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Representation of Chinese Indians in films: A sociological study

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Abstract

A small number of Chinese have been living in India, for over two centuries. Though this small community has not been represented in any big way in films yet the limited representation give a sense of how this diaspora is looked upon by the mainstream Indians. This paper examines the cinematic representation of the Chinese Indian community based on films made in Bengali (*Neel Akasher Nichey*), Hindi (*Howrah Bridge*, *Chinatown*, *Detective Byomkesh Bakshy*) and English (*Fire*).

Key words: Acculturation, Diaspora, Identity, Representation.

Introduction

The Chinese Indians constitute a very small community. They are in India, particularly in Calcutta (presently Kolkata), for more than two centuries. There are two Chinatowns in the city. The older one is in Central Calcutta. The newer one is situated in Tangra, in the eastern periphery of the city. The Tangra too is more a century old. The famous Indian Chinese cuisine was born in these Chinese localities. Several Chinese families from Kolkata have scattered to different Indian cities over the years. They focused on shoe making, carpentry, tanning, dentistry, restaurant business and beauty parlours (Liang 2007). In 1962, at the time of the Sino-Indian war, the relationship between the Chinese immigrants and the Indians became uncomfortable. Thereafter, the Chinese began to leave India. The population further declined after the closing down of the tanneries in 2002 on pollution ground.

Till date, none of the community members has made any feature film on any aspect of the Chinese society or culture¹. Most of the Chinese characters in Indian films are minor ones in limited number of films. But the treatment of such characters indicates how they are looked upon by the mainstream Indians. This paper examines the cinematic representation of the Chinese Indian community based on films made in Bengali, Hindi and English.



Neel Akasher Nichey (1959)

The Bengali film *Neel Akasher Nichey (Under the Blue sky)* is directed by noted director Mrinal Sen². It is based on Maha Devi Verma's short story *Chini Pheriwala*. Similar to the original story, the main character of this film is a Chinese hawker named Wang Lu who moves around the city of Calcutta to sell Chinese silk. He was a poor farmer in Shandong, China. He had no one except a younger sister. Due to drought he failed to pay tax to the landlord. The landlord took advantage of the situation and sexually exploited his sister. He also gave her some money. The incident made Wang very angry and he asked his sister to leave home. Next day he realized his mistake but could never find his sister. Ultimately he arrives in India in search of a living.

In Calcutta, Wang meets Basanti, a Bengalee lady. He shares his past with Basanti and gradually a sister-brother relationship develops between the two. However, Basanti's advocate husband suspects his wife having a love affair with the Chinese hawker. Tension emerges between the husband and the wife but not for too long. Meanwhile, Wang meets a girl, Ma Ki, probably a half-Chinese, who works as a maid in a restaurant and lives in the same Chinatown where Wang resides. Wang refuses to get involved in a love affairs with Ma Ki, in spite of the latter's continuous one sided efforts. Wang rejects the girl considering her bearing of loose character. On the other side, Basanti takes active part in the Indian Freedom Struggle against the British colonial rule and goes to Jail. The Indian Nationalist movement inspires Wang and finally he leaves for China ('my China') to defend his country from the Japanese invasion.

The film adaptation of the story makes a few noteworthy changes. The film does not include Wang Lu's father and the stepmother. The background too is shifted from Allahabad to Calcutta of 1930. The Chinese hawker is placed in the Chinatown of Central Calcutta to give an artistic credibility to the story.

The film shows the Chinese hawker as an emotionally insecure person who is in search of someone who can understand him. He wants to remain aloof from others – including his own people. He is always haunted by the memory of his lost sister. But surprisingly, he has no sympathy for women who are forced by circumstances to use their physical charm to make a living.

Banerjee correctly points out that the intention of the film is to bridge the psychological gap between the Indians and the Chinese as she observes, 'The film's coverage of China's struggles against imperialist advances in the 1930s is underscored through the juxtaposition of anti-British nationalism in India' (Banerjee 2007:439).



Howrah Bridge (1958)

The Bollywood film *Howrah Bridge* is directed by eminent director Shakti Samanta and it has Calcutta as its background. The film revolves round underworld activities. One of the major characters of the story is a Chinese named John Chang. He owns the hotel “Café Shanghai.” The presence of young Chinese porter or Chinese women walking through the street in front of the hotel suggests its location either in the Chinatown or in its vicinity though there is no mention of the Chinatown.

Chang always appears in western dresses and he seems to be rich. He speaks highly accented Hindi and decorates interiors with Chinese artifacts. Other than the hotel business, Chang is also involved in the illegal trade of antiques. Once, an Indian man, steals a family heirloom – a dragon and arrives in Calcutta from Burma to sell the antique to Chang. Clever Chang offers a price much lower than the market rate realising that the inexperienced man would face difficulties in selling the item in the open market. The man reluctantly agrees and leaves with the promise to sell the antique next day. Immediately thereafter, Chang goes inside a hidden chamber and telephones his aide Piyarilal and his associates murder the man on the Howrah Bridge and steal the dragon.

Thereafter, the victim’s brother comes to Calcutta for investigation. A notice appears in the newspaper offering cash reward for providing valuable information regarding that murder. Chang and Piyarilal abduct an innocent poor young man who was an eyewitness to the murder and keep the man inside a locked room. However, a quarrel breaks out between Chang and Piyarilal over the share of money. Chang plans to escape to Singapore with the antique and cash but he is murdered by Piyarilal. Ultimately, the gang is destroyed.

