found it easier to forget about culture, and "production culture" itself began to function more as an attractive and perhaps nobler-sounding synonym for "production studies", conducive to its smoother introduction more widely into the curricula of academic film studies. Caldwell (2008) only mentions the eponymous term a couple of times in the pages of his book, primarily indicating that he is interested in culture as an interpretative system (p. 2), seeing his project as a cultural study of the industry's self-theorising as a cognitive and social activity and, at the same time, of production as a cultural practice (p. 7) and acknowledging, in the aforementioned discrete footnote (Caldwell 2008, p. 374, footnote 4), the Geertzian tradition (see Geertz 1983). It is worth noting here that, of the rich body of cultural studies thought, it is indeed the one that is best suited (alongside the work of McRobbie 2002) to the nature of Caldwell's research, which so strongly emphasises the industry's self-reflexivity, its practice of ad hoc theorising and its operation within elaborate industry interpretive-meaning structures. Caldwell simply brilliantly, and perhaps partly intuitively, chooses the understanding of culture that is operationally most effective for his inquiries, rather than dealing with it with a fascination far more with the concreteness of his research material than with theorising, as he makes clear in the final sections of his work. Instead, he associates theory with other distant approaches in film studies.

In doing so, it is hard to resist the impression that Caldwell (2008) also tacitly adopts an arguably "soft", colloquial understanding of culture as the culture of an organisation, in the spirit of the working environment determined, for example, by "Google culture" or "Facebook culture". The omission of broader theoretical inquiry does not harm the work, as the research material is largely previously unknown, and this "soft" understanding is a form of ethnographic understanding of culture. This is why this research has been able to develop so exuberantly and its undoubted achievements today include a fuller understanding of the complex process of creating a cannon, insightful descriptions of the market and institutional mechanisms, and even knowledge that enables a rethinking of filmmaking processes, with great educational and practical value for aspiring employees of production divisions.

Central to the discussion on production culture is whether we can speak of different production cultures existing in the world. One can, of course, imagine the legitimacy of the concept of the existence of a particular culture of production on

the assumption that it is globally universal, that films are produced everywhere in the world in essentially the same way, that there is, namely, one culture of film production in the world. If the culture is one, perhaps not particularly, then a concept of it is needed. We feel intuitive that the concept of culture presupposes a diversity of cultures. Hence, the next step should be to find at least a candidate for a different production culture than Hollywood or the European one, which claims to be universal. Is there anywhere in the world where films are produced markedly differently than in Los Angeles, Paris, London, or Warsaw?

Indian cinematographies, primarily the best-known Bollywood and Tamil, certainly provide good material for consideration (cf. Velayutham 2008; Ganti 2012). They are examples of cinematographies that are in many respects rich and highly developed while at the same time differing in important respects from Western cinematographies such as Hollywood and Europe. This richness manifests itself not only in high production volumes (in 2019, of 2,446 films were released in India, 20% were made in Bollywood, and 10% were the work of Tamil cinematography[1]) and box office (Bollywood, the Hindi film industry, contributing 43% of the revenue while Tamil film industry contributes 19% – see Jain *et al*. [2016, p. 10]), but also in a level of budgeting, staging mastery and technical prowess that is not inferior to leading cinematographies. At the same time, the differences mentioned earlier are captivating: a different approach to issues of cinematic realism, a narrative structure with a climax before the mid-screen break resulting from a different organisation of the cinematic spectacles, a more Manichean division between good and evil, elaborate genre and franchise traditions of their own, their star system or, of course, the extended song-and-dance sequences most often mentioned in this context.

For these reasons, Indian cinematographies are captivating in their otherness not only from a European perspective, providing unique cinematic experience pleasures, but above all, from a theoretical film studies perspective, they appear as an excellent example for the analysis conducted from the position of production culture research. In other words, if we were to find at least preliminary candidates for indicating cultural differences in the process of filmmaking, additionally linked even more broadly to film culture, allowing us to pose the thesis of the existence of a different production culture in the world than the one adopted in the professional Western world, we should look for them first and foremost among Indian cinematographers. Their analysis may provide preliminary answers to the question of the existence or non-existence of clearly distinctive production cultures.

Interpersonal relations as a vital element in collaboration with the Indian film industry

One feature that distinguishes Indian film production culture is its reliance on interpersonal relations (Lorenzen and Taeube 2010). Many aspects of the Indian economy are firmly embedded in social relations, which offset the underdeveloped formal institutions. Personal relations (particularly face-to-face interactions) based on solid social group collective identity are the critical hallmark of business

relationships in India – market relations are not built only on economic incentives. India is thus labelled an "economy that runs on relationships" (Pellissery 2008, p. 250).

For several decades, informal social relationships have underpinned the business model of film production in India (Lorenzen and Taeube 2007; Ganti 2012). They are even seen as part of the wider global connectivity of the Bollywood film cluster (Lorenzen and Mudambi 2013). As Chitrapu (2018, p. 159) points out, "the most powerful actors and producers of this industry are part of a close-knit network, with professional and social ties". In this network, there is a high degree of social trust and an intense exchange of information due to family ties between actors or frequent social gatherings (Lorenzen and Taeube 2007). However, before characterising informal personal relationships in the film industry, it is essential to explain why social relations are so entrenched in Indian society.

Business relationships in India are based more on trust than on contracts. This phenomenon probably has its roots, as Lal (1998, p. 28) writes, in "the three pillars of the Indian social system . . . the relatively autarkic village communities, the caste system, and the joint family". He identifies three elements as the foundation of the "economy that runs on relationships": (1) the family, (2) spirituality, and (3) the housing situation in India are singled out in the literature as the foundation of the economy that runs on relationships.

Regarding the role of the family, Harris (2003) points out that Indian business is distinguished by a specific business culture characterised by "selective trust". This is because a majority of the most valuable companies are family businesses. Most of India's most influential companies are family-owned, and many are multigenerational businesses. As in other developing countries, the family is a powerfully influential informal institution in India (Prasad 2006), thus being one of the most important motivators of individual behaviour (Lorenzen and Taeube 2010). This emphasis on family ties can also be seen as a way to reduce the incidence of risk (Chitrapu 2018). Thus, "outsiders" who are not part of the family but want to establish a business relationship need to build trust through personal contacts.

The second element is spirituality. The significant role of direct personal contacts in India is also due to a strong sense of community and group orientation (Ndubisi 2011). This is related to a distinctive feature of Indian culture, that is, spirituality and the belief in the concept of "fatalism" (Ndubisi 2011). When making decisions, karma and the belief that everything happens for a reason are essential. Furthermore, business decisions are influenced by "the Indian philosophical uniqueness of viewing the individual as a proto-type of collectivity redefines how an individual is prompted to relate with others" (Pellissery 2008, p. 255) – more than money, relationships matter.

This approach to personal social contact may also stem from the residential situation of Indians, a third element of the "economy that runs on relationships". According to Pellissery (2008, p. 244), "only about 10–15 per cent of Indians lead lives in which basic interactions are limited to immediate family members". India is the second most populous country after China, and New Delhi and Mumbai are some of the most densely populated cities in the world. India's population density

in 2021 was 470 people per sq. km.[2] The housing situation necessitates intensive and regular contact with others, not solely limited to urban areas. Most of India's population lives in rural areas (about 64.8% in 2021), characterised by frequent face-to-face interactions. Thus, proximity to residence essentially defines social relationships and develops them. Such intense interactions in daily life make relationships multi-layered and easily transferable to other dimensions of life, such as business.

The three elements described earlier make India's relationship-based economy characterised by informality. Most of the population works in the informal sector (half are subsistence farmers). This means that getting a job is a matter of good relationships and trust built on those relationships – this is more important than the candidate's qualifications and the employer's requirements (Pellissery 2008). This practice is found in private companies (both large and small) and public entities such as the administration, the military and universities. Therefore, trust built through personal relationships is part of the creative process and a critical factor in establishing business relationships that help break down industry boundaries and foster long-term cooperation (Kong 2005, p. 3).

Research method

This chapter is part of an international project exploring the film relations between India and Europe (see Chapter 1). Determining the nature of this relationship required a qualitative approach, through which the primary method was individual in-depth interviews with key actors involved in Indian film production in Europe. The material we draw on consists of ten interviews with producers, production managers, and production division staff who worked in service to Bollywood and Tamil productions being made in Poland. These were in service for large, viral productions in India, being attendance successes there. The research was conducted in 2020 and 2021. Interviews took place face-to-face and online using instant messaging services such as Zoom. The interviews were then transcribed and analysed using coding (Gibbs 2018). The primary method was thematic analysis, performed using NVivo software. Studies using thematic analysis typically do not reflect the impact of the researcher's preconceived ideas and pre-conceptualisations about the data being analysed. The thematic analysis allows using existing theoretical constructs or other assumptions while maintaining a fresh and original perspective on themes from the research material (Braun and Clarke 2021).

Indian production culture from the perspective of polish filmmakers

The Indian film industry's reliance on personal relationships may be one of the elements that make this culture special. The research material collected during the interviews with Polish filmmakers collaborating with Indians reveals five main features specific to Indian film production culture, which differ significantly from those of European production culture in general and Polish in particular. First, there is a much more robust and stricter hierarchy in Indian film crew divisions,

affecting communication within and with foreign partners. Traditionally, Indian culture is patriarchal, hierarchical, and very conservative. Indians are a caste society (Basham 2000). Each member of the film crew is assigned a place in the hierarchy. Thus, for example, an employee of the technical division is not allowed to talk back to the actor who plays the main role or to the director.

Most interviewees pointed out that hierarchy significantly impacted work on the set. First, the interlocutors pointed to a kind of "power game", which they experienced in contact with Indian partners, who were trying, perhaps unknowingly, to sense their interlocutor's position. One interviewee described it the following way:

> *My observation is that when an Indian approaches someone he doesn't know, he immediately tries to determine at the outset how the mutual hierarchy works, that is, whether the person the Indian is talking to is higher or lower. If the Indian senses that he's higher up, he won't have any resistance to take advantage of that, whereas if he senses that he's lower in the hierarchy, then it's sort of okay to just, give him maybe not commands, but ask him to do something*.
>
> (R1)

Second, it translated into a different type of communication imposed by the Indian division, in which there was not much space for discussing individual solutions but only following orders.

The phenomenon of hierarchy and its possible connection with the officially abolished caste system has two more aspects. Interlocutors perceive the first one with the most decadent experience in cooperation with Indian cinematographies of a kind of "talent blocking", in which, as a result of the aftermath of the caste system for a significant part of society, regardless of possible talent, certain artistic career paths remain closed:

> *Hierarchy in the team is there. It is said that there are no castes in India anymore, that is not true. Castration also occurs in the film hierarchy*. . . . *Because there are great talented people . . ., but for 25 years, 30 years they will only work, because no one will give them an operator position, for example. And he will not give them because of their material position or their social position*.
>
> (R5)

Moreover, many times among the crew, there is an overt display of contempt (sometimes even taking the form of physical violence) towards a person lower in the hierarchy (Maj 2022). This is confirmed by one of the interviewees: "*They among themselves have this hierarchy already established, well, and if someone is lower, then according to my observations, he is rather treated disrespectfully, unfortunately*" (R1).

Without exception, these phenomena concerned aggressive behaviour in the Indian crew, but they did not occur between Indian employers and Polish team members.

The second characteristic of Indian production culture is a significantly more flexible approach to production planning and changes than European production culture. The standard in the conditions of European production is the use of a calendar shooting plan and an exact production schedule predicting which shots, in which location, with the participation of which people from the team will be made on a given day, starting at a specific time. Indian film crews seem to work without documentation such as a calendar shooting plan and an exact production schedule predicting which shots (in which location, with the participation of which people from the team, and the exact time of the start of shooting) will be made on a given day. In addition, collaborators are deprived of access to the script, knowing it only in a very general outline, but above all, being only recipients of often hotly formulated commands to organise specific elements of costumes, scenery (such as 1,000 bicycles or 100 umbrellas for the next day) or animals (wolves, dogs, hawk, and bear). An interviewee describes one such situation:

> *As far as costumes are concerned, sometimes there were situations such that the costume girls sat up whole nights because, for example, suddenly there was a need for 160 flies for the dancers. And we had to organise it all that way – materials and so on. They would sit and sew. Or we had to organise a conference for 700 people in three days*.
>
> *(R2)*

One interviewee indicates a potential reason for this phenomenon:

> *They only more or less said what kind of locations they needed, equipment and so on, that we could at most guess something there ourselves, but for someone to say, I don't know, what kind of scene, then no. Well, and all the time such a rumour was circulating on the set, that simply this is a production that is really awesome, cited by very many millions of people*, *. . . and precisely because of the fact that it was such a, I don't know, Indian mega production, that's why they just told us so, that they are guarding this script, so that it doesn't leak anywhere*.
>
> (R1)

This high variability on the set was often a cause of frustration for Polish employees of production departments (because it hit them the most, causing the most stress in this group).

A third characteristic of Indian production culture is a more relaxed approach to the efficiency of using props, costumes, or cameraman equipment ordered for the set. Often there are situations when elements of scenery or costumes brought to the set, at a cost not only financially but also in terms of the crew's efforts, were not used later. It can be supposed that the excess of these elements can give the director a sense of agency and power. Perhaps it is inspiring and allows him to improvise with greater freedom during shooting, activating his creative potential and imagination. Many wishes connected with that turned out to be ultimately

abandoned, despite the effort involved in satisfying such needs. In Polish production departments, this was seen as a waste of money and the team's effort, so in a sense a lack of respect for them. As one interviewee points out, such situations do not occur only on Indian sets. In Poland, for example, some cinematographers are notorious for ordering more lighting equipment or lenses than necessary to make their work more comfortable.

The next feature of the production culture of Indian film crews is the more frequent handling of cash flow by Indus. Members of the Indian team manage their budgets quite freely, compared to the Polish experiences. This allows them to afford spontaneous ideas, decisions, or changes. As Maj (2022, p. 209) writes in his account of experiences with Tamil production in Poland: "the budget they had at their disposal allowed them not only to use the best of Poland on the film set, but also to pull in some support from abroad". One of our interviewees describes it this way:

> *What makes Indian production different from European production? It's the financing system. They just take money out of their wallet often. There's an investor who has the money, and that's how it was here. It's like he walks around with a suitcase of cash. . . . We are more strict, we have to be like that, because we settle on the basis of budgets and previously submitted cost estimates, and then you have to account for every invoice meticulously. There is no such thing there.*
>
> (R4)

The last characteristic of Indian production culture is rituals like *muhurat shot*. In the Indian film industry, the *muhurat shot* or *muhurtam shot* is the first shot of a film, which marks the inauguration of the shots. It is preceded by a pooja (religious rite). Contemporarily it means "auspicious moment", a time or moment considered lucky for beginning some project. In the latter case, however, it should be noted that it appears in the statement of the Polish team member as an overheard story while also being linked to other religious rituals observed on film sets. During the shooting in Poland, such rituals were not performed, or the Polish part of the crew was not allowed to observe them and was unaware of their existence. A member of the film crew who worked with the Indus on another production describes the event this way:

> *I have never participated in any conference, nor have I seen it, while the first day of shooting usually begins with such a ceremony, such a simple Puja over the script, over the clapper. There is a priest who celebrates the Puja in the presence of the heads of the divisions, the director, the producer, as if there is a consecration of the script, a clapper, a fire is lit. There are all these elements associated with this traditional such ceremony "for luck" at the beginning of the film. This happens in every film, because no film can do without it. I took part in something like this, in this ritual. Not in the conference, but in this ritual approach to the film.*
>
> (R7)

It is worth emphasising here that the purpose of such a juxtaposition is by no means to demonstrate the superiority of one putative production culture over another. For example, showing that a hypothetical Indian culture of production would be inferior to a European or even wider Western, rational one based on precise control and planning is illusory because what is essential is the reconstruction of the different cultures as coherent and alternative configurations.

The "informal" film industry in India and Poland

Collaborations based on personal, direct, and informal relationships are widespread in the film industry. As early as the 1950s and 1960s, film musicians did not sign contracts or formal agreements yet maintained ongoing collaborations (even parallel ones) with music directors (Booth 2008). Of course, as in other industries, family connections also play an essential role. This is one of the features that differentiates the film industry in India from Hollywood (Chitrapu 2018). The latter is dominated by large, integrated film studios, whereas India has many small, family-owned production films. Family ties of trust enable key players in the Indian film industry to access valuable resources such as financing, star actors, and distribution (Lorenzen and Taeube 2007, 2010; Ganti 2012; Chitrapu 2018). Lorenzen and Taeube (2007) distinguish three types of trust and informal relationships in India's film industry: between producers and star actors, social relationships in finance, and between producers and star directors. From the beginning of the industry, actors have preferred to work based on personal trust – they are cast and sign contracts through informal social relationships rather than with agents or lawyers (Lorenzen and Taeube 2007; Ganti 2012). It is precisely having strong personal relationships with Bollywood film stars that are extremely valuable for producers. Actors often agree to work without any written guarantees. These relationships help sign contracts and prioritise the productions of producers with whom they have an excellent personal relationship (Lorenzen and Taeube 2007). Informal contacts also help in obtaining funding for the film. If funds ran out during production, contracts could be renegotiated. In this field, "handshake" agreements rather than contracts are the norm. A special network of informal relationships was also established between producers and star actors who wanted to try their hand at directing. This network is established based on family ties (distant, closer family and friends) and through frequent social meetings (and even participation in family celebrations) between producers and actor-directors (Lorenzen and Taeube 2007). In this case, too, it is rare to find a formally drawn-up contract, as a handshake is more valuable to them.

Although family businesses dominate the film industry in India, it is not closed and inaccessible to people outside the family. The web of relationships is constantly growing, not just family members or friends who are introduced to the industry. Producers have a "base" of personal relationships with executive producers, talent agents, or entertainment lawyers, among others, with whom they did not have a family or friendship relationship. However, these business relationships,

established through lengthy negotiations and face-to-face meetings, are based on the trust thus built. One interviewee describes it this way:

> *This trust is a sticking point in India in general, and it applies to everything, every aspect of life. You have to have trust with your master, who will be fix something, you have to have trust with lady, who will be clean something, it's just that there's a lot of dependence of one person and the other, that relationship, it's something that no one can get from a distance. You have to go there, you have to show up, you have to participate in festivals. Different kinds of trips also opportunities to promote, so that people see that there is also a person outside the company. Because it's more about the person than the company itself.*
>
> (R5)

Given the combination of the outlined in the aforementioned paragraphs: "informal" dimensions of the functioning of cinematography in India and the conditions of a relationship-based economy resulting from the need to balance less developed formal institutions, the differences in the functioning of Polish film production as an example of European cinematography should be apparent. The similar linking of the general organisation of the economy and institutions with the film production process determines that such a high degree of "informal" relations (e.g. less importance of contracts in favour of oral, informal agreements between important figures in the filmmaking process) is not possible. The Polish film production system is based mainly on the participation of soft money, that is, various forms of subsidies, grants, and subsidies from public funds. According to Majer *et al*. (2019, p. 23), between 2007 and 2016, subsidies from the Polish Film Institute oscillated between 45% and 51% of the total film budget. The participation of public funds entails a formalised and bureaucratic process related to the necessity of submitting a whole series of documents, not only artistic ones, such as the film script, but also economic and production ones (e.g. a precise budget of the whole project), and then a meticulous accounting of the spending of the received funds (Majer *et al*. 2019). The logic of informal relations is thus replaced here by bureaucratic logic.

However, in the crucial aspect of the importance of personal (family and friendship) relationships for the "informal relationships in the Indian industry to function in the film business, the differences may not be that great. Polish film production (and, more broadly, European film production) also seems to rely heavily on relationships and social capital, as understood by Bourdieu (1984, 1986). This capital is accumulated on a whole range of occasions: at festivals, at banquets and cocktail parties, during and after panel discussions, at workshops and industry training events, during education at film schools, and on the sets of other films. The difference may lie only in the degree of importance of these relationships, the less hermetic nature of the industry or, above all, the greater possibility of building social capital based on resources other than family. In such a comparative study, however, it is difficult to resist the impression of observing two mirror images of

very similar mechanisms implemented, after all, in production systems belonging to different cultural circles.

Kożuchowski *et al*. (2019, p. 84), while recapitulating the results of ethnographic research on Polish film sets, write:

> Following the various accounts and analysing interviews with people in the industry, one can sometimes get the impression that all the people are connected in some way, have worked together on another project, have been recommended by a trusted employee/acquaintance or have a private relationship with someone in the industry.

At the same time, it would be an oversimplification to reduce this phenomenon to negatively perceived cronyism and personal arrangements. The persistence of this mechanism demonstrates that it is beneficial and functional for the film industry. As Kożuchowski *et al*. (2019, p. 85) also note:

> A sense of security and trust in a proven person, even in the most crisis, is a positive aspect of such selection of collaborators, at the same time, as the researchers point out, it is also a form of responsibility, as it creates pressure on the recommender to make the work of the recommended person satisfactory. It is also important that the recommended person also feels comfortable on set.

In a similar vein, Kożuchowski *et al*. (2019, p. 211) put it: "How do you become an assistant on a film set? It all depends on whom we know and who can help us get our first job". At the same time, it seems reasonable to assume that such phenomena are not limited in the circle of Western culture to Polish cinematography but represent other cinematographies in this circle, as Caldwell's (2008, p. 226) observations seem to indicate.

Utilising network embeddedness in Polish–Indian film cooperation

Although the firm reliance on interpersonal relationships of both the Indian and Polish film industries can be considered a hindrance, at the same time, it can be an opportunity of sorts. The use of network rootedness can help build relationships from the ground up. Actors with a rich network of relationships often act as intermediaries in collaborations. One of the most important factors influencing the fact that Indian producers decide to produce in Europe, particularly in Poland, is direct contact with film industry representatives. However, establishing relationships between Indian filmmakers and Polish production companies is a complex process involving many activities at the state and industry levels. The first includes arrangements and contacts at the official level, local authorities, film commissions, or state ministries. The interviewees highlighted the location summit in Gujarat, organised every few years. This event allows for discussing possibilities and relations that may connect Poland and Polish regions with Gujarat in film. Such

contacts, however, are only a kind of stimulus and do not prove sufficient due to their general and official character.

The second element is industry contact between representatives of companies related to the audiovisual industry and their Indian counterparts. Representatives of production companies from Poland participate in fairs and events dedicated to the locations, which provide an opportunity to advertise the region and establish direct contacts that can be an excellent prelude to further negotiations. During the location summits that successfully bring together countries from around the world, everyone can present their country, say something about incentives, and show their locations.

Interviewees pointed to the Goa festival as a convenient contact forum where many Polish companies go. The perfect market is where they can advertise Polish locations, make folders, and fight for a customer. After the official part of the fair, during the garden party, the subgroup activities already started. Participants in this event emphasise that informal meetings after the festival were often more fruitful than attending the official part. This again shows the importance of direct and informal contact with the Indian film industry. One interviewee recalls the festival this way:

> *We were at this film festival in Goa. I can tell you that we were received very warmly . . . there was a lot of interest, and they listened willingly to it, they asked a lot about Poland . . . so we mostly sat, talked, arranged meetings so that sometimes we just sat in this hotel restaurant, it looked like you know, quick dates, that we changed tables, with this business card, with this something, we are in the process of this, this, this. . . . So this is what the afternoons looked like, and in the evening from 6 pm, when the garden party . . ., the subgroup activities already started. You had cocktail and bar tables, you stopped, you took a drink, conversations started, you had a chance to demonstrate, show something on the phone. Here is a recording of this, here we did it, and on the set it is yes, then yes, then yes. And you did come back with a pile of flyers, business cards and then with those people somewhere in touch.*
>
> (R2)

The activities mentioned earlier are of auxiliary and initial significance in gaining the participation of individual locations in Indian films. Most important, however, are the personal contacts established through them. The shared production experience allows trust to be built, resulting in future collaboration on subsequent projects. The interviewees emphasised that personal contact is crucial for establishing cooperation in India. They said these personal contacts are always more important and meaningful and facilitate contact and cooperation. One interviewee describes it this way:

> *Sometimes we say that the film industry is small and here are these personal contacts and the fact that you know someone and that someone knows someone . . . and these are the mutual relations, recommendations. It works best.*
>
> (R6)

The interest in Polish locations and filmmakers from Poland is mainly due to intermediaries who build relationships in India (especially in Mumbai) and gain the trust of producers and the Indian film industry, which later translates into participation in subsequent projects.

According to the interviewees, having a representative in Mumbai is the key in establishing close relationships with film industry representatives in India. They point out that it is crucial to be ready to meet face to face with producers or other industry representatives when they need to. This is confirmed by an interviewee: "*I think India is no different from any other country in this respect. Always these personal contacts are more important, they are more meaningful and facilitate contact and cooperation*" (R6).

The second adds that "*when it comes to building deep relationships with producers, you need to be there, this is a meeting the moment they want it, it is face to face*" (R5).

This is the strategy adopted by one of the largest production companies in Poland, Film Poland Productions. Film Poland Productions has been bringing Indian filmmakers to Poland for years, arranging for them to shoot in many Polish locations, scenery, specialists, stunt performers, or extras (Figure 9.1).

It is a service and production company based in Krakow, Poland. It provides Polish locations for foreign film productions, provides access to complete film crews made up of professionals with the highest work standards, and establishes contacts with potential foreign film producers. They also have a database of Polish and foreign actors, extras, and models. Film Poland Productions is most active in working with Indian filmmakers. To establish a trust-based personal relationship, the company sent its representative to India in 2014. The person lived in Mumbai and spent several years intensively acquiring contacts in the industry there. Where cooperation developed, these contacts worked bilaterally, that is, on the one hand, to advertise Polish locations and attract Indian productions to Poland (Figure 9.2), and on the other hand, to help representatives of the Polish film industry (primarily cinematographers) to participate in the shooting of Indian films in India on a contractual basis for individual projects. According to a representative of Film Poland Productions, it was a test in the form of creating an agency that would represent Polish, European, or global artists on the Indian market. Working in Mumbai, which consisted of negotiations and talks with Indian producers, helped to identify expectations and factors that may encourage filming in Poland. The work of such a representative was about establishing relationships with producers and looking for scripts and producers who would be interested in producing in Poland and, in addition, looking for creators for the Indian market for films that are produced there or in other parts of the world.

Personal contacts are based on mutual trust and the exchange of information on filmmaking opportunities in Poland, with Polish representatives acting as a point of contact. Familiarity with working conditions in Poland and Europe makes it easier for Indian producers to decide on locations to shoot parts of films outside India. Moreover, the relationship built on mutual trust is significant in the context of the specificity of work in Indian film production, which is characterised by greater

Figure 9.1 Indian and Polish film crews during the film shooting at the European Solidarity Centre in Gdańsk, Poland.

Source: Photo by Jakub Maj

planning flexibility than in European production. The creative process is characterised by a greater degree of improvisation and spontaneity, which means that many plans change daily. Among other things, previously chosen locations and even the countries in which they were supposed to be located may change during shooting. One interviewee describes it this way:

> *No one from the Polish side knew the script. We knew what the general picture was, but the NDA clause, i.e. confidentiality, was at such a level that we knew*

Figure 9.2 Indian film crew during the film shooting at the Gdańsk Lech Walesa Airport in Poland.

Source: Photo by Jakub Maj

> *from the other Indian office director how it was supposed to look like and what this scene was supposed to tell more or less about, but no one really saw the text, so this it was quite interesting. All things were taken care of from day to day*.
>
> (R8)

Building good business relationships and trust are essential in India. They are usually the aftermath of informal meetings, such as dinners and discussions in nightclubs with potential business partners. India is no different from any other country in this respect. These personal contacts are always more important, carry more weight, and facilitate collaboration. Producers maintain contacts through business and informal meetings in restaurants, bars, or private clubs (Gornostaeva and Brunet 2009). Moreover, not least in the context of cooperation with the film industry in India, it is emphasised that a critical prerequisite for effective communication is an understanding and appreciation of the country's culture with which business is being conducted.

Conclusions

The chapter sought to show the role of interpersonal relationships as an essential element of production culture and also pointed to the role of the individual

dimension of international film production. This dimension is complemented by the organisational level, which is the focus of many studies on the film industry (Epstein 2010; Dixon and Foster 2011; Balio 2013). This individual dimension is embedded in culture: the individual's actions are determined by social norms and rules, both formal and informal. The latter seems to be no less important in international film cooperation. This is an important conclusion from the point of view of the internationalisation of filmmaking, as many of the activities of public authorities in support of internationalisation are oriented towards an organisational or more formalised dimension.

The Indian film industry is based on personal relationships. However, this is perhaps not unusual, as cooperation based on face-to-face and informal relationships is relatively common in the film industry (see Coe 2000). The difference emerges in the degree of importance of these relationships and their dominance over more formal ones – trust is more important to Indians than formal contracts. Many aspects of the Indian economy are embedded in personal relationships and for many years these have been the basis of the business model in India.

Significant differences are noticeable, however, in the approach to film production organisation. Indian film crews are distinguished by a relatively casual and unpredictable approach to scheduling, scene execution, or props or sets. Despite the different production cultures, the Polish collaborators tried to fulfil the tasks assigned to them and adapt to the prevailing conditions, although they did not always approve of the decisions made by the Indians. At the end of the day, however, the shared awareness of the common goal becomes paramount, and, as Caldwell (2008, p. 229) puts it, "the logic of collectivity goes beyond conflicted interpersonal exchanges".

Network embeddedness, which means tying production processes to a network of interpersonal relationships, is one of the critical elements for understanding and explaining differences between production cultures. It can also have a practical dimension when realising its importance is used as an opportunity to build new relationships. Previous research on network embeddedness in the film industry by Packard *et al*. (2016) has shown that film success is based on team members' contributions. Those arise from their positions, or embeddedness, in a social network weaved through past film collaborations. These collaborations allow team members to draw knowledge and skills from the network for new film projects. In the case of the Polish–Indian film relationships presented in the chapter, we have also shown that they can be a way to cross barriers between different production cultures and build bridges between them. Central to this is the role of intermediaries, that is, actors using the network of interpersonal relations not so much for their benefit but for the benefit of the collaborating actors.

Despite the limited nature of this sample, we see it as a deepening of existing research on film production cultures in India, such as Velayutham (2008) on Tamil cinema or Ganti (2012) on Bollywood. The experience of Polish producers and Polish production companies in providing services to major Bollywood and Tamil productions in Poland provided a unique cross-cultural opportunity for two culturally and nationally diverse film crews to come together on the set of individual productions. Thus, it provided an opportunity to look at different production cultures

in action and interact with each other in the process of cooperation and sometimes clash and conflict, in the midst of which it is possible to identify and sound out differences in production cultures.

Acknowledgement

The research presented in this chapter was carried out under the project "FilmInd – The Indian film industry as a driver of new socio-economic connections between India and Europe", financed by the Polish National Science Centre (project no. 2017/27/Z/HS4/00039).

Notes

1 Based on data on Indian feature films certified by the Central Board of Film Certification by Languages, available from: https://web.archive.org/web/20200413030711/www.filmfed.org/downloads/Language-wise-Region-2018-19-26062019.pdf (access date 18.12.2022).
2 www.populationof.net/pl/india/ (access date 17.05.2022).

References

Balio, T., 2013. *Hollywood in the new millennium*. London: British Film Institute.
Basham, A. L., 2000. *Indie: Od początku dziejów do podboju muzułmańskiego*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.
Booth, G. D., 2008. *Behind the curtain: Making music in Mumbai's film studios*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Bourdieu, P., 1984. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Bourdieu, P., 1986. The forms of capital. *In:* J. Richardson, ed., *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education*. New York: Greenwood Press, 241–258.
Braun, V. and Clarke, V., 2021. *Thematic analysis: A practical guide*. London: Sage.
Caldwell, J. T., 2008. *Production culture: Industrial reflexivity and critical practice in film and television*. Durham: Duke University Press.
Chitrapu, S., 2018. Associations and networks: Inequalities in film and TV production. *In:* A. Athique, V. Parthasarathi and S. Srinivas, eds., *The Indian media economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Coe, N. M., 2000. The view from out West: Embeddedness, inter-personal relations and the development of an indigenous film industry in Vancouver. *Geoforum*, 31, 391–407.
Dicken, P., Forsgren, M. and Malmberg, A., 1994. The local embeddedness of transnational corporations. *In:* A. Amin and N. Thrift, eds., *Globalization, institutions and regional development in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 23–45.
Dixon, W. W. and Foster, G. A., eds., 2011. *21st-century Hollywood: Movies in the era of transformation*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
Epstein, E. J., 2010. *The Hollywood economist: The hidden financial reality behind the movies*. Brooklyn, NY: Melville House.
Ganti, T., 2012. *Producing Bollywood: Inside the contemporary Hindi film industry*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Geertz, C., 1983. *Local knowledge: Further essays in interpretive anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.

Gibbs, G. R., 2018. *Analyzing qualitative data*. London: Sage.

Gornostaeva, G. and Brunet, J., 2009. Internationalization of the production process in the US film industry: The case of the United Kingdom. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 21–30.

Grabher, G., ed., 1993. *The embedded firm: On the socioeconomics of industrial networks*. London: Routledge.

Granovetter, M., 1985. Economic action and social structure: The problem of embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology*, 91, 481–510.

Harriss, J., 2003. Widening the radius of trust: Ethnographic explorations of trust and Indian business. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 9 (4), 755–773.

Hess, M., 2004. 'Spatial' relationships? Towards a reconceptualization of embeddedness. *Progress in Human Geography*, 28, 165–186.

Jäckel, A., 2003. *European film industries*. London: British Film Institute.

Jain, N., Soneja, T. and Ahluwalia, J., 2016. *Indywood: The Indian film industry*. Mumbai: Deloitte.

Kong, L., 2005. The sociality of cultural industries. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11, 61–76.

Kożuchowski, T., Morozow, I. and Sawka, R., 2019. *Społeczny wymiar tworzenia filmu w Polsce*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Biblioteki Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Filmowej, Telewizyjnej i Teatralnej im. Leona Schillera w Łodzi.

Lal, D., 1998. *Unintended consequences: The impact of factor endowments, culture, and politics on long-run economic performance*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Lorenzen, M. and Mudambi, R., 2013. Clusters, connectivity and catch-up: Bollywood and Bangalore in the global economy. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 13, 501–534.

Lorenzen, M. and Taeube, F. A., 2007. *Breakout from Bollywood?: Internationalization of Indian film industry*. DRUID – Danish Research Unit for Industrial Dynamics. DRUID Working Paper No. 07-06. Available from: https://wp.druid.dk/wp/20070006.pdf (access date 28.11.2022).

Lorenzen, M. and Taeube, F. A., 2010. *The banyan and the birch tree: Family ties and embeddedness in the Indian film industry in Bollywood*. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Business School.

Maj, J., 2022. Różnice w kulturze i organizacji pracy na planie filmowym w Indiach iw Polsce: Przypadek tamilskiego filmu pt. Mersal. *Gdańskie Studia Azji Wschodniej*, 21, 203–215.

Majer, A., Orankiewicz, A. and Wróblewska, A., 2019. *Pieniądze, produkcja, rynek: Finansowanie produkcji filmowej w Polsce*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Biblioteki PWSFTviT.

Mayer, V., Banks, M. J. and Caldwell, J. T., 2009. *Production studies: Cultural studies of media industries*. New York: Routledge.

McRobbie, A., 2002. Clubs to companies: Notes on the decline of political culture in speeded up creative worlds. *Cultural Studies*, 16, 516–531.

Ndubisi, N. O., 2011. Conflict handling, trust and commitment in outsourcing relationship: A Chinese and Indian study. *Industrial Marketing Management*, 40, 109–117.

OECD, 2008. *Remaking the movies: Digital content and the evolution of the film and video industries*. Paris: OECD.

Packard, G., Aribarg, A., Eliashberg, J. and Foutz, N. Z., 2016. The role of network embeddedness in film success. *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, 33, 328–342.

Pellissery, S., 2008. Social hierarchies, economic inequalities and interpersonal relationships: An overview from India. *Interpersona: An International Journal on Personal Relationships*, 2, 243–259.

Prasad, G., 2006. *The great Indian family: New roles, old responsibilities*. New Delhi: Penguin Group.

Stachowiak, K. and Stryjakiewicz, T., 2018. The rise of film production locations and specialised film services in European semi-peripheries. *Hungarian Geographical Bulletin*, 67, 223–237.

Velayutham, S., ed., 2008. *Tamil cinema: The cultural politics of India's other film industry*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Zukin, S. and DiMaggio, P., eds., 1990. *Structures of capital: The social organization of the economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

10 Film productions as a part of the regional identity in rural areas – the case of the Nordic countries

Therese Sunngren-Granlund

Introduction

> *The creative industries receive increased attention – including in peripheral areas – as municipalities, investors, and people who work in these industries hope that it will boost their region*.
>
> *(Sand 2020*)

Many regions, municipalities, cities, and towns are working strategically to define their own place brands. In this process, film and TV productions can be a powerful tool and resource (Nordström 2018; Lind 2019). Film and television productions are mobile and often produced in places where the economic and production conditions are to their best advantage. If these productions become associated with the place and are exposed to an international audience, this can sometimes translate to extensive marketing values for the location or region in question (Lind and Kristensson Uggla 2019).

This chapter aims to discuss how film productions, and especially Indian film productions, are used, can be used, and could be used as a tool in regional development in European rural areas in general and in Nordic and Finnish rural areas in particular. Which lessons could be learned from previous productions and what are the potential benefits and challenges when attracting film productions to a remote region in Northern Europe?

Given the low number of Indian film productions made in the Nordic countries so far, zooming in on Indian film productions in Finland specifically has its challenges as a research field.

That said, the topic of regional development through the lens of the international film industry touches on issues of periphery and centre (Dahlström 2005; Sand 2020; Chow and Sand 2020), the balancing act of commercial and artistic objectives (Miles and Paddison 2005; Florida 2002; Sacco *et al*. 2008), as well as the connection between regional development, place branding, and narrative capital (Lind 2019; Lind and Kristensson Uggla 2019).

The report Film and Regional Development – Policy and Practice in the Nordic Countries (Dahlström 2005) discusses how regional film projects can have

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-13

favourable effects on employment, education and training, regional identity, and place branding. According to Dahlström, it is important to keep in mind that outcomes from regional investments in film productions often take time to manifest and that some results are indirect, meaning that estimating the wider impact of film productions on regional development and identity, as well as how it affects employment and turnover, can sometimes be challenging.

Culture-led local and regional development has gained attention globally during the past few decades, and there are both failures and success stories that can be used to understand culture's ability to create social and economic value (Miles and Paddison 2005). Furthermore, economist Pier Luigi Sacco draws attention not only to the size of the creative industries but also to the importance of cultural involvement, which he believes to be crucial for the exchange of ideas between different sectors (Sacco *et al*. 2008). The connection between cultural participation and innovation also implies that narratives connected to the place are of importance to the local population as well as to the hospitality industry (Lind and Kristensson Uggla 2019).

Methodological remarks

This chapter is based on an analysis of film policy documents in Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland (2020–2022), as well as on ten in-depth interviews conducted between 2020 and 2021 with Finnish stakeholders working in the film industry. The policy documents were all accessed online through the official websites of the respective country's national and regional film commissions.

The policy documents, such as "Finland Film Commissions Production Guide", "Film in Iceland – Filming in Iceland", "Norwegian Film Commission – Funding & Partners", "CPH Film Fund – How to Get Funding", and "Nordic Film Commissions – Our Shared Ambition" contain, among other things, information about national incentives and tax rebates, which productions are eligible for support, how to apply for incentives, and the size of incentives in terms of percentages or sums. The policy documents and websites also provide facts about locations, scenery, daylight, and weather conditions. There are also details about local service companies, salaries, working hours as well as which permits and documents are needed and when (shooting, working, and visas).

The interviews were part of an international project studying the connections between Indian film industries and European locations with the objective to comprehend the socio-cultural and economic effects of Indian film productions in Europe. The study's key research question was: Does Finland attract the Indian film industry, and how? The interview guide covered topics including methods for attracting international film productions, collaboration between different stakeholder, and infrastructural and organisational arrangements. All the interviews were held in English and conducted online via Teams or Zoom. Each interview was approximately 45 minutes to an hour long. Professionals from the Finnish film industry, such as producers, cinematographers, art directors, location scouts, and technical crew, as well as regional film commissions were among the respondents,

and they were mainly reached through professional websites and networks. None of the interviewees were of Indian origin. This means that the scene is set in a Finnish context. Nevertheless, similarities are probably to be found in the other Nordic countries as well as in other rural areas in Europe.

Rural areas, regional identity, and the creative industries

In Finland, 89% of the country's territory is considered predominantly rural (OECD 2008) and according to the Finnish Environment institute (SYKE 2020), about 72% of the population reside in the urban areas of the country, which means that 28% live in rural areas. Putting these numbers in a European context, the corresponding numbers are that around 20% of the population lives in predominantly rural regions, and that rural regions make up approximately half of the continent (European commission 2021). These figures show that in Finland, both the territory considered as predominantly rural and the number of people living in such areas is higher than in the rest of Europe.

According to the Finnish geographer Anssi Paasi (2011), a region's identity is developed by the acts of its citizens, while at the same time the actions of the people of that region are influenced by larger-scale entities, such as the state and the global system. As a result, regional identity is a dynamic process that is simultaneously produced, practised, and impacted by the local populace and larger entities, continuously.

Regardless of whether the region is considered rural or urban, all places have a brand, whether it is in print or not. A place brand is the sum of the associations that exist around the place, for residents and for the outside world (Nordström 2018). Today many regions, municipalities, cities, and towns are working strategically to define their own place brands, with the aim of attracting new residents, visitors and business establishments (Logar 2022). In this process, film and TV productions can be a powerful tool and resource (Nordström 2018; Lind 2019).

Film is a multi-faceted field which, in addition to direct values from production and consumption, contributes to inspiration, identity creation and lifting places and regions. The medium's main strength lies in its narrative format, which creates and conveys representations of our world, and where certain films affects us personally while others have an influence on a collective level (Lind 2019). Film production can also create powerful synergies between different competences and industry areas and enable exchange of experience and collaborations. Economist Pierre Luigi Sacco points out how the creative industries, including film, strengthens and develops innovation, welfare, sustainable development, social cohesion, and learning (Sacco 2011).

Film and television productions are mobile and are often produced in places where the economic and productions conditions are to their best advantage. When trying to attract film productions to a place, effective marketing of the location's qualities is of great importance. If these productions are associated with the place and exposed to an international audience, it can mean extensive marketing values, while also strengthening the location's self-image and

identity for those who live there – so-called secondary values (Lind and Kristensson Uggla 2019).

Research by Pier Luigi Sacco (2011) and Richard Florida (2002) has contributed to a new and revitalised view of the creative industries' value creation and contribution to places, cities, and regions. According to Florida, the development of the creative class is important in order to develop both creativity and innovation in a region (Florida 2002). Sacco, on the other hand, talks about Culture 3.0, stating that the creative industries' contribution to society cannot be reduced to direct and short-term effects alone. Typical of research on creative clusters placed outside urban centres, including those related to the film industry, is that it often focuses on how the creative industries impact and develop their geographical locations from a regional development perspective (Hedling 2012). More unusual is to turn the question around, that is, how does the fact that the place is peripheral affect the creative cluster (Sand 2020).

However, previous research shows that film industry clusters tend to form in a "natural" way (Medel and Gossel 2015), meaning that most of the world's film industry clusters have congregated in highly populated regions, where urban amenities are easily accessible. Since the production system within the film industry is mainly project based, being close to actors participating in the production process is a strong incentive for businesses and creative individuals to stay near each other (Rosenfeld and Hornych 2010).

On the other hand, in more remote regions with a scattered populace, developing a strong and sustainable film milieu is often a great challenge (Sand 2017). Therefore, trying to impact the emergence of these types of structures or clusters in peripheral and/or not so densely populated regions through external influences can be demanding, for reasons such as poor production volume, brain drain, and lack of resources in the form of sufficient critical mass.

Film funding and regional development in a Nordic context

Initiated by the country council of western Sweden, the first regional film fund in the Nordic countries, Film i Väst, was founded in Trollhättan, 1992. The main objective of Film i Väst was to promote professional film and media production in order to revitalise the region, which was struggling after economic crisis, industrial decline, and growing unemployment (Hedling 2012). Since the beginning, Film i Väst, or "Trollywood", has had remarkable success with attracting numerous international actors and directors. Unlike regional film funds in the other Nordic countries, Film i Väst changed the geography of film production in Sweden. However, during the 1990s, film production in Sweden decentralised into three regions: Filmpool Nord in the north, Film i Skåne in the south, and Film i Väst in western Sweden (Dahlström and Hermelin 2007). Stockholm, the capital, did not get its own regional film fund until 2007 (Sand 2020).

In 1999, the Northern Film and Media Foundation (POEM), an audiovisual production resource centre, was established in northern Finland. The aim of POEM was to develop and promote the film industry in Northern Finland (Lähteenmäki-Smith

2005; Sand 2020). Some years later, POEM's project portfolio was merged with that of BusinessOulu. Today the Finnish film commission operates as the first point of contact for all international inquiries about filming in Finland, utilising production resources and services and obtaining funding. The Finnish film commission consists of a consortium of seven regional film commissions located across the country: Finnish Lapland Film Commission, North Finland Film Commission, East Finland Film Commission, Southeast Finland Film Commission, West Finland Film Commission, Film Tampere, and Åland Film Commission (Film in Finland 2022). Using joint resources, the regional film commissions are pooled together to promote Finland as a single international location for film production (Janta 2021).

Inspired by their Nordic neighbours, local investors and public authorities established Norway's first regional fund, Film 3 in Lillehammer in 2001. At the time, the film industry in the region was more or less non-existent, and the intention of Film 3 was to increase the creative development of the region (Sand 2017, 2020). Today, the Norwegian Film Institute (NFI) operates as the main film financing body in Norway. NFI collaborates with the Norwegian Film Commission and the four regional film commissions, as well with the five regional film funds (Norwegian Film Commission 2022).

In Denmark, Den Vestdanske Filmpulje, DVF, was founded in 2002 in Aarhus. Like the regional film funds in the neighbouring Nordic countries, the intention here was also to strengthen the local film industry (Sand 2020). DVF has since been joined by two more Danish regional film funds: Copenhagen Film Fund and FilmFyn. Today the regional film funds collaborate with The Danish Film Institute – DFI, Denmark's national agency for film and cinema culture, as well as with the regional film commissions in Denmark (Det Danske Filminstitut 2022; Olffi 2022).

In comparison with the other Nordic countries, Iceland is a bit of an exception. Because of the country's size, film production in Iceland is not concentrated to any specific region (Skúladóttir 2005; Sand 2020). Iceland, however, has offered a tax rebate since 1999. Today the tax incentive is 25%, and in some cases even up to a 35% refund on production costs (Film in Iceland 2022). Other Nordic countries offering national, government-funded film and television production incentives are Finland, Sweden, and Norway. The latter offering an incentive of a 25% cash rebate on local spending, with a possibility to increase the total incentive by combining it with regional funding (Northern Norway Film Commission 2022).

In Finland, the national film production incentive is administrated by Business Finland (Business Finland is a Finnish public-sector company promoting tourism and international investment in Finland), while also providing services for internationalisation and funding of innovative projects, with a maximum of 25% cash rebate of production costs (Business Finland 2022). Combined with regional incentives, it is possible to get up to a 40% cash rebate when filming in Finland (Film in Finland 2022). In Sweden, Film i Väst launched a regional production tax-rebate programme in 2019 (Economou 2019), and in August 2022, the Swedish government announced that they will set aside SEK 100 million yearly in film production incentives (Kazinik 2022). Denmark in 2022 still did not offer any government funded film and television filming incentives. However, several regional film funds

are offering different incentives; the conditions for eligibility may vary between regions though (Fixer in Denmark 2022; CPH Film Fund 2022).

A challenge shared by all the Nordic countries at the time of starting to establish regional film funds was that they were all struggling with retaining their creative talents, who tended to move to larger creative metropoles for more job opportunities (Chow and Sand 2020).

Strategies for attracting international film productions to Finland

In this part, the results of the interviews with stakeholders from the Finnish film industry are discussed. Thematically, the section covers strategies for attracting film productions to Finland and identifying pull factors, discusses Indian film productions shot in Finland – experiences and lessons learned – and finally suggests potential opportunities for regional niches. These are discussed in detail later.

The interview findings reveal that one of the main reasons for international filmmakers to come to Finland corresponds to the common notion of the nation as an Arctic landscape covered with snow, as seen in both the Indian film productions *War* (2019) and *Shamitabh* (2015).

However, other locations, seasons, and weather conditions are equally prominent, and Finland can offer a variety of scenery and settings from the archipelago in the south, through the picturesque historical wooden towns and modern cityscapes, to the lake lands and the endless forests with midnight sun and northern lights. Finland is often presented as a new and uncharted location for film productions, and finding unique locations that haven't been used in other film productions is therefore often not a problem. As one respondent states:

> *I would say that the main things that the foreign companies are looking for are the locations. So, if you're looking for snow, that's definitely an advantage for Finland. Especially now with the climate change, you get less and less snow in central Europe. So, some of those productions are now moving up to Scandinavian areas. So obviously the nature and locations are one [advantage].*
>
> (R3)

Compared to the neighbouring countries, primarily the Nordics and Baltic states but also to some extent Russia, another important competitive advantage for Finland is the well-developed infrastructure. Even more remote locations are easily reachable by road, and even in the wilderness, mobile phone coverage and Internet connectivity are usually not an issue. Finland also has five international airports with Helsinki-Vantaa airport serving as an international hub, being the gateway for Asia to the rest of Europe. One respondent also mentions accessibility and good infrastructure as a possible competitive advantage:

> *[What] we have is accessibility, and very good infrastructure. So Finnish Lapland, because of the longstanding tourism and even before that, because*

> *of the logging industry, so we have like, roads going everywhere, and then we have hotels, so accommodation, and everything is working well, and airports. So, you can get to these wilderness landscapes easily. And then you still have a hotel on the other side of the road. So, I think those are the things that kind of make us, sort of, compete*.
>
> (R6)

Several respondents also emphasised the value of punctuality in the film industry and the fact that the high quality of Finnish work is an important selling point internationally. This can be compared to Switzerland, which is a well-known destination in Bollywood cinema, continuously attracting filmmakers because of, among other things, its excellent infrastructure (see Chapter 7).

> *I would also think that one key selling point is the Finnish quality of work. Finns are reliable in the productions, and what we say usually means that the thing is being delivered on time, in budget. And so the production budgets tend to be slightly less in Finland than elsewhere in the Nordic area*.
>
> (R3)

Another important key aspect of film production in Finland, often brought up by the respondents, is the low level of bureaucracy. On publicly held land, which makes up a large portion of Finland's surface area, permits are often not required due to a national law known as "Everyman's Right". If a permit is required, the process is typically quite fast and simple, with the local regional film commission or the Finnish production company being able to handle the permits in just a short period of time.

However, several of the respondents emphasised that none of the previously mentioned pull factors individually constitutes a sales advantage when promoting Finland as a filming location. It is rather the sum of all the factors, that is, the combination of locations, incentives, logistics professional and creative local crews that determines whether an international film production chooses Finland as a filming location or not.

Indian film productions in Finland

In Finland, there has so far been two Indian film productions. *Shamitabh* (2015), directed by R. Balki, was partly shot in several locations in Helsinki and in Finnish Lapland, and *War* (2019), directed by Siddhart Anand, which was partly shot in locations close to the Arctic Circle and the city of Rovaniemi in Finnish Lapland (see Chapter 3).

Shamitabh is the first Indian film shot in Finland. The opening weekend gross in India was EURO 2.7 million which proved the film to be a box office success (Snapper Films 2015). According to the Finnish Lapland Film Commission, the film *War* is the largest film production so far to have been shot in Finnish Lapland

(Lapland.fi 2019). In India, *War* was also the highest-grossing Bollywood action film in 2019 (Bollywood Hungama 2022).

Even though the Indian film industry is one of the largest in the world (Josiam 2014), the in-depth interviews showed that there are no specific strategies or measures to attract Indian film productions to Finland. Several of the respondents said that it is rather the other way around: Indian cinema has already for decades been interested in shooting abroad and therefore Indian productions are often the ones taking the first step into a collaboration. None of the respondents has any explanation as to why there have not been more Indian film productions in Finland, but the lack of active marketing towards Indian film productions and the lack of networks within the Indian film industry are probably part of the reason. However, according to the interviewees there is both potential for and interest in further collaboration with Indian film producers from the Finnish side.

Experiences and lessons learned from the Indian film productions

The first-hand experiences from both the Indian film productions are generally perceived as positive by the respondents, although some differences in the production culture were often brought up by the interviewees. The disparities, however, were more often referred to as finds, rather than as negative differences.

One distinguishing factor often mentioned was the difference in the range of responsibilities in relation to the size of the crew, where the Finnish crews usually were smaller and had more comprehensive tasks, while the Indian crew members occasionally had very limited specialisations or ambiguous job descriptions. This was also pointed out by two of the interviewees working on set:

> *The difference come; I would say mostly because of the crew sizes. In India it's 400 people crew. In Finland we seldom have over 40.*
>
> (R4)

> *Yeah, the crew was massive even though it was like a mini unit. . . I don't remember how many people. But the people who was flown to the mountainside was like 52 people or something.*
>
> (R9)

Another cultural difference on set which was often mentioned by the respondents was the Indian crew's ability to adapt to a new situation if required or given the opportunity. The interviewees often described it as a way of working that was new for them and sometimes time-consuming, but on the other hand also stress-free and creative. Several of the respondents also highlighted that they learned a lot from the Indian film crew during shooting:

> *That's more like a cultural difference, also, between Scandinavia and India, is that they have more time. Like we, here, tend to prepare*

> *really well, but then shoot really fast . . . in Indian productions, they have more days to accomplish the same thing, so it allows people to also, you know, plan on the set. Like we go to a location that they have chosen, or that we have chosen together, and then basically we start from zero on that day, that kind of OK, this is what we will do today, and this is the plan . . . and definitely there is more time to do the things that are needed. So, both ways are really good, and I think the most special thing I experienced, I've never experienced in my life in any other film cultures: they are totally fine with changing plans . . . and that was the most significant thing that I love to work with Indian productions, it's that it's very laid back, because of this attitude.*
>
> (R5)

> *I think we learned a lot from the Indians, they are so . . . they have been shooting all over the world and they are really really experienced people. And really good in what they do.*
>
> (R4)

Finally, the importance of serving qualitative Indian food on set was also something that often was commented on, however it was commonly accepted that the importance of food quality was just another factor that needed to be taken care of. The prevailing notion was that if the catering didn't meet high standards, neither the Indians nor the Finns on set would be happy. One of the respondents recalls tasting the food at the recce, which is something that is not usually done:

> *When they went to do the recce, they wanted to taste the food on the premises. So, they made them to cook for them, and they liked, they loved it, and then it was OK. I don't know if I'd ever tasted the food, if I went on a recce, never ever, I think.*
>
> (R4)

Opportunities for a regional niche

British place marketing expert Simon Anholt believes that a place's narrative capital is not forever given and that the established perception and reputation of a place, region, or country regularly needs to be earned and reinforced. This reinforcement of the narrative capital of the place can, for example, come from a film reaching a wide audience (Lind 2019), which is something that could be desirable for a region that wants to increase its number of tourists and/or population.

According to the researcher Joakim Lind (2019), the first step for a region which in the future wishes to be present on the international film map is to develop knowledge about the film industry's value-creating and consider the film industry as a central part of their regional development.

Based on the answers from the interviews, it can also be concluded that all film industries do not have similar needs. Meaning, a region or location that wants to

attract international film industry or a specific film genre could, instead of trying to attract just everyone, find it beneficial to start by focusing on one, and learn as much as possible about their specific needs, whether that is the Indian film industry or any other.

The interviews also revealed that there is close co-operation between the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) and the Nordic countries due to the proximity both geographically and historically, meaning it is possible to think of the entire Nordic and Baltic region as one production hub where crews and equipment can move around easily (Janta 2021). For regions wanting to be more present on the international film map, networking and collaborating with other already-established actors and learning from them along the way could be a both a constructive and quite feasible way to get started.

Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to discuss the potential for using film production as a tool for regional development in a Nordic and European context. What can be learned from other regions and previous productions, which networks and infrastructure are needed, and what are the possible advantages and difficulties of luring film projects to a remote area. The research is based on a review of existing film policy documents from Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland, as well as on the ten in-depth interviews with Finnish film industry stakeholders that were conducted during 2020–2021.

The first regional film fund was Film i Väst, founded in 1992 in Sweden. Soon after its funding, Film i Väst inspired the other Nordic countries to establish their own regional film funds during the 1990s and early 2000 (Sand 2020). At the time of starting to establish regional film funds, a challenge shared by all the Nordic countries was that they were all struggling with retaining their creative talents, who tended to move to international creative hubs for more job opportunities (Chow and Sand 2020). Today, all Nordic countries have regional and national film funds, and all, except Denmark, offer government-funded film and television filming incentives.

According to the findings from interviews with stakeholders in the Finnish film industry conducted as part of the FilmInd project, an Arctic landscape covered in snow, as depicted in both Indian film productions War (2019) and Shamitabh (2015), is one of the primary draws for foreign filmmakers to come to Finland. Other important pull factors are the well-developed infrastructure, with five international airports, roads across the country and national mobile phone coverage not being an issue even in more remote locations. In addition to this, the low level of bureaucracy and the Finnish quality of work were factors often mentioned as positive aspects by the Finnish respondents themselves.

It was, however, emphasised among the respondents that none of the previously identified pull factors individually constitute sales advantages, when promoting Finland as a filming location. It is often the sum of all these aspects, that is, the

combination of locations, incentives, logistics, professional and creative local crew that determines whether an international film production chooses Finland as a filming location or not.

Even though India has one of the largest film industries in the world (Josiam 2014), the in-depth interviews revealed that no special tactics or actions have been taken to draw Indian film productions to Finland. One reply even saying that it is rather the other way around, with Indian film already having a long history of interest in shooting overseas and frequently being the ones to initiate a collaboration. However, it is clear from the experiences of the two Indian film productions that were held in Finland that there is interest on the part of the Finnish side in increasing the collaboration with the Indian film industry.

A region's first step towards being visible on the global film map is to learn about the value that the film industry creates. Viewing film as a key component of their regional economy could be an important first step towards becoming more "visible" on the international film map (Lind 2019). Second, it is important to identify unique local and regional strengths in order to be able to market them effectively.

The interview responses made it evident that different film industries possess distinct requirements. This implies that if a particular region or location aims to attract the global film industry, it may be more advantageous for them to initially focus on a specific film industry or genre and gain extensive knowledge about its specific needs. This applies to the Indian film industry as well as any other film or creative industry.

Limitations and future research

It should be noted that no Indian respondents were included among the interviewees. The reason for this is that during the time the interviews were conducted, it was not possible to reach any Indian stakeholders who were involved in the film productions shot in Finland. Although this is acknowledged as a limitation, it is also a possible future research step.

In line with the increased interest in northern Europe as a filming location (Lunde 2022), the number of Indian film productions is also expected to increase, which makes it likely that there will be additional opportunities to both broaden and deepen this research in the future.

Acknowledgement

FilmInd project – The Indian film industry as a driver of new socio-economic connections was carried out within EU-India Platform for Social Sciences and Humanities and financed by national funding of the participating countries. Novia University of Applied Sciences acknowledges funding from the Academy of Finland. The author would also like to thank the interviewees from Finland for their kind cooperation in the research.

References

Bollywood Hungama, 2022. *Bollywood top grossers worldwide 2019*. Available from: www.bollywoodhungama.com/box-office-collections/worldwide/2019/ (access date 11.09.2022).

Business Finland, 2022. *Production incentive for the audiovisual industry*. Available from: www.businessfinland.fi/en/for-finnish-customers/services/funding/cash-rebate (access date 29.08.2022).

Chow, P.-S. and Sand, S. A., 2020. Regional screen ecosystems at the peripheries: Production and talent development in Tromsø and Aarhus. *Journal of Scandinavian Cinema*, 10 (2), 169–189.

CPH Film Fund, 2022. *How to get funding*. Available from: http://cphfilmfund.com/en/ (access date 29.08.2022).

Dahlström, M., 2005. Film och regional utveckling i Norden. *In*: M. Dahlström, H. Bjarnadóttir, B. Hermelin, J. Jörgensen, K. Lähteenmäki-Smith, G. Rusten, M. G. Skúladóttir and E. Wengström, eds., *Film och regional utveckling i Norden*. Stockholm: Svenska filminstitutet & Nordregio, 7–11.

Dahlström, M. and Hermelin, B., 2007. Creative industries, spatiality and flexibility: The example of film production. *Norsk Geografisk Tidskrift – Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 61 (3), 111–121.

Det Danske Filminstitut, 2022. *Funding*. Available from: www.dfi.dk/en/english/funding (access date 30.08.2022).

Economou, V., 2019. *Film i Väst launches the first Swedish tax-rebate scheme*. Available from: https://cineuropa.org/en/newsdetail/369384/ (access date 30.08.2022).

European commission, 2021. *Rural development*. Available from: https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/themes/rural-development/ (access date 11.07.2022).

Film in Finland, 2022. *Finland film commission production guide*. Available from: www.filminfinland.com/4a2e59/siteassets/finland-film-commission-production-guide.pdf (access date 01.09.2022).

Film in Iceland, 2022. *Up to 35% reimbursement, stunning nature and professional services*. Available from: https://filminiceland.com/incentives-to-film-in-iceland/ (access date 01.09.2022).

Fixer in Denmark, 2022. *Filming in Denmark*. Available from: https://fixerdenmark.com/filming-in-denmark/ (access date 02.09.2022).

Florida, R., 2002. *The rise of the creative class*. New York: Basic Books.

Hedling, O., 2012. Making films in Scandinavia: On work and production infrastructure in the contemporary regional sector. *In:* A. Dawson and S. Holmes, eds., *Working in the global film industries: Creativity, systems, space, patronage*. London: Bloomsbury Academics, 57–74.

Janta, H., ed., 2021. *Comparative report on the infrastructure of film production & the impact of Indian film industries on place*. Basel: University of Basel.

Josiam, B. M., Spears, D., Dutta, K., Pookulangara, S. A. and Kinley, T. L., 2014. 'Namastey London': Bollywood movies and their impact on how Indians perceive European destinations. *Hospitality Review*, 31 (4).

Kazinik, D., 2022. *Klart: Nu blir det billigare att spela in film i Sverige*. SVT Nyheter/Kultur. Available from: www.svt.se/kultur/filmbranschen-far-100-miljoner-i-produktionsrabatter-stod-filmstod-svensk-film-bidrag-kulturministern (access date 01.09.2022).

Lähteenmäki-Smith, K., 2005. The regional dimension of the film sector in Finland. *In*: M. Dahlström, H. Bjarnadóttir, B. Hermelin, J. Jörgensen, K. Lähteenmäki-Smith, G. Rusten,

M. G. Skúladóttir and E. Wengström, eds., *Film och regional utveckling i Norden*. Stockholm: Svenska filminstitutet & Nordregio, 178–195.

Lapland.fi., 2019. *War – Bollywood blockbuster in Lapland*. Available from: www.lapland.fi/film/for-productions/war-bollywood-action-movie-lapland/ (access date 12.08.2022).

Lind, J., 2019. *The impact of film on people and destinations: En rapport om värden av film och tv för utveckling av platser och regioner med fallstudie av japanskt Taiga Drama i Stockholm 2019. Analysmodell och vägledning vid internationella filmproduktioner. En rapport inom pilotstudie #11 i Smart Kreativ Stad*. Stockholm: Film Capital.

Lind, J. and Kristensson Uggla, B., 2019. The narrative capital of the place. How the *millennium* narratives generate place-related values and attract tourists to Sweden. *In:* C. Lundberg and V. Ziakas, eds., *The Routledge handbook of popular culture and tourism*. London: Routledge, 311–324.

Logar, E., 2022. Place branding as an approach to the development of rural areas: A case study of the brand 'Babica in Dedek' from the Škofja Loka Hills, Slovenia. *Acta Geographica Slovenica*, 62 (2), 119–133.

Lunde, A. F., 2022. Bollywood til Balestrand: Landskap skal ha same x-faktor som stjernene. *Morgenbladet*. Available from: www.morgenbladet.no/kultur/reportasje/2022/10/07/fra-bollywood-til-balestrand/?fbclid=IwAR3K4MBB9Dcf8BnVh4s6FEViOqMeQ2y1QWkmS3q3CGxjicvOJY3s4zxx-x0 (access date 09.10.2022).

Medel, A. and Gossel, B., 2015. Film industry clusters: A strategy for urban and regional development? *Austral Communicación*, 4 (1), 65–81.

Miles, S. and Paddison, R., 2005. The rise and rise of culture-led urban regeneration. *Urban Studies*, 42, 833–839.

Nordström, H., 2018. *Platsmarknadsföring: Konsten att attrahera invånare, besökare och investeringar till en plats*. Huskvarna: Placebrander.

Northern Norway Film Commission, 2022. *Incentives – Northern Norway film commission*. Available from: www.northernnorwayfilm.no/incentives (access date 01.09.2022).

Norwegian Film Commission, 2022. *Funding & partners*. Available from: www.norwegianfilm.com/funds (access date 01.09.2022).

OECD, 2008. *OECD rural policy reviews: Finland*. Available from: www.oecd.org/finland/oecdruralpolicyreviewsfinland.htm (access date 09.08.2022).

Olffi, 2022. *Film funding in Denmark on Olffi*. Available from: www.olffi.com/country/Film-Funding-Cinema-Denmark-16.html (access date 30.08.2022).

Paasi, R., 2011. The region, identity, and power. *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 14, 9–16.

Rosenfeld, M. W. and Hornych, C., 2010. Could cities in de-industrialized regions become hot spots for attracting cultural businesses? The case of media industry in Halle and der Saale (Germany). *European Planning Studies*, 11 (5), 371–384.

Sacco, P., 2011. *Culture 3.0: A new perspective for the EU-2014–2020. Structural funds programming, produced for the OMC working group on cultural and creative industries*. Brussels: European Expert Network on Culture.

Sacco, P., Ferilli, G. and Pedrini, S., 2008. System-wide cultural districts: An introduction from the Italian viewpoint. *In*: S. Kagan and V. Kirchberg, eds., *Sustainability: A new frontier for the arts and cultures*. Frankfurt: VAS Verlag, 400–460.

Sand, S. A., 2017. *Voices from the peripheries: A study of the regional film and television business in Norway*. Ph.D. Thesis, Norwegian University of Science and Technology and Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences, Trondheim.

Sand, S. A., 2020. Creative clusters – urban Utopia or regional remedy? A Nordic perspective on the role of the creative industries in regional development. *Nordic Journal of Media Studies*, 2 (1), 109–120.

Snapper Films, 2015. *Bollywood film Shamitabh partly shot in Finland released worldwide*. Available from: https://snapperfilms.com/bollywood-film-shamitabh-shot-partly-in-finland-released-worldwide/ (access date 11.08.2022).

Skúladóttir, M. G., 2005. Iceland a national player in a global market. *In*: M. Dahlström, H. Bjarnadóttir, B. Hermelin, J. Jörgensen, K. Lähteenmäki-Smith, G. Rusten, M. G. Skúladóttir and E. Wengström, eds., *Film och regional utveckling i Norden*. Stockholm: Svenska filminstitutet & Nordregio, 178–195.

SYKE, 2020. *Updated urban-rural classification: Finland's degree of urbanisation currently at over 72 per cent*. Available from: www.syke.fi/en-US/Current/Updated_urbanrural_classification_Finlan(57443) (access date 09.08.2022).

Part IV

Beyond the screen

Socio-spatial impact of film

Figure 4 The statue of Bollywood director Yash Chopra (1932–2012) "Ambassador of Interlaken" with a note: "Numerous scenes of his renowned films were shot in the Bernese Oberland. These famous scenes prompt numerous guests from India to visit Interlaken".

Source: Hania Janta

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-14

11 Beastly places

European encounters with Bollywood's non-human geographies

Veena Hariharan

Human geographers and film scholars have been astute to the importance and benefits of examining geographies inscribed by and in cinema.[1] However, the attention to non-human geographies or what Sarah Whatmore (2002) has called 'more-than-Human' geographies is recent to both geography and cinema studies. Responding to Edward Said's call for an 'imaginative geography' (1978, pp. 54–55, 71–72), Whatmore (2002), Philo and Wilbert (2000) *et al*. emphasise the need to decentre the human and move beyond a singular focus on the human subject to a 'revived animal geography' (Philo and Wilbert 2004, p. 4) that focuses on the 'complex entanglings of human-animal relations with space, place, location, environment and landscape' (Philo and Wilbert 2004, p. 4). In the received schema of 'anthropocentric geography', there is a neat classification of lived spaces into the city, countryside, and wilderness – zones of human settlement, agriculture, and unoccupied territories, where each zone is associated with pets/companion animals (cats and dogs), livestock animals (sheep and cows), and wild animals (wolves and lions), respectively (Philo and Wilbert 2004, p. 11). Thus anthropocentric geography tends to 'fix animals in a series of abstract spaces – "animal spaces" – which are cleaved apart from the messy time-space contexts, or concrete places, in which these animals actually live out their lives as beings in the world' (Philo and Wilbert 2004, p. 6). A focus on non-human geographies can reveal the spatial practices of non-human animals, the ways in which they disrupt or negotiate boundaries between the human and non-human and their complex entanglements with human lives.

Similarly, the 'animal turn' in film studies is of recent vintage even if the history of the moving image has been entangled with animals. Jonathan Burt (2002) claims that it was the desire to understand the animal body in motion that led to the early cinema experiments of Eadward Muybridge, Jules Etienne Marey *et al*. in the first place, yet animals have been typically overlooked in the study of cinema. In the last few years, however a critical body of scholarship has produced diverse ways of looking at the animal in narrative and non-fictional representations.[2] How can we combine the insights of the 'animal turn' in geography and cinema scholarship to understand how cinema represents and produces its non-human animal geographies? How can we go beyond the study of segregated animal spaces such as the wilds[3] (indeed much scholarship tend to be focused on wildlife films), or enclosures such as the zoo (Berger 1980)? From the boundedness of animals on screen – 'the cinematic zoos' – to Anat

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-15

Pick's more complex formulation of the 'cine-zoo' – 'cinema as a zoomorphic stage that transforms all living beings – including humans – into creatures' (2011, p. 106), the looking relations between humans and animals have been studied in fascinating details. This chapter attempts to study animals in both on and off screen spaces of film. Off-screen spaces here include location, pro-filmic realities at the time of shooting, and the discursive worlds of law, religion, and politics that influence animal–human relations and their on screen representations.

What can a study of animals on location tell us about the spatial practices of animals and in turn how can they reveal new geographies for cinema? Priya Jaikumar's expansive definition of location as 'filmed space' – 'that captured artifact of an encounter between a camera and its environment' (2019, p. 18), enables us to think about the entanglements of real locations, and their traces, with the on screen image and it's afterlife. In this case, location refers to more specifically, location shooting with animals, in other words – animals on location. Thus, the paper looks at diegetic as well as pro-filmic spaces, their representation on screen as screen animals and on location as empirical, live, embodied and material beings. Staging an encounter between Bollywood, Europe, and the inscription '*No Animals Were Harmed in the Making of This Film*', I propose that this ubiquitous sign is a cinematic palimpsest tied to the entangled life worlds of animals and humans, regional cartographies, national and international animal laws, technologies of special effects and narratives of animal care. I look at ways in which Bollywood negotiates animal rights movements, legal debates on animals, censorship, politics and religion, via a case study of the 2017 film *Tiger Zinda Hai* (Tiger is Alive) and the star text of Salman Khan. With its pre-existing knowhow (in this instance, Hungarian animal trainer Zoltan Horkai) and animal infrastructures already tapped by Hollywood, I show how Europe is a central node in these navigations.

'No Animals Were Harmed in the Making of This Film'

'No Animals Were Harmed in the Making of This Film' is the trademark certification of the American Humane, an organisation established in 1877 that 'monitors animals in filmed media' and hands out certifications to productions only if they meet the stringent requirements set in its guidelines on pro-filmic animals. Even though *The Indian Cinematograph Act* 1952 mentions censorship of scenes depicting 'needless' 'cruelty to, or abuse of animals', it is not until 1973 (*Performing Animals Rules* and *Performing Animals Registration Rules* 2001) and as recently as 2004 PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) versus CBFC (Central Board of Film Certification) that the registration of every performing animal along with a No Objection Certification (NOC) from the AWBI (Animal Welfare Board of India) and from the Ministry of Environment and Forests, in the case of wild animals, became mandatory for a film's release. 'Performing animals' are defined as 'any animal which is used for the purpose of any entertainment to which the public is admitted through the sale of tickets' and later expanded to include 'animals used in films and for equine events'.[4] The rules pertaining to performing animals are derived from and cite two landmark judgements that determined the

screen discourses around domestic and endangered animals in independent India: *The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act* (1960) and *The Wildlife protection Act* (1972). Along with these acts, the legal apparatus, governmental and monitoring institutions (AWBI and CBFC), and *dramatis personae* (Rukmini Devi Arundale, Chinny Krishna, Justice KS Radhakrishnan, Maneka Gandhi, and naturalists M Krishnan, Salim Ali, AP Gee *et al*.); civil society and international activist bodies that exert influence on policy – WWF (World Wildlife Fund), and PETA, film persons have also been very involved in propagating animal causes. PETA's India Chapter, launched in 2000, and its youth channel PETADishoom routinely ropes in celebrities from the entertainment world to champion animal causes – famously, Dia Mirza sporting a leopard skin outfit to protest animal practices in the leather industry or Lara Dutta in a gown of leaves and flowers promoting vegetarianism, while releasing hard hitting investigative videos on human cruelty in animal practices (livestock farming, vivisection, bullfighting, circuses, etc.). Thus an ethnography of film industry practices vis-à-vis animals and their human trainers, wranglers, handlers, and pet suppliers also reveals the processes of filming animals on screen in accordance with the Performing Animals Rules and Guidelines.

Animals in Bollywood

Animals are not new to Bollywood, actors have shared screen spaces with pigeons, peacocks, elephants, camels, cows, snakes, tigers, monkeys, horses, pigs, dogs, cats, even ants and turtles, as pets and companion species or as animals to be hunted or escaped from. We can count nearly 100 odd films where animals take up substantial footage in Bombay cinema alone, though this is not a large number, considering the size of the film industry (nearly 150 films per year). Indian film directors have, by and large, stayed away from featuring animals owing to several reasons, a few of which are listed here. The paucity of adequately trained animal trainers – most of them segued from the circus to films and the others who raised animals on their farms were not necessarily up to speed about how to train them for film shooting or how to sustain the high pressures of a shooting environment or shooting schedules that involved travel, long hours, the presence of large crowds and heavy lights and equipment. Added to this, the laws regarding animal certification for films that involved cumbersome bureaucratic rigmaroles from registration, fitness certification and vaccinations, and transportation rules, acted as disincentive for many filmmakers. Echoing the sentiment of many filmmakers, Kaushik Ganguly, the director of *Kishore Kumar Junior* (Bengali language film 2018), complains:

> Getting permission to shoot with camels is very tough and my film's censor certification got delayed because of it. What's more, in *Kedara*, where I play the protagonist, the pigeons had to be turned white by using computer graphics as usage of white pigeons is against the norms! Problem is, neither can you show rural Bengal with cows moving around nor can you show horses in a period film. Getting permission to shoot with elephants is by far the toughest.
>
> (Sen 2019)

The Performing Animals Act (2001) all together bans shooting with monkeys, panthers, lions, and tigers. Animal activists protesting the abuse of animals on set, followed by public interest litigations on their behalf, have also made filmmakers wary of using animals in their films. Recently, the Animal Welfare Board of India (AWBI),[5] the statutory advisory body to oversee the use of performing animals in films, issued an advisory to film, OTT content producers, and advertisers 'to prioritise the use of modern methods such as computer-generated imagery (CGI), visual effects (VFX), and animatronics over live animals to prevent the infliction of unnecessary pain and suffering' (Jha 2021) on performing animals. This advisory was a result of PETA's complaint following the death of a horse on the sets of Mani Rathnam's Tamil language historical spectacle, *Ponniyin Selvan* (upcoming release). Some filmmakers like Prabhu Solomon say 'there is a confusion running in the industry that making films with animals is complicated business and it's hard to get a Censor clearance' (Bandhopadhyay 2021). He seems to have had an exceptionally smooth path with his tusker films – *Kumki* (2012) and *Haathi Mere Saathi* (2021). Others find ways around this problem by using a combination of real, dummy, and CGI animals – example Suraj Barjatya's Tota Raj – the multicoloured talking parrot in *Main Prem ki Deewani Hoon* (2003).

Animatronics and CGI

AWBI's advisory in turn created a huge demand for CGI (computer-generated imagery) animals (the tiger in *Life of Pi* (Ang Lee 2012) or the parrot in *Main Prem ki Deewani Hoon*) and animatronics. Directors flocked to Prasun Basu and Gawri Tiwari's animatronics studio based in Naigaon, Mumbai, to cast mechanical animals for their historical spectacles – from the realistic looking elephants in *Manikarnika: The Queen of Jhansi* (Kangana Ranaut 2019) to the hyper-real horses in *Tanhaji*: *The Unsung Warrior* (Om Raut 2020), *Sye Raa Narasimha Reddy* (Surender Reddy 2019), *Housefull 4* (Farhad Samji 2019), *Panipat* (Ashutosh Gowarikar 2019; Venugopalan 2019), etc. Action director Shyam Kaushal explains:

> In the 1980s, a scene where a horse topples could be shot with real horses, but today, it would be illegal . . . today the mechanism installed inside the dummy horse accurately interprets the rhythm and bounce that a rider would receive on a real horse.
>
> (Guha 2022)

Basu and Tiwari take special pride in their painstakingly created realistic looking horse heads developed with inputs from Ted Heines (who worked on the SFX in *Avatar* and *Jurassic Park*) and India's leading taxidermist Dr Santosh Gaikwad's inputs about fabrication. Nick Powel, *Manikarnika*'s stunt director (of X-Men, Bourne Identity fame)

> flew down one of the best wranglers in the world to attest that the 'effect on the body while riding was natural', the duo claimed adding that 'In Hollywood,

> there's only [creature effects artist] Mark Rappaport (The Revenant) who has a couple of horses similar to ours'.
>
> (ibid.)

The 100% CGI menagerie of the much celebrated *RRR* (S Rajamouli 2022) states in its disclaimer at the outset of the film: 'No animals were harmed in the making of the film. Horses, oxen, birds, tigers, wolves, bears, leopards, deer, fish and snake shown in the movie are all computer-generated'.

Advantage Europe

Thus, in a modern reversal, it is not for state-of-the-art technology but for expert handling of real animals, that we see Bollywood directors looking towards Europe as a shooting location as I demonstrate in a later section on Zoltan Horkai, the animal trainer. More importantly, shooting the film abroad meant that the filmmakers had to follow the rules of that country, therefore sparing the filmmakers the bureaucratic hassles of shooting with animals in India.[6] Zoya Akthar director of *Dil Dhadakne Do* says she chose to set the film overseas – much of the film's action takes place aboard a Mediterranean cruise liner – to avoid the tedium of having to convince the Animal Welfare Board of India that the dog wasn't harmed in any of the scenes.[7]

> I would have had to have a representative of the Animal Welfare Board of India to tag along everywhere and everyday on my Mediterranean cruise to vouch that the dog wasn't harmed in any of the scenes if we shot in India but this was not required for the overseas production!

While the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act (1960, pp. V, 22) prohibits the use of monkeys, bears, lions, panthers, and bulls as performing animals in films, there is no mention of wolves. Furthermore, wolves are found aplenty in India, at least 2000–3000 of them according to a census (Kukreti 2001).[8] Even so, wolves seldom found their way into Indian movies. Shooting the film in Austria enabled the film crew access to both the animals and their trainers while avoiding the red-tapism of Indian bureaucracy.

Rules Pertaining to Performing Animals[9]

Not that dogs were harmed on the sets of *Dil Dhadakne Do* or wolves on the sets of *Tiger Zinda Hai* but the cumbersome processes involved in the use of performing animals in films led both directors to locations outside India. Complying with AWBI rules for the shooting involves applying for registration to use the animals and certification on completion of the film, both of which may be granted only if the Board is fully satisfied about the scenes with animals. The physical condition of the animals, their vaccination proofs, and fitness certificates needs to be verified by the veterinary doctor who has to be present on set and ratify this on the completion

of the film. In case of animals such as wolves, listed in the Wildlife Protection Act, the ownership of animals also needs to be proved. The Board also needs to be convinced that the training methods deployed did not inflict 'unnecessary pain or suffering', that the owner does not deprive the animal of food or water in order to compel them to 'perform a trick', and that the owner shall 'train an animal as a performing animal to perform an act in accordance with its basic natural instinct'. There is a ban on using sick, pregnant or injured animals and their on-screen representations. There are also other rules about transportation and stay – animals had to be transported in cages of stipulated sizes and not for more than 8 hours continuously and the owners have to ensure feeding and watering enclosures on site. There are also other details that need to be ensured such as the animals' proximity to 'sudden loud noises', fires, explosives, and sharp objects. Furthermore, the performing animal is not to be exposed to artificial light over an intensity of 500 lux. Finally, getting a certificate of approval on completion of the film that 'No Animals Were Hurt' during the making of the film, without which the film could not be released in theatres involves a cumbersome process of waiting, negotiation, censorship quibbles and sometimes rumours involving on-set cruelty as reported by animal activists or concerned citizens.

Tiger Zinda Hai

Tiger Zinda Hai features the iconic Indian superstar 'Tiger' Salman Khan combating a pack of wolves. Hungarian animal trainer, Zoltan Horkai, also called 'Wolf Man' was hired by the filmmakers to execute the spectacular stunt sequences. The sequence is shot in Austria's Tirol region – the forests of Praxmar and the quiet alpine capital town of Innsbruck.[10] While the sporting town of Innsbruck provided the skiing facilities, snow mobiles, and the specialised gear and equipment, the mountainous forest region, teeming with bears and wolves, offered the perfect setting to stage RAW (India's premier foreign intelligence agency) agent Tiger's hideout and his dramatic face-off with the wolves.

Curiously, this is also a stand-alone segment in the film as there is no reference in the rest of the film to this, and is in the film mostly to introduce the star – his masculinity, prowess, and cunning. Later in the film, we also see a brief scene involving the star riding a horse through the alley ways of war torn Iraq (shot on location in Abu Dhabi and Morocco standing in for Iraq), in combat with his pursuers who are on a motorbike. As the camera opens with a monumental score and a dynamic long shot of a mountainous expanse of snow, we see Tiger and his young son Junior walk uphill. The next shot reveals a signboard 'Beware of wild animals' and Junior reading out from his tablet: 'Nature gave every animal an instinct to run so it can survive'. Tiger, using his axe to chop firewood, listens indulgently to his son who asks in English, 'Don't human beings also need to run to survive?' Some good humoured banter on the love for the English language in mother and son ensue between the two. 'A man's identity is in his *zabaan*' – Junior is made to recall a moral lesson that he has been taught by his parents. *Zabaan* is a double play on the word tongue as in language as well as the Urdu word for promise – or word – a man is as good as

Figure 11.1 The snow-capped Praxmar Mountains.
Source: From the film Tiger Zinda Hai (2017)

his word. Thus, the segment establishes the location as a high risk zone, Junior as a modern child versed in English, digitally literate and curious about the ways of the wild, and Tiger as a moral being, a man of his word, simultaneously a man of the world and familiar with the harsh terrain of the wilds. The next segment establishes Tiger's jungle know how: as a salivating wolf faces Junior, Tiger instructs, his back still turned to the camera and the approaching wolf: 'Look straight into his eyes and don't break eye contact'. As Junior turns to run, Tiger warns 'Wait!' Wolves never hunt alone, only in packs . . . there are more coming'. The scene cuts to a pack of wolves emerging behind the one we saw in the previous scene.

As the wolves advance, Salman utters the film's famous line: 'Everyone hunts but none better than Tiger' – referring both to himself and the namesake animal. When Junior is concerned that dad is going to kill all of them singlehandedly, Tiger quips that if he doesn't hunt them it would be Junior served on the dinner table instead. Now Junior throws him the gauntlet: 'If you can save me from here *without* killing the wolves, then I accept that you are indeed the real Tiger'. Tiger accepts the challenge and throws away his weapons. As Tiger rolls down the snow, in a high-octane chase comprising a series of mid-air somersaults, captured in slow motion helicam shots, he displaces tree trunks and logs that throw the wolves off their trail. Finally, with a little ingenuity, and coordination between Tiger and Junior, the last of them with an intention of pouncing on Junior, jumps straight into the parked SUV in a beautiful slow motion shot, as Junior holds the door open for him. The scene ends with Tiger and Junior exchanging a hi-five, both are pleased with the outcome, Tiger and son have survived and so have the wolves – literally pointing to the off screen dictum – 'No Animals were hurt in the making of this film'.

The larger vision of the film, however, remains a largely anthropocentric one, that assumes the human–animal hierarchy, and the superior intelligence, cunning, and skill of humans to overpower the animal, albeit appealing to his kindness, again a virtue, that the film implies only humans are capable of.

The Paratexts of *Tiger Zinda Hai*

Off-screen spaces can refer to the material and imaginary referents outside the cinematic frame pointing to the continuity of the action before and beyond the temporal and spatial frames of the diegesis – 'what the screen shows us seems to be part of something prolonged indefinitely into the universe' (Bazin 1967, p. 166). In this chapter, I take off screen spaces to include the pro-filmic realities of shooting with animals on location and the legal, religious, political, and environmental discourses surrounding animal–human relations and their filmic representations. One of the key access points that enables a look at off screen spaces of the animal sequence in the film are the paratexts of the film.

Figure 11.2 Encounter between Tiger and the Wolf. He combats the wolf single-handedly.
Source: From the film Tiger Zinda Hai (2011)

Figure 11.3 A pack of wolves approach Tiger and Junior.
Source: From the film Tiger Zinda Hai (2011)

As a composite practice involving the principles of documentary as well as promotional filmmaking, the making-of-video is a ubiquitous artefact of our times and accompany most film productions – big and small. Making of videos come in all forms and sizes and from different quarters – usually an official video sanctioned by the production company and any number of fan videos on the internet or show reels for the crew. From its evidentiary documentary value to its promo/trailer like qualities, showcasing of the film's big moments, and behind-the-scenes endeavours of its crew or their use of state-of-the-art technology, the making-of-videos can give us valuable insights into what happened on location during and in – between shots or how certain difficult scenes were rehearsed, executed and achieved. A typical making of video can contain location footage, interviews, bytes, candid moments, green room clicks, and may be shot with a hand held, cell phone, or a high-end digital camera in the style of a home movie, documentary, or a glossy film. Such making-of-videos are also referred to as 'paratexts' (Gray 2010; Hight 2005) – the 'greeters, gatekeepers, and cheerleaders for and of the media, filters through which we must pass on our way to the "text itself" '(Gray 2010, p. 17). In her discussion of the making of music videos that she calls a 'paratext of a paratext', Pavitra Sundar notes:

> They (paratexts) may appear in the 'Extras' section of a DVD, on television shows and websites promoting the film, or on YouTube and other digital venues. They may be stand-alone features or part of a broader narrative about the making of the film. Making-of videos rarely use an authoritative voice-over, relying instead on the music and the talking heads' comments for a connective thread. Thus, while they purport to de-mystify the process of film-song production, what they do in fact is celebrate that process.
>
> (2020, p. 222)

In this section, I look at three paratexts – the making-of-video of the film made by Saif Akhtar, *Tiger vs Wolves* (2017); Zoltan Horkai's own showreel, and the 6-part Discovery series on Zoltan the Wolf Man. *Tiger vs Wolves*, the making of video of *Tiger Zinda Hai*, acts as a paratext that demystifies the processes of shooting with wolves on location, by introducing us to the techniques employed by Zoltan Horkai specially hired for the job along with his team of wranglers and handlers. It also showcases his unique methods and skills for handling wolves. The film also serves as a promotional for the star – the 'brave' Tiger, Salman Khan, unflinching in his scenes with the fierce wolves even receiving an endorsement from Zoltan: 'He (Salman) is straight and natural, he loved the animals and the animals loved him back'. The video also introduces the details of the location and elaborate arrangements to accommodate the wolves including cages, and electric wire fencing for the shoot. It is also a documentation of best practices – the ethical, respectful, and loving treatment of the animals in the film. No accidents of crew or wolves were reported says, director Abbas Ali, whose favourite shooting moments involved the 'beautiful wolves'. The goals of ethical cohabitation and jungle know-how permeate the

entire crew. An instance of this can be seen in the way Abbas Ali himself started to recite the mantras and know how on living in the wild:

> They are wild animals treat them with respect and they will love you back. . . . Don't close your hands, they will believe that you have something to hide and attack you . . . open your hands, let them sniff you, etc.

It is evident in other ways too, for example in the way the entire crew including Salman and Junior familiarised themselves with the wolves, even attributed a name and character to each wolf on the set. Along with Zoltan, and the wolves crew of animal handlers – Peter Ivanyi, Dori Ujvary, and Gergo Benkoczy, the end credits also include the names of the screen wolves – Nelson, Rufus, Volko, Dakota, Marcus, and Dante and the real wolves who played them – Eda, Lobo, Morius, Bobi, Szami, and Hogan. Dakota is designated as the director's favourite; Dakota and Volko were 'great with kids'; Nelson is the angry one, Eda was ferocious looking but 'supercute'. At the same time, everyone was aware of their all-too-human borders with the wild. For safety, the shooting location was fenced on all sides with electric wires. For some of the shots in the film, example, when Tiger is on a skateboard being chased by wolves – they had to repeat this action several times to get the perfect shot, but no one flinched. Though we know from the film's less talked about production notes that this high risk stunt sequence was performed by Salman's usual body double Parvez Kazi.[11]

The Black Buck Case

This allows me to segue into another off screen detail that has a bearing on the ways to read this film. In 1998, during the shooting of the multi-starrer *Hum Saath Saath Hai* (Sooraj Barjatya, Rajshri Productions 1999), the film's stars – Salman Khan along with Saif Ali Khan, Tabu, and Sonali Bendre – allegedly hunted down two black bucks in the Kankani village of Rajasthan. Following a case filed by the village's ever-vigilant Bishnoi community, Salman was convicted under Section 9/51 of the Wildlife Protection Act (1972)[12]. Schedule I of the Act names the black buck (*Antelope Cervicapra*) as an 'endangered species'. After many a twist and turn in the case, in 2007, the star was sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment and fined Rs 25,000/-. He spent a week in the Jodhpur prison and was released soon after on bail.[13] The case, all but forgotten by everyone, except the Bishnoi community who continued to appeal against Salman's violation of the wild life habitat, was reintroduced in the courts and in public discourse, again in 2016. Many see this as a politically motivated campaign by a Hindu right wing government to pin down an iconic Muslim star. In 2018, the actor was fined Rs 10,000 and 5 years imprisonment while the others charged in the case were acquitted.

The Bishnoi community of Western Rajasthan claims their lineage to Guru Jambheswara and his *bish noi* (29 principles) that emphasise reverence and compassion for all animals. The legendary environmental Chipko movement, where women of Uttarkhand hugged trees to resist government supported felling, has

been linked to the Bishnoi community's Amrita Devi Bishnoi of Khejadali who protected the region's khejadi trees by hugging them against marauders of Maharajah Abhay Singh of Jodhpur. Ramachandra Guha cautions against this 'postmodern myth' as a 'spiritual' and 'romantic stereotype' that 'obscures Chipko's origins in the specific conditions of Uttarakhand' and suspects that it was in all probability mobilised by Sunder Lal Bahuguna to revitalise a flagging environmental movement (2013) while acknowledging the role of Bishnois 'assiduously protecting . . . blackbuck, chinkara, neelgai and peafowl', as one of the strands of the wildlife conservation movement in India (1995, p. 98). Pankaj Jain characterised the community's fierce guard of wildlife in the region, in terms of 'dharmic/religious' environmentalism' (2011, p. 60). The photograph of a native Rajasthani woman feeding her baby and a baby fawn at the same time featured in Rajesh Bedi's book of photographs, *Rajasthan: Under the Desert* Sky (2013). Several versions of this photograph have circulated on the internet since then, and even if apocryphal or photoshopped, it serves as the community's calling card – its religiously anointed vocation to safeguard the wildlife habitat that includes the 'sacred antelope' – the black buck. Against this, Salman Khan's excesses were not forgiven though he continues to be a popular draw in Jodhpur, as the box office success of his action thriller series *Dabanng* (2010, 2012, 2019), *Ek Tha Tiger* (2012), and indeed *Tiger Zinda Hai* proves. The Bishnoi model of zealous environmentalism is pitched against a more modern (read western) environmental model embodied by the star in *Tiger Zinda Hai*.

Thus, it is possible to see the messaging of the film as an antidote to Salman Khan's public image vis-a-vis animals accrued from his earlier encounter. The film's vision of sustainable environmentalism – the combination of jungle sensitiveness and jungle know how – focalised through the child figure -and delivered by the star could be understood as an exercise in star image building or in this case image reparation. Director Sooraj Barjatya has been associated with the introduction of unforgettable animal protagonists to Bollywood – from Tuffy in *Hum Aapke Hai Kaun* to the multi-coloured CGI parrot in *Main Prem ki Deewani Hoon* while Salman Khan's namesake production company, Salman Khan Films continues to be associated with children and animals in films like *Chillar Party* (Nitesh Tiwari and Vikas Bahl 2011).

Zoltan the Wolf Man

Director Abbas was himself primarily motivated by commercial values and the desire to make what he calls a 'Hollywood-looking' film, to this end, he hired Hollywood stunt choreographer, Tom Struthers of *Inception* and *Dark Knight* fame, and Zoltan, who Abbas refers to as the best animal trainer 'in the world'. The wolves themselves were cast for their ferocious cinematic beauty. Abbas regrets that Indian filmmakers and producers rarely use animals in their films these days, at best maybe horses and livestock. The sequence lasting less than 8 minutes in the 2.5-hour-long film, took 14 days to shoot. Director Abbas attributes this to the two unpredictable factors on the set – the presence of the child actor and the performing

animals – both of whom were uncontrollable and whimsical and subjected the crew to the vagaries of their moods.[14]

All the paraphernalia for the shooting of this sequence came from Budapest along with the wolves who were brought in by road with their wranglers and chief trainer Zoltan. The desire to 'keep it real' drove Abbas to shoot with real wolves rather than post-production animals achieved with CGI, VFX or manipulated stock footage. This also meant that shooting preparations were elaborate with little margin for error. The shots involving the wolves was storyboarded in minute detail When Zoltan listened to the brief he knew that there was a challenging shoot ahead – he trained intensively with his wolves in his workshop farm in Budapest for two whole weeks before arriving on location. But when he did, there was no doubt as to who was helming the sequence: we see him announce in the making of video – 'as long as the wolves are not in the trailer, or not on leash, I am in charge, nobody else'. In the making of video we can see Zoltan and his crew of wranglers, handlers, and trainers – women and men in intimate interactions with the wolves – feeding, petting, and playing with them. Everyone is working in sync, united by a shared camaraderie, joy, and sheer love of animals.

Zoltan Horkai's unique animal training philosophy of 'Natural Motivation' is critical to the vision espoused by his centre – the Horkai centre whose motto reads: 'We Understand. We know. We Care'. A six-episode biographical series *Zoltan the Wolf Man* (directed by Darius Miniotas 2015), aired on Discovery and Animal Planet captures the intricate details of Zoltan's work and philosophy. The series reveals how Zoltan distances himself from the methods of the circus as far as possible. He never beats, threatens, or uses power to achieve his film objectives; instead, he uses the positive drive that the animal naturally possesses to motivate it to do the required action by its own volition. This is primarily based on Zoltan's unique talent to get under the wolf's skin, or any other animal for that matter – he also works with bears, grizzlies, foxes, wild boars, deer, lynxes, and even flies and wasps. After listening to the director's brief, he 'translates' the scripted action into the wolf's language – a 'wolfspeak', so to speak, and a 'wolfish' way of thinking. Zoltan is an exemplar of wranglers and handlers who possess such embodied knowledge built through everyday interactions with animals, what Michael Polanyi in another context refers to as 'tacit knowing'.[15] (Polanyi 2009) It could be a drive for food, security, it can be jealousy or competition, or play with hierarchy – any natural instinct which Zoltan then uses to motivate the animal to perform the necessary action. Then he divides it into tasks by the motivation needed by the wolf to perform it and later assembles it into one continuous action needed for the shot. For example, in *Tiger Zinda Hai*, the scene where the wolf runs and pounces on Tiger is achieved by first releasing a hungry wolf from a cage for a high speed run and a second wolf on a leash is let loose so that it can lunge on to Salman/Parvez' body to which pieces of meat are tied.

In the coda to the film, *Wolf Man*, we are told that in Budapest, the last survivors of this endangered canid can only be found in Zoltan's training centre. In the last episode of the series, we witness a rediscovery of a handful of grey wolves in Budapest, as they cross over from the forests of bordering Slovakia.[16] The episode

ends with Zoltan addressing schoolchildren in a talk about wolves. At the close of the talk, he invites each one of them to the podium encouraging them to pet the wolves to gift them a childhood memory that will never allow them to hurt wolves when they are adults. A gesture that alludes to the history of wolves in Europe – captured, contained, and hunted as dangerous threats to livestock and to a future of conservation and co-existence. To add a caveat here, Zoltan Horkai's, (the animal trainer whose) principles of 'Natural Motivation', we see ample amounts of care and understanding of animals and no ostensible display of cruelty but these are evidence based on the self-documentation of his commercially viable enterprise.

Conclusion

The use of animals in films is always already implicated in the exploitative dynamic of the entertainment industrial complex that animal activists have protested time and again in connection with the circus, animal sport, performance, etc. Do we become part of the solution, complying with the covenant – 'No Animals Were Harmed' by abandoning the use of performing animals altogether or make possible an inclusion of 'beastly spaces', the vital presence of animals in the cinematic landscape, as in our lives, in ethical ways? In this chapter, I have shown how the inscription, *No Animals were* harmed, is both a sign and a palimpsest – the unravelling of its multiple layers reveals the complex web of animal–human entanglements with location, technology and special effects, tactical knowledge and animal expertise, local and global cartographies, stardom, law, and politics. Through a case study of the film *Tiger Zinda Hai* and the star vehicle of Salman Khan, I show how the film attempts an ethical approach to the deployment of animals while recuperating the actor with an embattled history vis-à-vis animals. With its prior expertise (in this instance, Hungarian wolf trainer Zoltan Horkai) and animal infrastructures already mobilised and tapped by Hollywood, I show how Europe is as a primary vector, a force-field even, for the staging of these encounters.

Notes

1 Aitken and Zonn (1994), Beeton (2005), Burgess and Gold (1995), Clarke (2007), Escher and Zimmerman (2001), Jameson (1992), Kennedy and Lukinbeal (1997), Urry (1992), Soja (1989), Bruno (2018), Conley (2007), Jaikumar (2019), Escher (2006).
2 Baker 2001; Berger 1980; Burt 2002; Cahill 2019; Haraway 1991; Hediger 2020; Lippit 2000; Pick 2011; Smaill 2016.
3 Bousé 2000; Chris 2006; Mitman 2012; Vivanco *et al*. 2012.
4 Section 2(b), of the Performing Animals Rules 1973, and Section 2(h) of the Performing Animals (Registration) Rules 2001.
5 The Animal Welfare Board of India is a statutory advisory body on Animal Welfare Laws and promotes animal welfare in the country. Established in 1962 under Section 4 of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act 1960 (No. 59 of 1960), the AWBI was the first of its kind to be established by any Government in the world and has since then been the face of the animal welfare movement in the country.
6 The encounter between well-meaning animal protection laws in India and their implementation mired in red tape, is well documented by Nayanika Mathur in her work on the bureaucracy surrounding the protection of Big Cats in India.

7 Although that rule is about to change now, according to the news article" "Films shot abroad will need "no animal cruelty" tag, Ohri, ET Bureau, 03.10.2015.
8 Two recent documentaries *Treasures of the Grasslands* (Mihir Godbole and Makarand Dambhare 2019) and *Walking with Wolves* (Senani Hegde 2014) highlight the neglect of wolves and their grassland habitats. Although listed as a protected species in Schedule I of the Wildlife Protection Act, the wolf got less attention than the other charismatic megafauna on the list namely tigers, lions, rhinos and elephants.
9 The Indian Cinematograph Act 1952; Performing Animals Rules 1973; Performing Animals Registration Rules, 2001; The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act 1960; The Wildlife Protection Act 1972.
10 Along with Praxmar and Innsbruck, the film's end credits mention that the film was shot in original locations in Tirol including Kaunertal, Kuhtai, the Holfburg Ball Room, and the Golden Roof, Townsquare, Innsbruck while the Austria Film Commissioner and the Mayor of Innsbruck are specially thanked along with the Cine Tirol Film Commission and Innsbruck Tourism.
11 The credits of the film mention the name of Parvez Shaikh in stunt support and Chad Martin Guerrero as stunt double.
12 Some of the details of this episode can be found in Joshi, N. (2019). *Reel India: Cinema off the beaten track*.
13 *Qaidi No 210*, a film based on Salman's experience of his few days in prison, was mooted but never released.
14 Ali Abbas, 2020. Interview, Equip EQUIP-ICSSR research project "FilmInd: The Indian film industry as a driver of new socio-economic connections between India and Europe".
15

> Scientist-turned-philosopher, Michael Polanyi, differentiates between two kinds of knowing – the tacit and articulate – in his deceptively simple formulation: "We can know more than we can tell" (1966, p. 4). One of his examples, is the human capacity to know an individual face, recognizing it among millions of others, yet we cannot tell exactly how we recognize a face we know – this inability to articulate the "how" of knowing, Polanyi refers to as the tacit, ineffable dimension of knowledge. In the same vein, we can think of examples from the animal world – how did Siberian cranes know to migrate all the way from the arctic tundra to winter in India's tropical sanctuaries, or the Swedish moose to walk across the melting ice to reach their summer pastures in the foothills? Yet this is knowledge that is passed on from generation to generation of the species ineffably, tacitly.
>
> (Hariharan 2022)

16 As captured on WWF Hungary's camera trap in Aggtelek National Park in Northern Hungary.

References

Bandhopadhyay, B., 2021. Have animal-centric films lost their appeal in mainstream Indian cinema? *News*, 18.

Bazin, A., 1967. *What Is Cinema?* Vol. 1. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Bedi, R., 2013. *Rajasthan: Under the desert sky*. New York: Roli Books.

Berger, J., 1980. Why look at animals? *In: About looking*. London: Bloomsbury.

Bousé, D., 2000. *Wildlife films*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Burt, J., 2002. *Animals in film*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gray, J., 2010. *Show sold separately: Promos, spoilers, and other media paratexts*. New York: New York University Press.

Guha, K., 2022. Meet the couple behind the animatronics for Tanhaji: The unsung warrior and housefull 4. *Mumbai Mirror*, 14.02.2022.
Guha, R., 2013. *The unquiet woods: Ecological change and peasant resistance in the Himalaya*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
Guha, R. and Gadgil, M., 1995. Ideologies of environmentalism. *In*: R. Guha and M. Gadgil, eds., *Ecology and equity: The use and abuse of nature in contemporary India*. London: Routledge.
Hariharan, V. (2022). *Bio-logs and non-human*. Frankfurt: Meson Press.
Hight, C., 2005. Making-of documentaries on DVD: The lord of the rings trilogy and special editions. *The Velvet Light Trap*, 56 (1), 4–17.
The Indian Cinematograph Act, 1952.
Jaikumar, P., 2019. *Filmed space: Where histories reside*. Durham: Duke University Press.
Jain, P., 2011. *Dharma and ecology of Hindu communities: Sustenance and sustainability*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing.
Jha, S., 2021. Animal welfare board issues advisory to replace animals in films with modern technology. *National Herald*, 25.11.2021.
Joshi, N., 2019. *Reel India: Cinema off the beaten track*. New Delhi: Hatchette India.
Kukreti, I., 2001. Why the return of wolves to the Indian grassland is a bitter-sweet story. *Scroll.in*, 26.10.2001.
Ohri, R., 2015. Films shot abroad will need 'no animal cruelty' tag. *ET Bureau*, 03.10.2015.
Performing Animals Registration Rules, 2001.
Performing Animals Rules, 1973.
Philo, C. and Wilbert, C. eds., 2000. *Animal spaces, beastly places: New geographies of human-animal relations*. London and New York: Routledge.
Pick, A., 2011. *Creaturely poetics: Animality and vulnerability in literature and film*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Polanyi, M., 2009. *The tacit dimension*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, 1960.
Said, E., 1978. *Orientalism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
Sen, Z., 2019. Performing animals give filmmakers the jitters!. *Entertainment Times*, 11.01.2019.
Smaill, B., 2016. *Regarding life: Animals and the documentary moving image*. New York: SUNY Press.
Staroseilski, N. and Walker, J., eds., 2016. *Sustainable media: Critical approaches to media and environment*. London: Routledge.
Sundar, P., 2020. Making-of-videos: Of placeless studios and pioneering music directors. *In:* M. Mukherjee and M. Mehta, eds., *Industrial networks and cinemas of India: Shooting stars, shifting geographies, and multiplying media*. London: Taylor and Francis.
Venugopalan, V., 2019. Behind the scenes of Bollywood: Animatronics is how fake animals in movies are brought to life. *The Quint*, 05.08.2019.
Whatmore, S., 2002. *Hybrid geographies: Natures, cultures, spaces*. Oxford: Sage Publications.
The Wildlife protection Act, 1972.

Filmography

Chader Pahar (Kamaleswar Mukherjee 2013).
Chillar Party (Nitesh Tiwari and Vikas Bahl 2011).
Dil Dhadakne Do (Zoya Akthar 2015).

Haathi Mere Saathi (Prabhu Solomon 2021).
Hum Aapke Hai Kaun (Sooraj Barjatya 1994).
Hum Saath Saath Hai (Sooraj Barjatya 1999).
Housefull 4 (Farhad Samji 2019).
Kishore Kumar Junior (Kaushik Ganguly 2018).
Kumki (Prabhu Solomon 2012).
Life of Pi (Ang Lee 2012).
Main Prem ki Deewani Hoon (Sooraj Bharjatya's 2003).
Manikarnika: The Queen of Jhansi (Kangana Ranaut 2019).
Panipat (Ashutosh Gowarikar 2019).
Ponniyin Selvan (Mani Ratnam Upcoming Release).
Sye Raa Narasimha Reddy (Surender Reddy 2019).
Tanhaji: *The Unsung Warrior* (Om Raut 2020).
Tiger v Wolves (Saif Akthar 2015).
Tiger Zinda Hai (Ali Abbas Zafar 2017).
Treasures of the Grasslands (Mihir Godbole, Makarand Dambhare 2019).
Walking with Wolves (Senani Hegde 2014).
Zoltan the Wolf Man (Darius Miniotas 2015).

12 Film as a majoritarian framework of Hindu nationalism

The case of *Purab Aur Pachhim*

Pankaj Jain and Ajay Raina

Introduction

A silent film *Bilat Pherat* (1921) showed the tension between Indians living in India versus Indians returning from abroad. From the 1960s to the 1980s, only a handful of Indian filmmakers shot their films in international locations. One category of these films belonged to the 'Holiday' genre pioneered by Raj Kapoor (*Around the World in Eight Dollars* and *Sangam*), Shakti Samanta (*An Evening in Paris*, *The Great Gambler*), and Pramod Chakravarty (*Love in Tokyo*). Such films showed foreign locales as tourist destinations (Jain 2019a). Another genre of films dealt with more contested issues such as cultural Nationalism or immigration. One film that stands out in this genre is *Purab Aur Pachhim*. *Purab Aur Pachhim* (PAP for short), the East and the West, brought Indian immigrants to the screen. Fortunately for him, even with such a non-formulaic and unconventional subject, PAP emerged as the fourth highest-grossing Hindi film in 1970,[1] beating many other films with established plotlines, actors, and directors. Its underlying message, articulated primarily through its melodious songs and unique narrative about the Indian encounter with a former colonial ruler and emphasising the cultural uniqueness and superiority of Hindu culture, makes the film relevant for study even though 50 years have passed since its release.

While the post-1990 films about NRI characters (NRI refers to non-resident Indians, i.e. Indians living abroad) such as *Dilwale Dulhaniya Le Jayenge*, *Kabhi Khushi Kabhi Gham*, and *Kal Ho Na Ho* targeted the NRI audience, proclaiming the arrival of a resurgent India as a soft power and garnered new respect for the diasporic Indians, the earlier films made in Europe looked at Indians settled abroad through the disparaging gaze of a 'deserter'. Of this, PAP is a striking example.

Manoj Kumar, a multi-faceted cinema personality, actor, writer, director, and producer of commercially successful films, was admired for his patriotic films. Looking back at PAP more than five decades after its release in the context of present-day political conditions in India makes for an insightful analysis. PAP's significant box office success after its release in 1970 implied that the ideology propagated in the film was unquestionably accepted by a large population of the middle-class cinema-going public. We suggest that the film's popularity allows us to see a template for Hindu Nationalism before it came into electoral power after

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-16

the 1990s. As per the tenets of Hindu Nationalism enunciated by its chief articulator Savarkar (2007), there can be social and community unity only between India's indigenous faiths, the Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Jains. Muslims and Christians cannot be included, because their holy land is not India. In this chapter, we analyse how the narrative and the image-making (mise-en-scene) promote the idea of the superiority of India's cultural past over the West and how, through the propagation of Hindu Nationalism, it becomes an early template for a majoritarian discourse currently in full bloom over vast swathes of India's political landscape.

More than five decades after its release, PAP raises some intriguing questions in the context of India's present-day political trajectory. Such questions could not be asked at the time or in the many years after its release because the ideology of Hindu Nationalism was not a potent political force then. The subliminal ideological framework of nation, citizenship, and the past and present of civilisation was not implied in their Hindu context in the 1970s. It did not seem to alarm so much then. In the second decade of the 21st century, the effects of Hindu Nationalism and its majoritarian discourse unleashed upon India are palpable. Our reading of the film demonstrates that compared with current standards of stridency in discourse over Nationalism, identity, culture, and religions, PAP seemed to have succeeded as a Hindu nationalist project without resorting to an overtly chauvinist or triumphalist discourse. In this chapter, we first survey East versus West tropes in Indian literature and films. Afterwards, we analyse PAP's plot in various subsections, from the opening scenes to the Indian hero's visit to the UK, the British heroine's visit to India, and finally, the climactic sequence. In conclusion, we summarise our analysis of the film.

The East–West Divide in Indian Film Culture

The ideological basis of PAP reflects the history of encounters between India and the West. In the 21st century, the interactions among the cultures of the East (Asia) and the West (Euro-America) are breaking the old barriers. In the context of India and the West, Wilhelm Halbfass (1988) reminds us:

> For Indians, preservation [of their traditions] is also an act of responding to the West. In modern times, responding to the Western presence and the global phenomenon of Westernisation is no longer a matter of personal choice or preference. Even withdrawal, silence, affirmation, and continuation of traditional forms are ways of responding.

Non-Western cultures, such as India, were forced to respond to Western hegemony from the 18th century onwards. In the heyday of the British Raj, Rudyard Kipling (1940) pitted the cultures of the East and the West in his verse, 'Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet', in his poem *The Ballad of East and the West* (1940). The influence of this verse can be seen in the titles of the films, such as *East Is East* (1999) and *West Is West* (2010). Shortly after Kipling (1940) noted this dichotomy, a dialogue between the East and the West started as Swami

Vivekananda began his speeches in Chicago on September 11, 1893. The enthusiastic reception by Americans led some to call him the bridge between the East and the West. Many of his articles from 1900 to 2001 were later anthologised as *The East and the West* (1909), reflecting the planet's two intellectual and spiritual spheres. Although critical of a Western materialistic lifestyle, he often advocated for a union of East and West (1909), 'It is undoubtedly true that just as the too active Western mind would profit by an admixture of Eastern introspection and the meditative habit, the Eastern would benefit by somewhat more significant activity and energy'.

In 1909, Mahatma Gandhi wrote his seminal work *Hind Swaraj*, one of Western civilisation's fiercest critiques. Here is a glimpse from this work showing the deep distrust he had against the West (Gandhi 1909, pp. 54–56):

> The Indian civilisation tends to elevate the moral being, and that of the Western civilisation is to propagate immorality. The latter is godless, and the former is based on a belief in God. So, understanding and so believing, it behoves every lover of India to cling to the old Indian civilisation even as a child clings to the mother's breast. India has evolved not to be beaten in the world. Nothing can equal the seeds sown by our ancestors. Rome went, Greece shared the same fate, the might of the Pharaohs was broken; Japan has become Westernised; of China, nothing can be said; but India is still, somehow, or other, sound at the foundation. The people of Europe learn their lessons from the writings of the men of Greece or Rome, which exist no longer in their former glory. In trying to learn from them, the Europeans imagined they would avoid Greece and Rome's mistakes. Such is their pitiable condition. In the midst of all this, India remains immovable, and that is her glory. It is a charge against India that her people are so uncivilised, ignorant, and stolid that it is impossible to induce them to adopt any changes. It is a charge really against our merit. What we have tested and found faithful on the anvil of experience; we dare not change. Many thrust their advice upon India, and she remains steady. This is her beauty: it is the sheet anchor of our hope. Civilisation is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our minds and our passions. So, doing, we know ourselves. The Gujarati equivalent for civilisation means 'good conduct.' If this definition is correct, as many writers have shown, India has nothing to learn from anybody else, and this is as it should be.

Some such criticism found its way into two songs in Hindi films, such as *Navrang* (1959) and *Jab Jab Phool Khile* (1965). In PAP, Manoj Kumar was influenced by Western civilisation's critiques by Gandhi and the East–West's confluence by Vivekananda. In his earlier films also, Manoj Kumar paid rich tributes to Indian leaders such as Bhagat Singh in *Shaheed* (1965) and Lal Bahadur Shastri in *Upkar* (1967). In addition to showing Swami Vivekananda's portraits in the film, the crew also visited Kanyakumari to capture a few scenes from Vivekananda Rock Memorial,

where Vivekananda received the inspiration to travel to the United States in 1893. In line with Vivekananda's thoughts, PAP starts with the bold statement that India is the heart of the East, the East that has given all the religions and their charismatic founding figures to the world, including the Buddha, Jesus Christ, and Prophet Muhammad. Like his earlier films, PAP has no other reference to any Muslim character, which led some critics to call him a right-winger or a Hindu nationalist. However, his subsequent films, *Shor* (1972) and *Kranti* (1981), had prominent Muslim characters.

As the global migration pathways opened, the people of the 'East' and those of the 'West' started mingling in the latter part of the 20th century. In 1965, American Immigration Law permitted the immigration of Asians into the United States, and this new law paved the way for thousands of Indians into the United States. Later in the 1990s, the floodgates opened for Indian IT professionals into the United States and elsewhere (Jain 2019b). Around the same time, in 1995, the film *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* heralded the era of Hindi films portraying the emerging Indian diaspora. This new wave of Hindi films led to books and articles analysing diaspora films. Although most recent studies have paid adequate attention to contemporary cinema, they have made only cursory references to PAP. Dudrah (2012) notes that the 2007 film *Namastey London* is inspired by PAP and even mentions that explicitly in one of the scenes. Mishra (2002), Desai (2006), Gehlawat (2015), and Chopra (2016) note that PAP shows the influence of Westernisation on Indians living abroad. Dudrah (2012) and a chapter in the volume by Domínguez and Desmond (2017) mention Gurinder Chadha's *Bride and Prejudice* (2004) and *Bhaji on the Beach* (1993), paying tribute to PAP. Krämer (2016) quotes Gurinder Chadha in detail and explains that Chadha, who grew up in Britain, strongly reacted to PAP's stereotypical portrayal of Indians in Britain. She called the film innovative and provocative (as cited in Macnab 2009) and counted Manoj Kumar as one of her films' inspirations. This review of various texts and films demonstrates the relevance of PAP even after five decades of its release.

Plot Analysis

According to an article published in a popular film magazine (Vijayakar 2000), Manoj Kumar's wife suggested the story idea to him after her disappointment with one of her relatives who abandoned India and settled abroad. In the 1960s and early 1970s, India was still beset with myriad political problems at the centre and in its different states. The nation brewed with many discords and disagreements on languages, regionalism, and internal and external security issues. India had to fight wars on many fronts after becoming an independent country in 1947, such as conflicts with Portugal as India claimed territories such as Goa in 1961 and Dadra and Nagar Haveli in 1954 (Rubinoff 1995) and full-scale wars with China in 1962 (Garver 2011) and with Pakistan in 1947 and 1965 (Bajwa 2013). It was still a country grappling with crippling poverty, food shortages, and a struggling economy. It was a basket case that needed financial help to find its place as a self-confident nation. In one of the PAP songs, there is a direct reference to a potentially

evil neighbour from which Indians must remain vigilant. Therefore, when PAP was released and achieved its box office success in the early 1970s, it must have appeared to have a healing effect on a starved nation; a worthy attempt at rejuvenating the national pride of Indians in its spiritual and cultural heritage at a time when everything else around appeared bleak and disheartening.

Opening Scenes and Prologue

The film opens as a tribute to the revolutionary Indian freedom fighters portrayed in an earlier black and white movie, *Anand Math* (1952). To stress the more right-wing portrayal of the freedom struggle of the 1940s, PAP begins with an overlap of religious fervour and patriotic passion. The film is set in India's heartland of Allahabad in 1942 at the height of the Quit India movement, a nonviolent, secular action led by M K Gandhi and the Congress Party. The choice of Allahabad could also be imagined as a confluence point not just of the significant Indian rivers Ganga and Yamuna as well as religious traditions of Hinduism and Islam but also of the great cultures of the East and the West that this film portrays. The houses adorn Hindu deities and Indian reformist leaders such as Rabindranath Tagore and Swami Vivekananda.

In the prologue, we see the patriarch, known as Guruji (respected teacher), played by Ashok Kumar. He is garbed as a Hindu sage and embodies the family's moral certitude steeped in conservative Hindu traditions. The extended family of the patriarch consists of his two sons, Harnam and Om, their wives and assorted cousins, and other relatives. The daughters-in-law in the family are named Ganga and Kaushalya, after mythical characters from the Indian epics Ramayana and Mahabharata. The elder son Harnam, played by Pran (an archetypal Indian film villain), betrays Om, his freedom fighter brother, to the British. In a gesture recalling a hoary tradition from Hindu customs, the martyred revolutionary's wife declares herself forever married. She refuses to be called a widow. Echoing this theme of a forever married woman (*Sada Suhagan*, or eternally married – as martyr's wives liked to be called), we see that India as a nation is also referred to as a forever married lady in the film's first song, in contrast, a traitor's wife achieves similar respect only after she removes her jewellery and other makeup and starts living like a widow. At the same time, the image of goddess Durga hovers over her highlighting the feminine power, *Shakti*. Both the women depict their strong agency as one, despite being a widow, refusing to wear a widow's attire, and the other takes upon a widow's garb as her husband betrays the nation.

The scene of Om's betrayal and martyrdom takes place in the main square of the small Indian town during a rainy night, alluding to the story of the child Lord Krishna (another epic figure). He is carried to safety by his father during a heavy downpour to protect him from the evil king. While making the connection between the Evil king and the British Empire transparent, the sequence also suggests the eternal divide that ruled Indian polity then; the divide between the Indians who favoured or emulated the British (the West) and those who wanted to live by the age-old Indian traditions. According to this scheme, Bharat, the martyr's orphan

son, will become a hero and be pitted against OP, the villain, the son of a traitor who has escaped to England to further his progress. Here, the film introduces its main claim about the cultural and moral superiority of Indians vis-à-vis the West, to be extended in-depth into the later parts of the film.

The film credits roll as India attains its freedom on August 15, 1947, with the British flag coming down and a Hindu religious song playing in the background. Simultaneously, Bharat (played by Manoj Kumar), the protagonist's name and India's ancient name, is born. The film now acquires all the colours after the first 17 black-and-white minutes. As the religious prayer ends, Bharat becomes a handsome man singing inside the Hindu temple with his mother and Guruji by his side; Guruji retains his overarching spiritual presence throughout the film. In a cinematic effect much used in Indian popular cinema to show the growing up of a hero from a child through a leap of 20 years, we see the baby Bharat (pre-Independence) become a boy and then a young man (of present times) in three time frames bridged by a devotional song *Om jai Jagdish hare* performed at the town temple. The mis-en-scene of the scene shifts from monochrome to colour not only to indicate the transition of India from the time of its independence, when the Indian tricolour is raised to replace the British flag, to its striving as a prospective industrial and agricultural economy, but also to suggest the deeply inculcated spiritual influence of Hindu scriptures, saints, and gods. Considering reading the film narrative's exposition, it would not be out of place to suggest that the town square and the temple have shaped Bharat's idea of India and his mental makeup in profound ways, as we shall see further.

After this spiritual prayer ends, Bharat goes to New Delhi to perform and sing in a college show on Indian Republic Day, which falls on January 26. At this college function, while one group of students insists that the programme announcer speaks in English, the other remains adamant that they would like to be addressed only in Hindi. Wedged in a situation where the stage manager feels forced to talk in two languages, the hero, in a typical Indian filmic fashion, comes to the rescue with a song. The song's lyrics celebrate India's 20th birthday as the film was released in 1970 (India became the Constitutional Republic on January 26, 1950). Paradoxically, the situation that frames this song's occasion emerges from an unresolved and divisive contestation in Indian polity over language and the continuing nature of North and South India relations. Although Hindi is now widely spoken and understood across India, partially due to the prevalence of Hindi films and popular songs, political resistance against Hindi remains strong in southern Indian states.

The Song of One India

Though PAP may be forgotten today, its songs such as '*Om jai Jagdish hare', 'Raghupati Raghav raja ram', 'Hai preet jahan ki reet sada*', and '*Dulhan chali, pehen chali*' continue to remain embedded in the collective memory of Indians to this day. Many of these songs evoke national pride in India's ancient heritage, its culture of inclusiveness, its superiority over the West, and its devotion towards free India's founding figures. On Independence Day, Republic Day, and Gandhi's

birth anniversary national celebrations, one can hear many PAP songs on television, radio, and loudspeakers in many towns, villages, colleges, and schools.

One of the prayers in the film *Om jai Jagdish hare* was written in the 1870s by Shardha Ram Phillauri. The song preceded the film, but its inclusion may have increased its immense popularity among Hindus worldwide (Manuel 1993, p. 108). The same verse, *Om jai Jagdish hare*, was earlier used in *Anand Math* (1952). Similar prayer songs were used in other Hindi films, including *Bhakt Prahlad* (1959), *Abdullah* (1980), *Aashiq Awara* (1993), *Namak* (1996), *Om Jai Jagdish* (2002), and *Baghban* (2003). This prayer, Om jai Jagdish hare and its many versions continue to be sung in many temples during morning and evening prayers. The background song on the film's opening credits earlier, an energetic rendition of *Vande Mataram*, an ode to Mother India, alludes to the sacrifices many patriotic Indians made to liberate India from the British. It appropriately frames the genre of PAP as a 'patriotic film' for the audience. The sense of patriotism that PAP is imbued with filters down to the audience in measured dosages through many other songs.

The song of One India, *Dulhan chali*, is a celebratory, vigorous, and rhythmic composition that imagines India as an innocent bride representing India's freedom struggle, which needs nurturing and protection from the enemies within and at the border. The three colours in the 'teen rang ki choli' allude to the tricolour Indian national flag. The image of an inclusive and secular India that the song evokes begins with references to the glory of the East, respect, and ownership of all religions that Indians practice, and contains a surfeit of references to India's hoary past, the Taj Mahal, Ajanta, the Himalayas, the Ganga and Yamuna rivers, and the stalwarts of Indian Freedom struggle. In a regurgitation of the statist hype that most Indians growing up in post-Nehruvian, socialist India of the 1960s and 1970s would have imbibed from their homes and schools and through mass media, the song counts the many attributes of India as one nation of much diversity. This is all clearly a regurgitation of the statist hype that most Indian's growing up in post – Nehruvian, socialist India of the 1960s and 1970s have imbibed from their homes, schools, and through mass media.

Bharat – That Is India

After a few scenes, the grown-up Bharat leaves India for higher studies in the UK, reminding the audience of the norm for several Indian leaders in the 19th and 20th centuries, including Gandhi and Nehru. Guruji gifts him the Bhagavad Gita as he leaves the favourite text of Indian sociopolitical and religious leaders in the last couple of centuries. Bharat accepts it humbly and reminds Guruji (and the audience) that he is going abroad only to acquire scientific knowledge (*Vigyaan). F*or him and his Guruji, India will always remain the land of spiritual and cultural wisdom (*Gyaan)* (Brosius and Yazgi 2007). The idea that India's freedom from constitutional colonialism must lead to independence from cultural colonialism makes this the essential premise of the film. The values and attributes of India Bharat is tasked to protect from corruption in his encounter with the West are a romanticised version of a newly independent nation-state striving to find its place in the world.

The idealised version of India he represents is unrepresentative of many parts of India's diverse cultures, classes, and religious traditions. The film does not display such diversities fixing it and its protagonists as representatives and articulators of a dominant caste, class, religion, and region (North India).

Bharat's host in London, JP Sharma, is an old friend of his martyred father and had migrated to England after the Partition. His family comprising his young hippie son and his cigarette-smoking wife and daughter are also there for shock and effect. The surprise is from knowing that this family is completely alienated from their Indian roots, religion, and 'culture' and being told that changing one's name, life partners, and family is considered fashionable in London. After Bharat is appropriately startled to see the heroine Preeti smoking cigarettes and wearing miniskirts, the last part of the film's title, *Pachhim* (i.e. West), appears. Surprisingly, many writings have used the spelling *Paschim* to refer to the film's title even though the spelling used is *Pachhim* in the film's censor board certificate and the film's title scene. The latter spelling highlights the local UP dialect while the former refers to the version closer to the Sanskrit term for west direction. The West (*Pachhim*) is iconified by the westernised heroine Preeti while the East (*Purab*) is iconified by the hero Bharat, who proudly clings to his Hindu cultural traditions.

As the protagonist meets other Indians in Britain, he is surprised that they are either ignorant about India or ashamed of their Indian roots. In a later scene, the British-raised Indian heroine, Preeti, mistakenly calls Bhagavad Gita, a novel whose heroine's name is Gita, highlighting the ignorance of Indians that grow up in Western countries. The protagonist politely declines offers of smoking, drinking, or dancing, greets everybody with a *namaste* and tries to remind everybody about the Indian cultural and sociopolitical iconic figures, texts, and places. The heroine, Preeti, the chain-smoking, blonde daughter of JP Sharma, a second-generation British citizen of Indian descent, is a typical London-bred English woman in every sense – in dress, demeanour, and outlook. She dresses 'provocatively' in short western dresses and high heels, chain-smokes, drinks heavily, and is in open, friendly relationships (though not sexually) with many men at the same time, particularly with the villainous OP (played by Prem Chopra), who is, in fact, Bharat's cousin.

The East and the West

These scenes are followed by a short montage of London nightlife replete with images of neon-lit billboards of Coca-Cola and assorted products and advertisements of sex shops and bare bodies gyrating to fast-paced music – the first indicator of how the East's encounter vis-à-vis the West would be presented in PAP through the rest of its discourse to strengthen its argument. Even among the many attractions that London offers its visitors, the only place Bharat wants to visit is the memorial dedicated to Udham Singh, who fought the British for India's freedom.

Bharat's idealised vision of India in PAP contrasts sharply with the assault on the senses we face in scenes when Bharat is in London. The camera movements comparing the nightlife and hippie culture of 1960s London with the Indian culture

of purity and serenity is a fascinating contrast of values. While most of London's shots are dark, with women showing cleavages and bare legs with playboy shots and smoking and drinking youth, the landscape of the town where Bharat has grown up; shot in broad daylight and vivid colours, does not seem to have changed at all in the two and a half decades of filmic time lapse. In this town, as portrayed in PAP, there is no milling of crowds, shopkeepers and hawkers on the streets, no ugly graffiti on the walls, and no traffic noise or people sounds. Instead, India has been enveloped in a time warp away from the sweat, grime, heat, and dust which typify an ordinary small-town street in India.

Bharat's subsequent encounters and relationships in London with other characters of Indian descent fall neatly into three or four categories signifying a downward gradation in stages of their alienation from the ideal Indian that Bharat claims to be. In the first group are the male members of Bharat's host family. While the father, JP Sharma, is nostalgic for a country left behind long ago, his son, who calls himself an 'Orphan', is in the process of connecting back to India through a gradual process of reclaiming his Hindu origins with the help of his hippie friends and followers of ISKCON, International Society for Krishna Consciousness, a Hindu new religious movement started in New York in the late 1960s. In the second group are the female members of his host family; the mother and the daughter are western in their outlook, behaviour, and attire for a significant part of the film. Bharat claiming these women for his idea of India forms the film's central plot.

The third group is the traitors and the betrayers; the uncle, Harnam, who escaped to London after betraying Bharat's father, and an Indian student who came to London to study but is so swayed by the temptations of the West that he refuses to go back. In true, popular Indian film fashion, both, with a bit of help from Bharat, will repent their errors and return to reclaim their respective abandoned families and country. However, it is the fourth group, Bharat's cousin, OP, and a mixed group of hoodlums of Indian and British descent who remain a challenge to Bharat until the end. Crucially, this group is also a representative of all the signs and symbols of Western culture's decadence that PAP can manage to bring up in contrast with the pristine nature of Indian society. In addition to disparaging the Indian values and traditions of respect for women and the elderly, of family ties and abstinence from vices, etc., this group is more than naturally preoccupied with all sorts of so-called depravities – partying, boozing, drugs, sexual licentiousness, and disrespect of women and of the elderly – which, from the perspective of Bharat, seems to constitute the West in its totality.

In the world of PAP, London is a decadent and hopelessly materialistic wasteland lacking morally upright and decent British citizens who could afford a foil to the moral degeneration of its society. Through its stress on the dark underside of Western Culture and omission of any morally liberating redress, PAP suggests that England is a spiritual desert that can only be saved by a Hindu spiritual movement that acquires a near revolutionary momentum in the film by its aggressive proselytisation of Hindu spiritual values through the chanting of *Hare Rama Hare Krishna* and singing of *Raghupati Raghav Raja Ram* on the streets. This shallow and reductive impression of England that we see from the perspective of Bharat and Manoj

Kumar (producer, writer, and director) is obviously at significant variance from the colonial or postcolonial experience of the diverse richness of European life that Indians have known from its literature, music, philosophy, architecture and cultural references, which abound in Indian landscape and cultural life even now.

In reading the PAP text, we must remember that in the period this film depicts, the 1970s, there was no internet or similar easy access or reach to the West in India. Most non-English speaking Indians were unaware of the profound experience of the colonial and postcolonial history of India's encounter with Britain. Therefore, for most such Indians, the idea of the West would come from Hollywood films or films like PAP and similar Indian films shot abroad or from word of mouth of some of their rare relatives. The latter may have lived or travelled to the West. The effect of such images on cine-going audiences in 1970 would be at the same level and of similar nature as WhatsApp, Twitter, and Facebook forwards and sharing in present days, where the authenticity or genuine nature of the shared media cannot be verified. The natural pretentiousness of cinema to appear 'real' and therefore 'authentic' engenders a suspension of disbelief in audiences, which is more accurate in the case of Indian popular cinema, where cine-goers approach the staged unfolding of events on the cinema screen with a certain sense of loyalty or devotion and jouissance towards the acts and travails of their screen heroes and heroines. PAP entraps its audiences into a similar cul-de-sac-like narrative regarding how it is led to perceive their hero's labours in his encounter with the West.

After the hero rescues the heroine from an attempted rape by OP, she falls in love with him. Saira Banu played Preeti's character well, perhaps because she had lived a similar life in Britain growing up. But why Bharat feels attracted to her is not explained in the film. His choice of Preeti as his would-be soulmate seems paradoxical given his disinterest in anything British and his background as a fanatically, tradition-bound nationalist Indian male who has grown up to respect convention-bound women who suffer and obey men stoically (his mother, aunt, and cousin). But this is not a love story in the conventional sense of a typical Bollywood romance where the lovers face obstacles to their conjugation from their families or the traditions of their society. Here, the love story's obstacle is the hero himself and his dogged insistence on returning to India with or without his heroine. From Bharat's point of view, this is an act of self-sacrifice at the altar of his idea of India as a culturally superior nation compared to the decadent West. Their marriage proposal hangs in the balance as the heroine refuses to move to India. After some negotiation, Bharat convinces her to a trip to India before the wedding, hoping that the journey will impress her with Indian cultural values.

British Heroine in India

When Preeti comes to India to fulfil her part of the bargain, her impressions of the country are at first of a typical western tourist. For her, India means only fearful multi-armed, skull-garlanded goddesses, and the venomous fangs of a cobra at a temple. Therefore, she demands to visit only the Taj Mahal wary of other stereotypical Hindu elements. As she lives with Bharat's family, she smokes and wears

western clothes. However, nobody in the family or village judges her lifestyle or choices, and she continues to experience their love and affection. But, through a series of gentle initiations into Hindu rituals and customs, lively and joyful encounters with the nationalistic and spiritual inheritance of Bharat and his household, introduction to the concept of devotion, diverse cultural heritage of the fairgrounds, songs of the seasons, and visits to pilgrimage sites spread across India, her tour in India turns into a process of gradual transformation leading to her embrace of Hinduism in the climactic scene. Preeti slowly appreciates Indian cultural elements such as bashfulness and obedience of Indian ladies, the ritual of *kanyadaan* at the wedding ceremony, prohibition of alcohol, nature worship, and parental love. In this transformation and acceptance of India, she also questions her western values and upbringing and gives up drinking, smoking, and even her western wear.

The film's premise is that India's freedom from colonialism must lead to cultural colonialism. This requires that the transformation we see in Preeti would be considered far-reaching and conclusive only if it is manifested in her complete giving up the influences and attractions of the West and surrendering to Indianness in her body and spirit. This happens in the film's last scene, an event staged as a surprise for the characters and the audience. The British – Indian characters have returned to India from the UK, and the villain has been appropriately punished. Preeti has quit drinking and smoking already. The resolution of the other subplots aids her reconversion process in the film, most importantly centred around her brother's complete submission to the ISKCON by implication Hinduism, and by returning to India and expression of remorse by Gurnam, the prodigal uncle. It is also no accident of the plot that the film's penultimate sequence is played out when the entire family and the British – Indian guests are on their way to the Badrinath temple shrine in the Himalayas, one of the most sacred Hindu pilgrimage sites. Here, two sub-pivotal events take place. First, Gurnam, having expressed remorse and regret for his past deeds of betrayal of India, finally annihilates his evil offspring, OP, who bears all the West's evils in his character. At the same time, in the death of the patriarch Guruji in the sacred environs of the Himalayas, we see the symbolic passing up of the legacy of India's age-old cultural values to the new heir, Bharat.

Happy Hindu Ending

The film's climax is a dramatic flourish that makes the audiences sit up. We are almost stunned to hear Preeti, who is dressed for the first time in an Indian bridal saree, a family heirloom gifted to her by Bharat's mother, sing the same old devotional bhajan, 'Om jai Jagdish hare', that had bridged Bharat's growing up years in the early part of the film. The connection of this particular bhajan with Bharat's cultural and spiritual coming of age, and its evocation by Preeti in the film's denouement, as she goes through the same awakening process into an Indian, cannot be missed. From the perspective of Preeti, who is not shown to have followed any religious practice back in England and has lived her life as a typical English citizen, her act of putting on the bridal sari, visiting the temple, and singing the bhajan, *Om Jai Jagadish Hare*, may come across to Indian audiences like an act of

shuddhikaran. Her *Ghar Wapsi* thus culminates the film's arc towards its desired project of liberating the Indians and its audiences from the cultural colonialism of the British, 20 odd years after the political independence of India was achieved. *Shuddhi* in Sanskrit (and other Indian languages) means purification, and it is a term used for reconverting those deemed to have been converted from Hinduism back to Hinduism (Mehta 2020). *Ghar Wapsi* (meaning Home Coming) is a series of reconversion activities facilitated by various Hindu Nationalist organisations to convert Christians and Muslims to Hinduism (Katju 2015).

Conclusion

Sheikh Mujibur Rehman in his review of a book by Partha Chatterjee (I am the people) about populism and the rise of the Hindu Right writes:

> In this grand narrative (about Hindutva), the idea of the people – nation is as old as Indian civilisation. And the upper caste Hindu male, speaking a northern Indian language is the most legitimate Indian, and every other identity is to be defined and placed with respect to the authentic Indian identity.[2]

The most cursory recollection of the foundational tenets of Hindu Nationalism articulated by its prominent ideologues in their writings and practised by its committed or unselfconscious adherents reminds us that it is a product of social and political thought, particularly of India's traditionally upper-caste male. It has inconvertible conceptions about who other Indians are or should be, as per beliefs and attitudes that have come down to them from ancient India's spiritual and cultural traditions. It automatically assumes fixed definitions of Indianness based on caste, religion, and specific moral attributes (or lack of) that people carry from birth or have given up on; as in the case of many British Indians in the film, who though upper caste and Hindu, are alienated from their Hindu cultural and religious roots and cannot be proper Indians till they are brought back home or converted back.

From the survey of the narrative and filmic discourse of PAP, it is amply clear that Bharat and his family are at the centre of PAP story because of their upper-caste Hindu status. Their conception of India and its rightful citizens is derived exclusively from their unquestionable acceptance of its Hindu past and traditions. Not only does PAP completely elide the subjectivities of other faiths, communities, and marginalised India, but also there is not even a token mention or representation of any other Indian religious faith, non-Hindu community, or non-Hindu traditions in its entire discourse spanning three hours of film duration. Assuming the mantle of an ideal Indian citizen as an inherited right by being the son of a martyred freedom fighter, Bharat espouses his idea of India zealously in his songs, religiosity, and eagerness to convert the lapsed Indians. He is the sole judge who can be considered Indian, anti-Indian, partially Indian, or a lapsed Indian needing reconversion. Those who hold contrasting views about India's poverty and social evils or even look up to the British culture favourably (e.g. OP, Gurnam) are not his friends if one were to say it mildly, but anti-nationals, if one were to use the

language prevalent in current nationalistic discourse. The only accomplices he can muster in his 'Greatness of India' project are those (from his host family in London) who are already on their way to reclaiming India by nostalgic remembrance or interest in Hinduism.

This chapter has highlighted innumerable instances from the narrative, the plotline, and visual design of PAP to illustrate how under the veneer of a patriotic film, in its conscious and unconscious biases, it projects a majoritarian, upper-caste Hindu and exclusive idea of India, derived from the core ideas of Hindu Nationalism. There is no evidence that this film may have been produced with the conscious intention to propagate Hindu Nationalism. Still, there can be many conjunctures about how its narrative has been short-circuited to turn it into a vehicle for broadcasting the values and anxieties of a dominant class of Indians. Indeed, there can be no doubt that about 100 years of propagation of the idea of Hindu Nationalism would undoubtedly affect arts and artists. The history of the trajectory of Hindu Nationalism would certainly not leave many parts of Indian society unaffected by its influence. The vacuum left after the abject collapse of the long rule of the secular Congress party is being filled up by other points of view on India's future.

Notes

1 Available from: www.imdb.com/list/ls000041304/ (access date 14.07.2022).
2 Available from: https://frontline.thehindu.com/books/book-review-i-am-the-people-by-partha-chatterjee-discusses-populism-and-the-rise-of-the-hindu-right-hindutva-politics-in-india/article34115734.ece.

References

Bajwa, F. N., 2013. *From Kutch to Tashkent: The Indo-Pakistan war of 1965*. London: Hurst.

Brosius, C. and Yazgi, N., 2007. Is there no place like home? Contesting cinematographic constructions of Indian diasporic experiences. *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 41 (3), 353–384.

Chopra, S., 2016. *The Indian diaspora in 'Purab Aur Paschim'*. Sonipat: Ashoka University.

Desai, J., 2006. Bollywood abroad: South Asian diasporic cosmopolitanism and Indian cinema. *In:* G. Rajan and S. Sharma, eds., *New cosmopolitanisms: South Asians in the US*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Domínguez, V. R. and Desmond, J., 2017. *Global perspectives on the United States: Pro-Americanism, anti-americanism, and the discourses between*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Dudrah, R., 2012. *Bollywood travels: Culture, diaspora, and border crossings in popular Hindi cinema*. Florence: Routledge.

Gandhi, M. K., 1909. *Hind Swaraj, or Indian home rule*. Ahmedabad: Navajivan.

Garver, J. W., 2011. *Protracted contest: Sino-Indian rivalry in the twentieth century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Gehlawat, A., 2015. *Twenty-first century Bollywood*. London: Routledge.

Halbfass, W., 1988. *India and Europe: An essay in understanding*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Jain, P., 2019a. Sara Jahan Hamara: Indian films and their portrayal of foreign destinations. *Visual Anthropology*, 32 (3–4), 343–352.

Jain, P., 2019b. *Dharma in America: A short history of Hindu-Jain diaspora*. London: Routledge.
Katju, M., 2015. The politics of 'Ghar Wapsi'. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 50 (1), 21–25.
Kipling, R., 1940. *Rudyard Kipling's verse: Definitive ed*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 233–236.
Krämer, L., 2016. *Bollywood in Britain: Cinema, brand, discursive complex*. New York: Bloomsbury.
Macnab, G., 2009. *Screen epiphanies: Filmmakers on the films that inspired them*. London: BFI, 51–53.
Manuel, P. L., 1993. *Cassette culture: Popular music and technology in North India*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Mehta, N., 2020. The inner revolution: Shuddhi and the reinvention of Hinduism. *Swarthmore Undergraduate History Journal*, 1 (1), Article 2.
Mishra, V., 2002. *Bollywood cinema: Temples of desire*. New York: Routledge.
Rubinoff, A. G., 1995. Political integration in Goa. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 11 (1), 36–60.
Savarkar, V. D., 2007. *Essentials of Hindutva*. Chandigarh: Abhishek Publications.
Vijayakar, R., 2000. *Stardust special issue 2000: 100 greatest films of all time.* Purab Aur Paschim. Available from: https://ilead-opac.blacloud.in/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=32948&shelfbrowse_itemnumber=41535.
Vivekananda, S., 1909. *The East and the West*. New York: Vedanta Society.

Filmography

Anand Math, 1952. Hemen Gupta, dir.; starring Prithviraj Kapoor, Pradeep Kumar, Bharat Bhushan, Gita Bali; in Hindi.
Bhaji on the Beach, 1993. Gurinder Chadha, dir.; starring Kim Vithana, Jimmi Harkishin, Sarita Khajuria, in English.
Bride and Prejudice, 2004. Gurinder Chadha, dir.; starring Aishwarya Rai and Martin Henderson; in English.
Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge, 1995. Aditya Chopra, dir.; starring Shah Rukh Khan, Kajol, and Amrish Puri; in Hindi.
East Is East, 1999. In English, Damien O'Donnell, dir; starring Om Puri and Linda Bassett.
Jab Phool Khile, 1965. Suraj Prakash, dir.; starring Shashi Kapoor, Nanda; in Hindi.
Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham, 2001. Karan Johar, dir.; starring Amitabh Bachchan, Jaya Bachchan, Shah Rukh Khan, Hrithik Roshan, Kajol, Kareena Kapoor; in Hindi.
Namastey London, 2007. Vipul Shah, dir.; starring Akshay Kumar and Katrina Kaif; in Hindi.
Navrang, 1959. V. Shantaram, dir.; starring Mahipal, Sandhya; in Hindi.
Pardes, 1997. Subhash Ghai, dir.; starring Shah Rukh Khan and Mahima Chaudhry; in Hindi.
Purab Aur Pacchim, 1970. Manoj Kumar, dir.; starring Manoj Kumar and Saira Banu; in Hindi.
Upkar, 1967. Manoj Kumar, dir.; Manoj Kumar, Asha Parikh, Prem Chopra; in Hindi.
West Is West, 2010. Andy De Emmony, dir.; Om Puri and Linda Bassett; in English.

13 *'Namastey London'*

Bollywood movies and their impact on how Indians perceive European destinations[1]

Bharath M. Josiam, Daniel Spears, Kirti Dutta, Sanjukta A. Pookulangara, and Tammy L. Kinley

Introduction

Bollywood films are making waves across the international stage, not only with their perfectly synchronised dancing but also in their depiction of Indian travel behaviours. This industry is one of the largest film industries in the world, producing over 1,000 movies every year. It is a $72 billion industry selling six billion tickets annually (Desai 2005; Lovgren 2004; Minocha and Stonehouse 2006). Its commercial size grew at the robust rate of 58% in the five year period between 2001 and 2005 (Lorenzen and Täube 2008). Film exports also expanded 30–50% year on year during the same period and were forecast to increase by a further 20% to 2010 (2008). A large chunk of this movie output from India comes from the city of Mumbai, formerly known as Bombay. Hence, the moniker of *Bollywood* was given to the Indian film Industry.

As a rapidly developing country, India has seen tremendous growth in its 300 million strong middle class (Rempel 2007) and their purchasing power in the past two decades. This growth boom has impacted all sectors of the Indian economy, including outbound international tourism. The combination of these forces has created an opportunity for growth in overseas tourism destinations, often influenced by Indians' perception of Bollywood films. A noteworthy piece of evidence of the Indian market potential is the recent surge of Indian tourists to Spain after the release of the Bollywood film – *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara*, set against a Spanish backdrop (Harjani 2011). Six months after its showing, the Spanish tourism board saw a 32% upswing of visitors from India to Spain (Harjani 2011). Similarly, Mr. Yash Chopra, a major producer/director of Bollywood movies, idealised Switzerland as a romantic destination in his films and subsequently caused an increase in outbound travel from India to Switzerland, increasing the outbound travel from India by 30% (Dubey 2008). With the proliferating number of consumers of Bollywood films, destination marketers are eager to capitalise on this crown jewel of the Asian market.

Evoking positive perceptions of the destination through image presentations has become an effective way to catapult the target destination into the tourist's consideration set. Images of film locations effect the audience's selection of one destination over another and their subsequent behaviours in the destination

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-17

(Bandyopadhyay 2008; Han and Lee 2008; Young and Young 2008; Kim and O'Connor 2011). Not surprisingly, the tourists who travel to a place depicted in a movie arrive with expectations and images about the location similar to what is shown on screen (Butler 2011). The images of the film thus affect some destination image components and heighten tourists' interest in visiting (Kim and Richardson 2003). Beverley and Niki (2009) suggested that media-induced tourism helps tourists fulfil fantasies of being in the films via the vicarious experience of actually travelling to the sites where they were filmed.

Tsiotsou and Ratten (2010) advocated that tourism marketers should heed general shifts in the population in order to identify the changing habits and demands of tourists. A number of convergent trends make it imperative to study the Indian outbound tourism market. First, with its swelling 300 million plus middle class (Rempel 2007), India has become an important member of the global consumer market. Second, there has been a tremendous growth of outbound international tourism from India, which is expected to continue for years to come. Millions of Indians now not only aspire to travel abroad but also actually possess the means to do so. Third, the size and scale of the multi-billion dollar Bollywood movie industry, and its role in filming movies in Europe, thus showcasing international destinations to Indians for decades, is now enabling Indians to move from the fantasy world of films to the real world of travel to featured destinations.

Given the potential growth of Bollywood and its growing clout on the Indian audience, a close look at their perceptions of European destinations, as seen through Bollywood films, will help open the door of European tourism wider for the Indian market (Kaur 2002; Miglani 2006). The purpose of this chapter, thus, is to investigate the profiles of Indian film viewers and their perceptions of major European destinations through the images of Bollywood cinema. The in-depth analysis of this growing segment can help destination marketers gain insight into the travel needs of the Indian market.

Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

1. To determine the demographic profile of Indians who watch Bollywood movies.
2. To determine Indians' engagement with Bollywood movies.
3. To determine the relationships between perceived images of European countries and their portrayal in Bollywood movies/TV.
4. To determine perceived images of European countries as destinations, and the attractions and activities they present to tourists.

Literature review

Film-induced tourism

Film tourism is defined as a 'tourist visit to a destination or attraction as a result of the destination's being featured on television, video, or the cinema screen'

(Hudson and Ritchie 2006b, p. 387; Beeton 2006). Evidence from around the world affirms that tourists are increasingly visiting destinations as a result of those places being depicted or featured in film or television (Connell 2005; Im and Chon 2008; Iwashita 2008). 'Destinations, landscapes, events and their contained cultures can be significant factors in the communication of tourism' (Crouch 2007, p. 72). Films not only influence destination choice but also impact the tourism industry. 'Film-induced tourism is partially based on tourist demands to escape reality to a better world represented in films' (O'Connor *et al*. 2008, p. 434). This makes it important for destination marketers to carefully craft their role in the filming process in order to portray an image that best reflects the location.

Motivations for travelling to screened locations

The AIETA Model (Rogers 1962) in consumer behaviour suggests that consumers go through a linear process of Awareness, Interest, Evaluation, Trial, and Adoption. Taking consumers through each of these steps is an expensive and time-consuming process for the marketer. According to Kotler *et al*. (2010), few methods in practice effectively 'take the consumer all the way from awareness to purchase' (p. 365). Time and money can be saved by giving free samples to consumers, effectively moving consumers to the Trial stage in one step. 'When you have a new or relatively unknown product, you need to generate awareness; prospects simply won't buy unless they are aware of your product's existence' (5MetaCom 2006). This is also true for destination marketing. Generating interest in a destination is the key to increasing visitation. Using the AIETA model as a guideline, films can act as a means of marketing a destination to millions of viewers, effectively taking viewers from the Awareness stage straight to the Trial stage of marketing, as they are 'taken' to a destination on the movie screen (Hudson and Ritchie 2006a).

Mannell and Iso-Ahola (1987) identified two motivational forces or dimensions of *escaping* and *seeking* that operate simultaneously to stimulate and result in tourist behaviour. An individual's travel behaviour is influenced by the desire to escape from one's routine personal and/or interpersonal environment while seeking rewarding personal and/or interpersonal experiences (Iso-Ahola 1983). Furthermore, according to Macionis and Sparks (2009), the two primary motivators for travelling to screened locations are novelty and fantasy.

Hudson and Ritchie (2006a) indicated that eight of ten residents of the UK remarked in a 2004 survey that they got the idea for their vacation destination through movies. VisitBritain (2006) estimated that one in five international tourists to the UK are inspired by movies or TV. 'The estimated financial value of movie-induced tourism in United Kingdom alone is about 1.6 billion pounds' (Suni and Komppula 2012). Though no established methods yet exist to measure film-induced tourism, film influences on tourism are evident in the increase in visitor numbers after a movie has been released (Singh and Best 2004). Their study followed the film-induced tourism prompted by the release of the Lord of the Rings trilogy. The authors found that the main motivation to visit Hobbiton (movie set/backdrop) was to experience the natural scenery of that place. This indicated that travellers motivated by a movie expect to see the views/

sceneries as shown in the movie. After the release of the Lord of the Rings trilogy, marketing material produced by Tourism New Zealand was created connecting locations from the films to the scenery of New Zealand displaying a documented effect on how movies can impact tourism (Croy 2004; Suni and Komppula 2012).

New Zealand, a film-friendly destination, is a prime example of a place that has successfully collaborated and leveraged off the success of The Lord of the Rings trilogy. Industry integration and collaboration between stakeholders are crucial for sustainable film-induced tourism to occur. The tourism and film stakeholders should work closely with each other to help promote their destination tourism and marketing strategies as well as their product differentiation more effectively.

Movies seen and places visited

The tourism literature is replete with studies that identify specific movies and then examine how they have induced tourism to destinations worldwide. In the UK, the relationship between film-induced tourism and destination branding of Yorkshire has been studied by O'Connor *et al*. (2008); Frost (2006) has studied the impact of the historical film – '*Braveheart*' and its impact on the destination image of Scotland. Furthermore, Iwashita (2008) has examined how Japanese tourists are motivated to visit the UK by films and television dramas. In addition, O'Connor (2011) has examined film-induced tourism to Ireland. Im and Chon (2008) studied the long-felt impact of '*The Sound of Music*' on tourism to Salzburg, Austria.

In addition to studies on movie-induced tourism to Europe, scholars have also studied how Korean TV dramas have attracted tourists from the Middle-East to Korea (Kim *et al*. 2009; Lin and Huang 2008). Frost (2010) has studied the impacts of movies on the Australian outback on tourist perceptions. Shani (2009) and Hudson *et al*. (2011) have studied the impact of movies on tourism to South America. Soliman (2011) has examined the impact of movies on domestic tourism within Egypt. Law *et al*. (2007) have critically examined the role of foreign tourists in Thailand.

Bollywood and travel motivations

In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, romantic sequences in Indian films were primarily shot in the mountainous region of Kashmir in India, widely regarded as 'heaven on Earth'. Bollywood directors were mesmerised by the beauty of Kashmir, so much so that the mountains in Kashmir became synonymous with romance in Bollywood. However, when terrorism threats in the late 1980s made the region difficult to reach, and later inaccessible, Bollywood directors began seeking substitute locations overseas (Qureshi 2012).

Fascination with foreign locations within Bollywood began in the mid-1960s when Raj Kapoor (Bollywood Producer/Director/Actor) shot his first colour film, titled *Sangam*, in Italy, France, and Switzerland. This started the foreign locations trend in Indian cinema. The trend accelerated in the 1970s to 1990s when actors

were transported to striking foreign locations like the Swiss Alps and Britain’s Summer Isles, which were the primary backdrops of many Yash Chopra productions (Shah 2012). More than 200 Bollywood titles have been shot in Switzerland over the past two decades alone (Global Tourism Industry News 2008). Many Indians flock annually to Swiss locations in which popular Bollywood films were shot to recreate and relive scenes from their favourite films. ‘Most of the Swiss sequences are dream scenes in which lovers dance or romp on Alpine meadows strewn with flowers or roll in the snow in unlikely flimsy Indian garb on wintry slopes’ (Tagliabue 2010).

Veteran Bollywood director Mr. Yash Chopra, noted as one of the greatest filmmakers in the history of Indian cinema, singlehandedly boosted tourism in Switzerland by regularly featuring the country’s lakes, misty valleys, and snow-capped mountains as the backdrop for his song and dance sequences during his career spanning 53 years (Dubey 2008). So grateful was the Swiss Tourism Authority that they named a lake after him. The director also played a part in promoting Britain as a glamorous destination. His classic film *Lamhe* (1991) was shot in London and the Lake District. When he produced *Mujhse Dosti Karoge* a decade later, Chopra again returned to England’s Lake District to film aboard one of the steamers which ply between Glen Ridding and Pooley Bridge, reveling in the twisting lake, rolling hills, and winding roads of the national park (Quereshi 2012).

Some of the biggest blockbusters of Bollywood that were shot in Western Europe and impacted Indian Bollywood viewers are *An Evening in Paris* (France and Switzerland), *Chandani, Lamhe, Dilwale Dulhaniya Le Jayenge* (UK, mainly Switzerland), *Bachna Ae Haseno* (Italy and Switzerland), *Taal* (Britain), *Kabhi Khushi Kabhi Gham* (UK), *Tal* (UK), *Namastey London* (UK), *Cheeni Kum* (UK), and *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara* (Spain). Many articles in the popular press have reported that Indian audiences and even non-Indian audiences who watch Bollywood movies on a regular basis visit the destinations shown in the movies (Tagliabue 2010; Munshi 2012; Lovgren 2004; Padmanabhan 2010).

To capitalise on this film-induced tourism, destination marketers must creatively advertise to these Bollywood viewers. An example of this type of creative marketing occurred in England when the Britain’s Tourism Authority created a ‘Bollywood map’ (Bollywood movies shot in Britain) depicting the most visited destinations by Indian tourists in Britain (‘Bollywood gives a boost’ 2008), pulling Indians directly to locations shown in Bollywood films.

Another major attraction and integral part of Bollywood movies are the elaborate song sequences. Almost every Bollywood movie has song sequences and dance numbers contributing to its earnings/profit and these elaborate numbers are often a major deciding factor in determining whether the movie will be a hit or a flop. Often, movie songs are shot at a scenic destination outside India, even though the rest of the movie is filmed within India. This creates an exotic appeal within the movies and plays a major role in attracting viewers. Movie soundtracks, music videos, and even remixed versions of songs of the Bollywood movies released in India and abroad are major pull factors to attract viewers to the theatre (Padmanabhan 2010).

Top tourist destinations in Europe

With over 81 million visitors worldwide in 2011, France ranks highest in tourist arrivals among all European destinations. Besides France, among the top five European countries with most tourist arrivals are Spain, Italy, Turkey, and the UK. Germany, ranked at #6 in tourist arrivals, had just over 28 million inbound visitors in 2011. Interestingly, Switzerland ranks at #16 among European countries in terms of tourist arrivals, with a 2011 total of 8.3 million worldwide visitors (Market Research Division, Ministry of Tourism 2011).

When looking at outbound travel, Indian tourists show different travel preferences to Europe. In 2010, outbound Indian tourists totalled just fewer than 14 million, a 7.7% increase from the previous year (Market Research Division, Ministry of Tourism 2011). The most popular European countries for outbound travel from India vary from those of the rest of the world. Not surprisingly, the UK is listed as one of the top destinations for Indian tourist. This preference for travel to the UK by Indians is likely because India and the UK have linkages dating back to the 1800s, with England as colonial master until 1947. Furthermore, there are millions of Indian immigrants living in the UK. Additionally, the UK is also prominently featured in many Bollywood films. These factors each amplify the levels of exposure most Indians have to the UK. Even though there are strong perceived ties between the UK and India, France attracts 50% more Indian tourists than UK (Alliance, T 2012), giving it top rank among most travelled to countries by outbound Indian tourists.

Though listed at #16 among worldwide rankings, Switzerland ranks as a top five destination for Indian tourists, with over 135,000 outbound travellers during 2009, finishing just behind Italy among outbound Indian travellers (Market Research Division, Ministry of Tourism 2011). Spain, also a current top five global destination, reported 52 million international visitors in 2009, but a surprisingly low number of only 12,800 were from India. However, numbers increased dramatically after the 2011 release of the Bollywood blockbuster *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara*. The number of reported Indian tourists in Spain in 2011 topped 115,000, increasing the arrivals from India by nearly 1000% (Munshi 2012).

Need for the study

The literature review has shown a number of convergent trends that contribute to increasing tourism to Europe from India. However, this phenomenon has not been addressed in the tourism literature. Furthermore, while there have been many articles of the impact of movies on international travel and tourism, no study has addressed the impact that Bollywood movies may have on outbound Indian travellers to Europe. Furthermore, no study has attempted to link a *genre* of movies (such as Bollywood) – and their impact on the image of multiple countries. These gaps in the literature on film-induced tourism need to be addressed. The purpose of this chapter, thus, is to investigate the profiles of Indian film viewers and their perceptions of major European destinations through the images of Bollywood cinema.

Methodology

The population of this study consisted of Indians 18 years old or older. A total of 670 respondents participated in this study. A survey questionnaire was constructed on the basis of previous studies on movie-induced tourism, destination image, and tourist consumption activity. Using a convenience sampling method, students in a post graduate marketing class, under the supervision of one of the co-authors, were employed to collect data. Students approached potential respondents at malls and metro stations in the national capital of India, New Delhi. Respondents were screened for their ability to complete a survey in the English language and by age.

The questionnaires included sections about movie preferences, levels of involvement with foreign travel/tourism, destination choices based upon movies viewed, and perceptions of attractions and activities at the destination based upon the influence of Bollywood movies/TV. The instrument consisted of six parts, all ranked on a 5-point Likert scale from ‘strongly disagree’ (1) to ‘strongly agree’ (5). The survey explored: (a) Indian Movie/TV preferences, (b) Sources for travel ideas, (c) Movies/TV influenced travel activity. Respondents also were asked about their perceptions or images of countries in Europe and what they offer for Indian tourists. Within this question, respondents were given ten Western European countries and asked to choose from varied perceptions such as great fun, great shopping, relaxing, and cultural and historic sites, among others. In the last three sections of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to (d) rate their level of involvement in international travel and tourism; (e) recall up to three Indian movies/TV programmes as well as the places that have inspired their choice of a travel destination abroad (outside of India); (f) complete questions regarding personal demographics, which would be used to determine the general characteristics of the sample. Descriptive statistics were used in the analysis of the survey results.

Findings

Objective 1: Demographic characteristics

The survey was successfully completed by 670 respondents. Table 13.1 illustrates demographics of the sample. Results show that 59% of respondents were male. The largest age cohort included respondents aged 22 to 29 years (58.1%). Most respondents were married (57.2%) and spoke Hindi, the national language of India (68.7%). The majority of respondents were employed full time (58.2%), though nearly a quarter indicated that they were students who were unemployed (24.0%). Furthermore, over 80% of respondents had a bachelor’s degree or higher. More than half (55%) of respondents had monthly household incomes between U.S. $1,000 and U.S. $ 2,000. Table 13.1 also shows that almost half of the respondents have previously travelled outside India (48.5%). The sample demographics reflect the urban, English-speaking, upper middle class of the Indian population who have the means and ability to travel to international destinations.

Table 13.1 Demographic profile of respondents.

	N (670)	*%*
Gender		
Female	275	41.0
Male	395	59.0
Age		
Under 21 years old	75	11.2
22–29 years old	389	58.1
30–39 years old	130	19.4
40–49 years old	50	7.5
50–60 years old	26	3.9
Marital status		
Married	383	57.2
Single	286	42.6
Mother Tongue		
Hindi	460	68.7
Punjabi	68	10.1
Bengali	42	6.3
Other	100	14.9
Employment status		
Not Employed (Student)	161	24.0
Not Employed (Non-Student)	55	8.2
Employed Part-Time	64	9.6
Employed Full-Time	390	58.2
Monthly household income		
Less than U.S. $1,000	175	26.1
U.S. $ 1,000 to U.S. $2,000	372	55.5
More than U.S. $1,000	123	18.4
Highest level of education		
High school or lower	21	3.1
Some college	88	13.1
Bachelor's degree	323	48.2
Graduate degree	228	34.0
Have travelled to		
Asia	71	10.6
South East Asia	25	3.7
Middle East	36	5.4
Africa	41	6.1
Australia/New Zealand	22	3.3
Europe	58	8.7
North America	22	3.3
South America	13	1.9
Travelled to multiple continents	37	5.5
I have not travelled outside India	345	51.5

Source: Own elaboration.

Objective 2: To determine Indian's engagement with Bollywood movies

Results indicate that Indians are highly engaged with Bollywood movies (Table 13.2). Over half of respondents (51.5%) seek information and gossip about new Indian movies *before* their release, and 39.1% of respondents indicate they watch movies in the theatre as soon as they are released. In addition, respondents

Table 13.2 Enthusiasm and engagement with Bollywood movies.

	N (670)	*%*
Movie Viewing Preference		
Seek information/gossip about new movies before release	345	51.5
Movie ‘Buff’ or ‘Super-fan’	194	29.9
I watch movies on the first day of release in theatres	193	28.8
I watch movies as soon as they are released in theatres	264	39.1
Weekly Consumption Behaviours:		
Watched 3 or more movies in Movie Theatres	168	25.1
Watched 3 or more movies on TV	322	48.1
Watched 3 or more movies on the Internet	171	25.6

Source: Own elaboration.

Table 13.3 Top Bollywood movies inducing travel to Europe.

Name of Indian movie	*Filming location*	*N (670)*	*%*
Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara	Spain	206	30.7
Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge	Switzerland, UK	182	27.2
Hum Dil De Chuke Sanam	Italy	102	15.2
Namastey London	UK	101	15.1
Don2	Germany, Switzerland	79	11.8
Bachna Ae Haseeno	Italy, Switzerland	75	11.2
Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham	UK	48	7.2
Rockstar	Czech Republic	46	6.9

Source: Own elaboration.

were asked the number of Indian movies they watch per week in movie theatres, on TV, and on the internet. Nearly half (48.1%) of respondents watched Indian movies on TV three or more times per week, and 25.1% indicated that they watched three or more films weekly in movie theatres.

Objective 3: To explore the relationships between perceived images of European countries and their portrayal in Bollywood movies/TV

To explore the relationship between Bollywood movie watching behaviour and international travel and tourism, respondents were asked to recall names of three movies that have inspired their choice of travel destination abroad. As illustrated in Table 13.3, almost a third (30.7%) of respondents said that *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara* was one movie motivating them to travel to Europe. Multiple survey respondents indicated that this Bollywood film specifically influenced travel plans. One respondent stated ‘[Bollywood films are a] great influence! Specifically from Indian movies, one of my friends had gone to Europe and planned another trip for Spain just after watching *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara*’. Another respondent states ‘one of my friends went to Europe after watching *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara’* and a third said ‘my family has been to places seen in the movies. My father has

Table 13.4 Top European countries Indians want to visit induced by Bollywood movies.

Country	*N (670)*	*%*
UK	306	45.7
Switzerland	274	40.9
Italy	256	38.2
Spain	164	24.5
France	107	16.0
Germany	65	9.7

Source: Own elaboration.

Table 13.5 Top five European countries and their destination attributes as seen by Indians.

	Good shopping	*Romantic*	*Good recreation*	*Relaxing*	*Nature/ scenery*	*Cultural sites*	*Great fun*	*Things to see*
Switz.	192	422	213	150	361	103	219	202
UK	356	223	178	161	200	226	224	271
Italy	202	260	147	141	194	202	184	118
Spain	143	192	229	144	223	163	191	173
France	211	253	151	171	189	140	138	107

Source: Own elaboration.

been to Europe and brother plans to go to Spain'. Table 13.4 shows that 45.7% of respondents wanted to travel to the UK after they watched movies, while 40.9% of respondents were motivated by Bollywood movies to travel to Switzerland.

Objective 4: To determine perceived images of European countries as destinations, and the attractions and activities they present to tourists

One of the main objectives of this study was to determine respondents' perceptions of European destinations; researchers wanted to understand what image comes to the respondent's mind when they think of a particular country. Respondents were presented with a list of ten Western European countries and a list of attributes for each of these countries. To facilitate concise presentation, this discussion categorises the ten countries into two groups – the five most popular and the five least popular among Indians (Tables 13.5 and 13.6).

It is intriguing to note that the UK was perceived to be the best place for shopping followed by France and Italy. Over 60% of respondents perceived UK to be their favourite shopping destination.

Over 69% of respondents said that they perceived Switzerland to be a romantic destination. Just over 40% perceive France and Italy as romantic destinations. It is noteworthy that Switzerland has nearly twice as many references as a romantic destination as its nearest competitor further suggesting that Switzerland has been romanticised in Bollywood films.

Table 13.6 Bottom five European countries and their destination attributes as seen by Indians.

	Good shopping	*Romantic*	*Good recreation*	*Relaxing*	*Nature/ scenery*	*Cultural sites*	*Great fun*	*Things to see*
Germany	126	141	162	133	153	164	154	104
Austria	143	187	170	154	167	53	90	76
Greece	92	145	101	106	162	219	82	80
Netherlands	82	111	113	107	135	82	78	64
Portugal	64	81	97	89	103	163	83	86

Source: Own elaboration.

Additionally, more than 69% of respondents said that they perceived Switzerland to be the best location for scenery, followed by Spain (35.8%) and the UK (32%). Switzerland was referenced by twice as many Indians for its scenery, probably, because hundreds of Bollywood films have been shot there.

About a third of respondents indicated Spain and Switzerland as destinations with good recreation. Similarly, these countries are perceived by approximately 30% of respondents as ‘great fun’. Often, recreational activities at these destinations are featured in Bollywood movies. For example, the scuba diving, sky diving, and *Running With the Bulls* in Spain are featured in *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara*, likely enhancing Indian’s perception of Spain as ‘great fun’ and a destination with good recreation.

Again, the UK, Switzerland, and Spain all rank highest in the ‘things to see’ category, with many Indian’s indicating that each country has plenty of things to do and see (25–40%). This study also found that over 35% of respondents perceived Greece, Italy, and the UK as excellent cultural sites.

Overall, it is seen that countries in the Top 5 list in unaided recall are cited most often and in multiple categories (Figure 13.1). They are perceived to be destinations that offer a rich and varied palate of places to see and activities to do. Furthermore, as seen in Figure 13.2, they also have a very low ranking in the category of ‘no image’. The strength of the perceived image of the UK, Spain, and Switzerland is likely due to the prevalence of these top three attribute-rich locations as backdrops for many Bollywood films. Because exposure to these settings is high in Bollywood films, Indian viewers can formulate stronger opinions of their perceptions of these countries.

Summary and implications

The findings of this study are consistent with the literature. Hudson and Ritchie (2006a, 2006b) have pointed out that some films are more successful than others in inducing tourism. They have also identified some critical factors that contribute to destination promotion. If the story line and the site are inter-linked, the audience is more likely to be emotionally involved with the film (Tooke and Baker 1996).

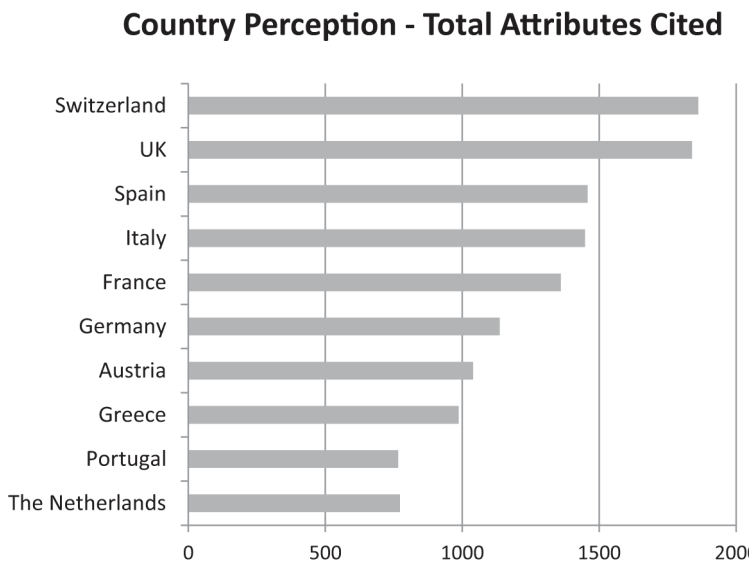

Figure 13.1 Total attributes cited by country.

Source: Own elaboration

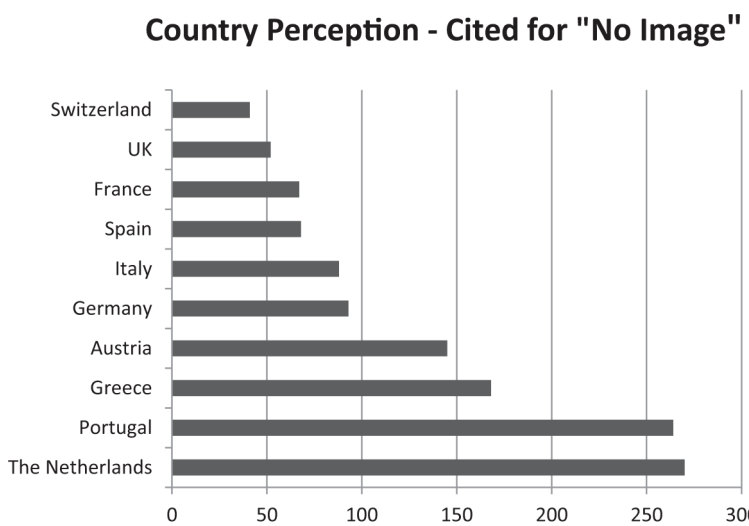

Figure 13.2 Countries cited for 'no image'.

Source: Own elaboration

The box-office success of a film can be a good predictor of movie-induced tourism (Grihault 2003). It seems that the popularity of Spain with Bollywood movie fans as a result of a single recent blockbuster hit (*Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara*) supports both of these contentions. Filmed primarily in Spain, the film played as a full length advertisement for Spanish Tourism, featuring the Bollywood actors participating in the *La Tomatina* Festival and the *Running of the Bulls* in Pamplona. Though not financing the film, the Spanish tourism board contributed location support and an additional $660,000 in subsidies (Munshi 2012). Since the release of the film in the Indian market, Spain witnessed a marked increase in Indian tourist, increasing numbers by 65% from 2011 to 2012 (Munshi 2012). Subsequently, the movie boosted Spanish tourism directly from India by more than 30%, especially in locations shown in the film (Harjani 2011).

Repeating exposure to the destination would lead to a higher level of engagement, familiarity, attachment, and identification. The popularity of Switzerland, UK, and France with Bollywood audiences is not surprising, given the number of movies that have showcased these countries over the decades, starting with the 1960s. Furthermore, many of these Bollywood movies were blockbuster hits in India.

Alarmingly, 35% of respondents said that they had ‘no image’ of Portugal or the Netherlands as tourism destinations (Figure 13.2). Though the scenery in Portugal is similar to its neighbouring country of Spain, this effect is likely because no major blockbuster Bollywood hit has been filmed to date in Portugal. Similarly, no major Bollywood blockbuster has been filmed in the Netherlands to date, thus the image of the country has not been portrayed to most Indian Bollywood viewers.

Interestingly, Portugal has seemed to take a cue from the success of its neighbouring country. PicturePortugal signed an agreement with a Mumbai company for the production of Indian films in Portugal in the hopes of spurring tourism growth of Indians to Portugal (New Protocol with Bollywood 2012), a country of which most Indians currently have little to no perceived image. Indian visitor numbers are low, at around 13,000 annually (Dev 2012). Depending on the success of future Bollywood movies filmed in Portugal, future research can compare and contrast Indian perceptions from the current study with the future.

Though featured in past Bollywood films, countries such as Greece, Austria, and the Netherlands have yet to be featured within a successful Bollywood blockbuster, or have failed to be identified as the correct country. For example, *Silsila*, directed by the famous Yash Chopra, was not a box office success but has since risen to cult status among Bollywood viewers (Jha 2011). Filmed partially in the Netherlands, the scenes of the Keukenhof Tulip Gardens are intertwined with mountains covered in snow with the main characters running about, potentially confusing the audience with images similar to those shot in Switzerland. Likely due to the confusion of country identity, the Netherlands has a high prevalence of Indian Bollywood viewers who rated it as ‘no opinion/image’. Similarly, multiple Bollywood films have featured Grecian backdrops, including *Chalte Chalte, Tashan*, and *Wanted*, though only one was commercially successful – *Wanted* reached blockbuster status as the

highest grossing film in Bollywood in 2009. It is likely that the limited exposure of Greece in films has contributed to the lack of image among Indian viewers.

Looking at the graph of 'no image' countries (Figure 13.2), it is evident that those countries with little to no blockbuster Bollywood movie exposure were noted as 'no image/opinion' more often than those frequently featured in Bollywood films, or in major Bollywood blockbusters. Taken together, the two graphs (Figures 13.1 and 13.2) seem to be an inverse of each other, with countries that appear high on one list, falling low on the other.

Conclusions

This study makes a strong and unique contribution to the literature on movie-induced tourism. First, Bollywood movies, as a major global movie genre, have not been addressed in the literature. Second, few studies have examined the impact of outbound tourism from India as major trend in global tourism. Third, no studies have linked multiple movies to tourist perceptions of multiple attributes of destinations in multiple countries. The current study is the first one to address these three major gaps in the literature.

The findings of this study suggest that perceived destination image of European countries is strongly influenced by Bollywood films among a large segment of the Indian population. As noted earlier, through immersion in Bollywood films, Indian moviegoers go from the Awareness stage directly to the Trial stage, skipping the Interest and the Evaluation stages of the AITEA process (Rogers 1962). Viewers vicariously experience an alternate fantasy world set in Switzerland or France within Bollywood films (Nayar 1997). Thus, many viewers become immersed in a fantasy film world and use the portrayal of the country on film as a representation of what that country offers in reality. This is consistent with the assertion by Macionis and Sparks (2009) that the two primary motivators for travelling to screened locations are novelty and fantasy. Indeed, J. Tagliabue (2010) has discussed how many Indian tourists in Switzerland re-enact scenes from Bollywood movies while touring the Swiss Alps, literally acting out their fantasies.

This strong level of influence has a significant impact on the marketing of tourism destinations through film. As Bollywood films seem to have such a significant influence on perceived image and travel intentions of Indian viewers, it is critical for destination marketers to concern themselves with Bollywood films in order to tap into the emerging market of affluent Indian tourists.

Limitations and future studies

Though a large sample was obtained, this study utilised a convenience sample to gather data. Thus, the findings of this study may not be generalisable to the entire Indian population. Future studies should utilise a random sampling procedure to gather a sample more representative of the entire population. Additionally, no verification procedures were utilised to check activity or purchase behaviour; the survey simply asked respondents to specify personal behaviour, which could

have been exaggerated, understated, or incorrectly recorded. Adding more specific questions in future data collection could aid in the verification of the influences of media on travel intentions and image perceptions.

Future studies could use a longitudinal design to look at how perceptions of destination image vary over the years as more and more Bollywood movies are filmed abroad. Additionally, the study design can be adapted for use in other Asian countries to see how Bollywood films influence the destination perceptions of other Asian populations and compare the effects to the results identified in this research. Furthermore, the scope of the study can be expanded to analyse the perception of worldwide destinations featured in Bollywood movies, including the United States, Malaysia, Australia, and New Zealand.

As increasing numbers of Indians travel worldwide, future studies can examine if Bollywood movies play a lesser or greater role in motivating Indians to travel to specific destinations. As movie producers shift location shooting to Spain, Portugal, and other countries, the country rankings found in this study will certainly change. For example, the impact of one movie as a motivation to visit Spain is likely to fade over time. Future studies can examine these issues.

Note

1 This chapter was originally published as Josiam, Bharath M., Spears, Daniel, Dutta, Kirti, Pookulangara, Sanjukta A., and Kinley, Tammy L. (2014) “Namastey London”: Bollywood Movies and Their Impact on how Indians Perceive European Destinations, *Hospitality Review*: Vol. 31: Iss. 4, Article 2.

References

5MetaCom, 2006. *How the adoption model affects your sales and marketing effort*. Available from: www.5metacom.com/documents/marketing_elements/marketing_elements-adoption_model.pdf (access date 01.04.2013).

Alliance, T., 2012. UK Tourism Statistics 2013. *Tourism Alliance*.

Bandyopadhyay, R., 2008. Nostalgia, identity and tourism: Bollywood in the Indian diaspora. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 6 (2), 79–100.

Beeton, S., 2006. Understanding film-induced tourism. *Tourism Analysis*, 11, 181–188.

Beverley, S. and Niki, M., 2009. Film-induced tourism: An incidental experience. *Tourism Review International*, 13, 93–101.

Bollywood gives a boost to tourism in Britain, 2008. *The Financial Express*, 02.05.2008. Available from: www.financialexpress.com/news/bollywood-gives-a-boost-to-tourism-in-britain/304253/ (access date 22.03.2010).

Butler, R. W., 2011. It’s only make believe: The implications of fictional and authentic locations in films. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 3 (2), 91–101.

Connell, J., 2005. Toddlers, tourism and Tobermory: Destination marketing issues and television-induced tourism. *Tourism Management*, 26 (5), 763–776.

Crouch, D., 2007. *The media and the tourist imagination*. Culture, Tourism and the Media, Proceedings of the 5th DeHaan Tourism Management Conference. Available from: www.docstoc.com/docs/21705520/wwww (access date 19.05.2013).

Croy, W. G., 2004. *The Lord of the Rings, New Zealand, and tourism: Image building with film*. Department of Management Working Paper 10/04, Monash University, Melbourne, https://doi.org/10.4225/03/5935fd34eb884.

Desai, R., 2005. Copyright infringement in the Indian film industry. *Vanderbilt Journal of Entertainment Law & Practice, Spring,* 7 (2), 259–278.

Dev, M., 2012. Turismo de Portugal expects to double visitor arrivals from India. *Express TravelWorld*. Available from: http://travel.financialexpress.com/sections/market-section/979-turismo-de-portugal-expects-to-double-visitor-arrivals-from-india (access date 28.03.2013).

Dubey, B., 2008. Bollywood, pied-piper for tourists. *Times of India*, 18.10.2008. Available from: http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Bollywood-pied-piper-for-tourists/articleshow/5135167.cms (access date 03.03.2010).

Frost, W., 2006. Braveheart-ed Ned Kelly: Historic films, heritage tourism and destination image. *Tourism Management*, 27 (2), 247–254.

Frost, W., 2010. Life changing experiences: Film and tourists in the Australian outback. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 37 (3), 707–726.

Global Tourism Industry News, 2008. Bollywood drives Indian tourists to Swiss Alps. *Travel News Group*. Available from: https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/industry/services/travel/bollywood-drives-indian-tourists-to-swiss-alps/articleshow/3330474.cms (access date 07.07.2023).

Grihault, N., 2003. Film tourism – the global picture. *Travel & Tourism Analyst*, 5, 1–22.

Han, H. and Lee, J., 2008. A study on the KBS TV drama winter sonata and its impact on Korea's Hallyu tourism development. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 24, 115–126.

Harjani, P., 2011. India's tourists flock to Spain. *CNN.com*, 19.09.2011. Available from: www.cnngo.com/mumbai/life/indian-movie-boosts-spanish-tourism-694426 (access date 26.09.2012).

Hudson, S. and Ritchie, B., 2006a. Promoting destinations via film tourism: An empirical identification of supporting marketing initiatives. *Journal of Travel Research*, 44 (4), 387–396.

Hudson, S. and Ritchie, B., 2006b. Film tourism and destination marketing: The case of Captain Corelli's Mandolin. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 12 (3), 256–268.

Hudson, S., Wang, Y. and Gil, S. M., 2011. The influence of a film on destination image and the desire to travel: A cross-cultural comparison. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 13 (2), 177–190.

Im, H. H. and Chon, K., 2008. An exploratory study of movie-induced tourism: A case of the movie the sound of music and its locations in Salzburg, Austria. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 24 (2–3), 229–238.

Iso-Ahola, S. E., 1983. Towards a social psychology of recreational travel. *Leisure Studies*, 2 (1), 45–56.

Iwashita, C., 2008. Roles of films and television dramas in international tourism: The case of Japanese tourists to the UK. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 24 (2–3), 139–151.

Kaur, R., 2002. Viewing the West through Bollywood: A celluloid occident in the making. *Contemporary South Asia*, 11 (2), 199–209.

Kim, H. and Richardson, S., 2003. Motion picture impacts on destination images. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30, 216–237.

Kim, S., Long, P. and Robinson, M., 2009. Small screen, big tourism: The role of popular Korean television dramas in South Korean tourism. *Tourism Geographies*, 11 (3), 308–333.

Kim, S. and O’Connor, N., 2011. A cross-cultural study of screen-tourists’ profiles. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 3 (2), 141–158.

Kotler, P., Bowen, J. T. and Makens, J. C., 2010. *Marketing for hospitality and tourism*, 5th Edition. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Law, L., Bunnell, T. and Ong, C. E., 2007. The beach, the gaze and film tourism. *Tourist Studies*, 7 (2), 141–164.

Lin, Y. and Huang, J., 2008. Analyzing the use of TV miniseries for Korea tourism marketing. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 24 (2–3), 223–227.

Lorenzen, M. and Täube, F. A., 2008. Breakout from Bollywood? The roles of social networks and regulation in the evolution of Indian film industry. *Journal of International Management*, 14, 286–299.

Lovgren, S., 2004. Bollywood: Indian films splice Bombay, Hollywood. *National Geographic News*. Available from: http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2004/01/0121_040121_bollywoodfilms.html (access date 22.03.2010).

Macionis, N. and Sparks, B., 2009. Film-induced tourism: An incidental experience. *Tourism Review International*, 13 (2), 93–101. https://doi.org/10.3727/154427209789604598.

Mannell, R. C. and Iso-Ahola, S. E., 1987. Psychological nature of leisure and tourism experience. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 14 (3), 314–331.

Market Research Division, Ministry of Tourism, 2011. *India tourism statistics 2010*. Ministry of Tourism, Government of India. Available from: http://tourism.nic.in/writereaddata/CMSPagePicture/file/Primary%20Content/MR/pub-OR-statistics/2011statisticsenglish.pdf (access date 19.04.2012).

Miglani, S., 2006. Sangam revisited. *The Sunday Tribune – Spectrum.*

Minocha, S. and Stonehouse, G., 2006. The ‘learning trap’: A Bollywood frame from strategic learning. *Management Decision*, 44 (10), 1344–1362.

Munshi, N., 2012. *Spain’s starring role in Bollywood movie a boon to tourism*. Available from: http://adage.com/article/global-news/spain-s-starring-role-bollywood-movie-a-boon-tourism/232511/ (access date 11.02.2013).

Nayar, S. J., 1997. The values of fantasy: Indian popular cinema through Western scripts. *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 31, 73–90.

New Protocol with Bollywood, 2012. Available from: www.pictureportugal.com/article/new-protocol-bollywood (access date 28.03.2013).

O’Connor, N., 2011. A conceptual examination of the film-induced tourism phenomenon in Ireland. *European Journal of Tourism, Hospitality and Recreation*, 2 (3), 105–125.

O’Connor, N., Flanagan, S. and Gilbert, D., 2008. The integration of film-induced tourism and destination branding in Yorkshire, UK. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 10, 423–437.

Padmanabhan, G., 2010. Jive to the beat. *The Hindu*, 08.03.2010. Available from: www.thehindu.com/features/metroplus/Jive-to-the-beat/article16544893.ece?homepage=true (access date 29.03.2010).

Qureshi, I., 2012. Bollywood in Britain-The Legacy of Yash Chopra. *The Guardian*, 23.

Rempel, S., 2007. Now it’s the Indian dream; middle class drives economy expected by IMF to surpass the U.S. by 2050. *The Toronto Star.*

Rogers, E. M., 1962. *Diffusion of innovation*. New York: Free Press.

Shah, G. R., 2012. The man who sparked Bollywood’s love of foreign locales. *The New York Times Global Edition: India*. Available from: http://india.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/10/23/the-man-who-sparked-bollywoods-love-of-exotic-locales/ (access date 18.05.2013).

Shani, A., 2009. Impacts of a historical film on the destination image of South America. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 15 (3), 229–242.

Singh, K. and Best, G., 2004. Film-induced tourism: Motivations of visitors to the Hobbiton movies set as featured in the lord of the rings. *In*: W. Frost, G. Croy and S. Beeton, eds., *International tourism and media conference proceedings*. Melbourne: Tourism Research Unit, Monash University, 98–111, 24–26.11.2004.

Soliman, D. M., 2011. Exploring the role of film in promoting domestic tourism: A case study of Al Fayoum, Egypt. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 17 (3), 225–235.

Suni, J. and Komppula, R., 2012. SF-filmvillage as a movie tourism destination – a case study of movie tourist push motivations. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 29 (5), 460–471.

Tagliabue, J., 2010. A beloved Bollywood extra draws Indians. *The New York Times*, 11.07.2010. Available from: www.nytimes.com/2010/07/12/world/europe/12swiss.html?_r=0.

Tooke, N. and Baker, M., 1996. Seeing is believing: The effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations, *Tourism Management*, 17 (2), 87–94.

Tsiotsou, R. and Ratten, V., 2010. Future research directions in tourism marketing. *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, 28 (4), 533–544.

VisitBritain, 2006. *Tourism insights: Info*. Available from: http://tourisminsights.info/ONLINEPUB/VISITBRITAIN/VISITBRITAIN.htm (access date 02.03.2010).

Young, A. and Young, R., 2008. Measuring the effects of film and television on tourism to screen locations: A theoretical and empirical perspective. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing*, 24 (2–3), 195–212.

Part V

Conclusions

Figure 5 Warsaw, with its iconic Palace of Culture and Science, is a symbol of a modern and rapidly developing city. Warsaw's downtown has been the setting for many Polish and international films, including the Indian action film *Kick* (2014).

Source: Wojciech Zieliński / stock.adobe.com

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-18

14 Conclusions

Film as a driver of new socio-economic connections between India and Europe

Hania Janta, Krzysztof Stachowiak, Jani Kozina, and Therese Sunngren-Granlund

Setting the scene

When the idea of this edited book first emerged in late 2020, the mobility of people and products, including work in the creative industry sector, came to a still. Suddenly, studying the phenomenon of Indian–European connections through film production as part of the international research project FilmInd (The Indian film industry as a driver of new socio-economic connections between India and Europe) became more complex than first anticipated. Some of our research plans, including participatory observation and unstructured interviews with an Indian film crew working in a European setting, became impossible to realise. International travel came to a halt, and so did maintaining and building new connections between Indian creative industries and European destinations. Today, three years later, the world seems to be catching up with lost time and opportunities although not all travel has resumed: "lockdowns" and restricted international travel continue, for example, in China or Japan. To what extent the restrictions have transformed the relationships between the creative industries, tourism and travel is yet to be seen. Could filming in European locations be less appealing in the post-COVID world?

The globalisation of the film industry in India is no longer a new phenomenon (Mazumdar 2011), yet it has taken a new turn with the significant upsurge of regional and national film commissions. After international travel resumed, in October 2022, *the India International Film Tourism Conclave* (IIFTC) took place in Mumbai again, attracting various global destinations ready to woo Indian producers (Everything Experiential 2022). Indian–European collaboration seems to be renewed. Although our edited volume analyses predominantly the Indian–European connections in the film industries prior COVID-19, the collectively gathered lessons learnt from the pre-crisis period provide a useful input for the processes of redevelopment and reestablishment of cooperation between Indian and European filmmakers.

Film and Place in an Intercultural Perspective fills an important gap in scholarship by exploring filmmaking in Europe by Indian producers. Our collection addresses three themes that are of importance to the current state of research: a) the representations of Europe on Indian screens: the diversity of the landscapes used and meanings they attempt to convey; b) push and pull factors, including various organisational arrangements and institutional mechanisms that play a key role in

DOI: 10.4324/9781003293347-19

attracting Indian film producers to specific European destinations; and c) social, cultural, environmental and economic impacts that Indian filmmaking in Europe has on destinations in both (sub)continents.

This edited book provides the observations of Indian and European researchers who represent various disciplinary strands, methodologies, and approaches to studying this emerging topic: the changing geography of film production. Based on the output of the project FilmInd (2019–2022) as well as three additional papers (Chapter 6: Cucco and Scaglioni; Chapter 13: Josiam *et al*.; Chapter 12: Jain and Raina), this collection seeks to advance this topic further by addressing the complexities of the changing geography of film production. These processes and consequences can be researched from different angles and this book offers a collection of various perspectives and ways of looking at the phenomenon.

The chapters of this edited collection offer various methodological approaches, such as in-depth interviews, surveys, textual analysis, ethnographic research, or cinematic analysis. The book examines various territorial contexts, such as "dreamy" Switzerland (Janta and Herzog this volume), "exciting" Italy (Cucco and Scaglioni this volume), "modern" UK (Jain and Raina this volume), as well as newly emerging destinations in much less studied Central and Eastern European and Nordic contexts: "historic" Poland (Balcerak *et al*. this volume) and "diverse" Slovenia (Kozina and Jelnikar this volume) as well as "snowy" Finland (Sunngren-Granlund this volume). This way, the book brings new evidence on Indian filmmaking from different corners of the European territory, stretching from east to west and south to north.

The collection also provides fascinating insights into cinematic aspects of various old and new films, which take us on a trip to the UK (*Purab Aur Pachhim 1970*), Switzerland (*Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge, The Big-Hearted Will Take the Bride* 1995), Spain (*Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara 2011*), or Austria (*Tiger Zinda Hai (Ali Abbas Zafar* 2017). As noted by Jhingan (this volume), the changing style of song sequences in recent films highlights the diverse soundscapes of European locations. Not only has the perception of these places changed radically but the places themselves have also been transformed by the films (Josiam *et al*. this volume, Janta and Herzog this volume).

How to research the nexus of film and place?

The authors published in this collection represent different disciplines and examine this multifaceted phenomenon through different theoretical and methodological perspectives. Sometimes this means taking advantage of theories and tools through a number of disciplines: geography, cultural studies, media studies, or management. In other cases, it means providing a singular perspective from which a phenomenon is studied. Film studies scholars examine cinematic aspects of using European locations in selected films, which includes the film's storyline and/or sound, in relation to the specific locations used, sometimes supporting the insights with qualitative data. On the other hand, geographers are interested in studying place and space, representation, and the meanings of spaces featured in films. Management researchers focus on various impacts deriving from filming in foreign locations, in destination branding and regional development. Increased tourism, its planning

and promotion, and the management of sometimes undesired consequences of film/screen tourism flows are important themes for tourism researchers. Film policy is investigated by media studies experts. Other key aspects related to the changing geography of filmmaking are infrastructure, clusters, and knowledge transfer – topics that are sometimes studied by both geographers and management researchers. *Film and Place in an Intercultural Perspective* highlights these various perspectives, providing insights into novel cases of globalisation of film production and the significance of Europe for Indian filmmaking. Researching this topic from different perspectives through various research methods has the potential to provide a fuller, more insightful and data-rich portrayal of the contemporary geography of film production. Finally, an important contribution of the collection lies in its balanced views: the book offers the voices of Indian as well as European researchers.

What is next? Future studies

As shown in Chapter 2 (Stachowiak this volume), film has a complex and multifaceted relationship with place. On the one hand, a film's setting can be a central element of its narrative, helping to define the characters and their motivations, as well as providing a backdrop against which the story unfolds. For example, a film set in a small town might examine the themes of community and isolation, while a film set in a bustling metropolis might explore themes of anonymity and urban alienation. At the same time, the film can also be used to examine and represent the culture and history of a particular place. Filmmakers often draw upon the unique qualities of a location to evoke a sense of authenticity and realism in their stories and can use the film's setting as a way to comment on social and political issues relevant to that place. Furthermore, the film can also have a transformative effect on the places in which it is set. The attention and publicity generated by a film can help revitalise struggling neighbourhoods and bring tourism to previously overlooked destinations. In some cases, the film's depiction of a place can even shape the way it is perceived and remembered by both locals and outsiders. The complex and dynamic relationship between film and place is worth further investigation. Whether used as a backdrop, a reflection of culture and history, or a catalyst for change, the connection between film and place is an integral part of the cinematic experience.

This book refers broadly to the field of film geography by attempting to take a step forward in understanding the complex relationship between film and place and space by looking at it from an intercultural perspective. Contemporary film geography moves beyond the role of film as a medium and attempts to deconstruct complex film-space relationships by drawing on humanistic approaches. As Lukinbeal and Sommerlad (2022, p. S1) note in the introduction to the special issue of GeoJournal devoted to film geography:

> nowadays, a critical perspective on film is central, which no longer considers the medium merely as a text, but rather as a social practice – a perspective that continues to focus not solely on the meaning of representations, but on what representations do and how they do it.

Further research could then consider film not only as social practice but also as spatial practice (Roberts 2020) in order to better understand the creative engagement with place mobilised through different filmmaking practices.

Next, this book addressed the absence of scholarly work on the increase in Indian filmmaking in European locations. Although the consequences of Indian filmmaking in Europe has been researched, to some extent, as part of screen/film tourism (Frank 2016; Gyimóthy 2018; Nanjangud and Reijnders 2022; Josiam *et al*. this volume), we noted while preparing this book some other important gaps that offer future research opportunities. Through our studies, as well as in our FilmInd project, we observed that collaboration remains limited between creative industries and other sectors who are interested in the productions, such as film commissions, Tourism Destination Management Organisations, and other public bodies. There are rare examples of collaborations between all the stakeholders from the pre-production phase (Tobías 2017). Set in the Spanish backdrop, *Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara* presents such one successful case and invites the spectator, a tourist-to-be, to explore Spain by car, plane and on foot (see Mazumdar this volume). Such collaborations can lead to outstanding results in country-branding and increased tourism numbers (see Josiam *et al*. this volume).

The tourism numbers are indeed mentioned by the producers who negotiate with destinations – a topic that requires careful planning and management. How to manage the unwanted consequences of film tourism? How to make cinematic destinations sustainable? These are some of the important questions to be asked when making films in foreign locales. In their study of Bollywood-inspired tourism to Iceland, Nanjangud and Reijnders (2022) observe limited interest in the actual destination, rather than following a cinematic experience: a search for loved characters dominates the tourism trip. Touring fans in Switzerland, England and France act out their fantasies, chasing the "romance" they know from the screen (Josiam *et al*. this volume). Technology also plays a vital role in shaping the experiences: the "check in" features on social media sites may be more important for the movie-lovers than the actual historic Europe.

The topic of sustainability and addressing the Sustainable Development Goals goes beyond film tourism – it is becoming important in relation to the whole environmental footprint of media production and distribution (Pabiś-Orzeszyna and Keilbach 2021). As postulated by Pabiś-Orzeszyna and Keilbach (2021), engaging in climate communication through film can be one way of "greening" media. Hariharan (in this volume), contributes to this debate by examining the deployment of animals for the *Tiger Zinda Hai* 2017 film shot in Austria. In analysing the film, Hariharan points to the attempts to pursue an ethical approach through its film inscription "No Animals Were Harmed in the Making of This Film". She further scrutinises how Bollywood negotiates animal rights movements and debates on animals.

Other questions that require more academic attention relate to the location setting. Film production culture (Caldwell 2008; Balcerak *et al*. this volume) has rarely been a focus of the investigation. While working conditions on the film set have been previously researched to some extent (Blair 2001), Mazumdar (2015) highlights the lack of research on media workers who "*will continue to remain*

hidden, reinforced systematically even by academic Scholarship" (p. 27). Indeed, research on "invisible workers" – lower-end workforce of the creative industries – remains another neglected topic.

Will the increased competition between destinations change the landscape of Indian filmmaking? To what extent do economic incentives play a role? Which collaborations will survive? From the comparative perspective, we can observe, on the one hand, that some traditional and well-established destinations, such as Switzerland (Janta and Herzog this volume), have already exceeded their saturation index, while on the other hand, new players from once neglected Central and Eastern (Kozina and Jelnikar this volume; Balcerak *et al*. this volume) and Nordic contexts (Sunngren-Granlund this volume) are gaining their momentum. This constellation of ranges between territories calls for a deeper understanding of new challenges for old markets and new opportunities for emerging markets.

Through our research we also noted some limited attempts (see Urbanc *et al*. this volume) to examine Europe on Indian screens from a quantitative perspective. Which destinations and landscapes specifically are attractive? Does their appeal change over time? Such questions can be answered using quantitative approaches. The previous research has rarely put any analytical focus on the territorial backgrounds portrayed in Indian films, although they represent a key scene in most of the song sequences. It is clear that the Indian producers search for new and exotic places to be mobilised into their filmmaking. However, less is known about what types of landscape patterns, landforms, and natural and cultural heritage are favoured by Indian film producers and audiences. Future studies should deepen our understanding of the European place-specific characteristics and/or requirements of Indian filmmakers. Such basic knowledge could then be more effectively translated into territorial branding, management, and tourism strategies.

Overall, this collection of papers expands our understanding of the globalisation of film production, looking specifically at Indian filmmaking in Europe. We hope that this book opens a new route of interdisciplinary dialogue between those interested in researching and practising this exciting phenomenon.

Acknowledgement

FilmInd project – The Indian film industry as a driver of new socio-economic connections was carried out within the EU-India Platform for Social Sciences and Humanities (EqUIP) and financed by national funding from the participating countries. The authors acknowledge receipt of funding from the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport of the Republic of Slovenia and Slovenian Research Agency (Research program P6-0101), Swiss National Science Foundation (Project No. IZEQZ1_180340), Academy of Finland (69 037; 324796), Polish National Science Centre (Project No. 2017/27/Z/HS4/00039).

References

Blair, H., 2001. 'You're only as good as your last job': The labour process and labour market in the British film industry. *Work, Employment and Society*, 15 (1), 149–169.

Caldwell, J. T., 2008. *Production culture: Industrial reflexivity and critical practice in film and television*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Everything Experiential, 2022. *International tourism boards woo Indian filmmakers post Covid*. Available from: http://everythingexperiential.businessworld.in/article/-International-Tourism-Boards-woo-Indian-filmmakers-post-Covid-/20-10-2022-451266/ (access date 29.12.2022).

Frank, S., 2016. Dwelling-in-motion: Indian Bollywood tourists and their hosts in the Swiss Alps. *Cultural Studies*, 30 (3), 506–531.

Gyimóthy, S., 2018. Transformations in destination texture: Curry and Bollywood romance in the Swiss Alps. *Tourist Studies*, 18 (3), 292–314.

Lukinbeal, C. and Sommerlad, E., 2022. Doing film geography. *GeoJournal*, 87 (1), 1–9.

Mazumdar, R., 2011. Aviation, tourism and dreaming in 1960s Bombay cinema. *BioScope: South Asian Screen Studies*, 2 (2), 129–155.

Mazumdar, R., 2015. 'Invisible work' in the Indian media industries. *Media Industries Journal*, 1 (3), 26–31.

Nanjangud, A. and Reijnders, S., 2022. On the tracks of musical screenscapes: Analysing the emerging phenomenon of Bollywood filmi-song tourism in Iceland. *Tourist Studies*, 22, 14687976221090728.

Pabiś-Orzeszyna, M. and Keilbach, J., 2021. Green(ing) media (studies). *Necsus*, 2, 105–112.

Roberts, L., 2020. Navigating cinematic geographies: Reflections on film as spatial practice. *In:* T. Edensor, A. Kalandides and U. Kothari, eds., *The Routledge handbook of place*. London: Routledge, 655–663.

Tobías, I. C., 2017. Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara: Exotic Spain, film tourism and the imagined geographies of the Indian middle class. *In:* A. Dhingra and G. López-Nadal, eds., *Indo-Spanish cultural encounters (1956–2016), impacts and visions*. New Delhi: Centre of Spanish, Portuguese, Italian & Latin American Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 271–286.

Index