In this film, Chang is one of the central characters. Chang, Piyarilal, Joe (owner of a shady hotel on the bank of the river Ganga in Calcutta) and Joe’s niece and an attractive dancer Edna (although unwillingly) – form the smuggling racket. Chang manages his acts quite cleverly. He tries to work with everyone without any confrontation. He praises Edna for her beauty and decides to present her gifts but he does not show any bad motive to invade into Edna’s private life. Because of his benevolent nature, he forgives Piyarilal when the latter attacks him. But taking advantage of Chang’s carelessness, Piyarilal kills him.

Banerjee thinks that Chang’s character has been defined ‘In keeping with typical depictions of sophisticated dark characters in Hindi films of that era’ and his Chinese origin in this film therefore ‘does not add any specific negative qualities meant to deride China, impart any particular associations with Chinese culture or juxtapose the Chinese against Indians to make a point about one culture’s moral or intellectual superiority over the other’ (Banerjee 2007:440).



There are other important points too. Chang does not operate an exclusively Chinese gang – its members come from other community backgrounds as well. There are several mainstream Indian members in his group. His secretary, a girl named Dolly, is probably an Anglo-Indian. He knows the locale and its people and he has the necessary connections to run a criminal gang. He has overseas connections too. The place he chooses to flee – Singapore – has a dominant Chinese population. The director gives an impression that a Chinese in India, specially someone involved in criminal activities, has transnational network based on ethnicity.

In this context, it is also necessary to take a look at a minor Chinese character in this film – the Chinese servant, working in Edna's hotel. He is represented in a different way. He is shown as hardworking and obedient. This too a certain extent conforms to the other side of the stereotyping – the positive one. He is eager to receive tips from the boarders; he is loyal to his employer and is not involved in any questionable activity. Thus not all the Chinese have been shown as criminals.

Chinatown (1962)

The Hindi film *Chinatown* too is produced and directed by Shakti Samanta. The film portrays the Chinatown as a haven for the notorious criminals having international connections. There is, however, no indication as to which Chinatown of Calcutta the film refers to. In the Chinatown, Joseph Wang runs a smuggling racket from his hotel Blue Dragon. Wang declares, '*Sara Kolkatta mera muththi mein hai*' ('the entire Calcutta is under my control'). Wang's gang deals in opium and there is an opium den in his Blue Dragon hotel. Wang is intelligent, hardworking and cruel. He has some close associates, namely Jing Hua and Ching Li – two Chinese, Philip and Victor – probably two Anglo-Indian men, Osman – a Muslim goon, and Suzy – a cabaret dancer.

In the beginning of the film, Police arrests a notorious smuggler Mike who is a member of Chang's gang. However, the Police fails to extract any useful information from him. At that time, a police officer meets a young man, Shekhar, who is an exact look-alike of Mike. In fact, Mike and Shekhar are twin brothers and this fact remains unknown to both of them. They got separated from each other soon after their birth. Their father Shyamlal used to play violin in a hotel in Chinatown. He was unaware that the smugglers were using his musical instruments to secretly traffic opium. When he noticed, he informed the police. Thereafter, one night a Chinese goon named Wang, along with his companion Victor, visited Shyamlal's residence and kidnapped one of the two kids. The kidnapped kid later becomes the smuggler Mike. His brother later becomes the young man called Shekhar who later arrives in Calcutta in search of a job. The police officer offers Shekhar a bright future but in return urges him to obtain important information about the Chinatown Gang in disguise of Mike. Sekhar passed



information to the police from time to time despite challenges and finally the gang is destroyed.

Fire (1996)

Fire, a film in English, is directed by Deepa Mehta. It is basically a film on the value system of a north Indian middle class joint family engaged in business. The story is about the lesbian relationship developed between two women, wives of two brothers, who are neglected by their husbands. *Fire* is not certainly on the Chinese diaspora in India, however, it is a rare instance that includes Chinese Indians 'in some mentionable capacity' and the characters 'somewhat vocal about their experiences' (Banerjee 2007:450). But the film lost the opportunity to reveal the history of oppression of the community (ibid).

The main Chinese Indian character, Julie, is a pretty, young woman who works at a beauty salon. She plans to change her profession and cherishes the dream of making a career in the Hong Kong's Kung-Fu film industry. Despite her limited appearance, the viewers get a sense of her attitude towards Indian family, love, marriage, sexuality, freedom and ambition. Julie had refused to marry Jatin for her objection to live in a traditional family and to become a baby producing machine. However, she has no hesitation to continue love affair with her married boy friend. She enjoys physical relationship with Jatin in an empty beauty salon after working hours. In this film, the Chinese Indian girl has been used to be different from the Indian women who silently suffer in the traditional environment.

In one scene, Julie is seen in a Chinese restaurant along with her father, brother and Jatin. She is seen feeding Jatin with a chopstick. During conversation, her father, a middle aged gentleman, criticizes Indian society for its discriminating attitude towards the minorities. He laments that unlike the intelligent Chinese who went to Australia and Canada, his working class parents made a wrong decision to settle in India. The disgusted gentleman openly expresses his hate for India and makes strong remarks about Indians' daily hygiene habit. Then he turns to his son, a boy probably in his teens, and asks him about the names he is called at school. The boy answers that he is called a 'Chinki'. His father repeats the word and expresses anger for such disrespectful attitude towards the minorities in India. He shows full support to her daughter's ambitious career plan. The father character is employed here to critique the Indian attitude to the Chinese in India, an attitude which has given rise to hate and indignation which usually remain mute. This is significant as the frustration of the Chinese Indians usually remain mute in creative works,³ though the dissatisfaction of the Chinese about the Indian situation is well documented in the print media, in the documentary film (e.g. *The Legend of Fat Mama*) and in the opinions posted in the Internet. Here, Julie's father has been represented as someone who hates India whole heartedly. But the language used by Julie's father seems to be a little bit unusual. This is because the Chinese Indians are known for their polite nature; they prefer to avoid all sorts of conflicts with the local people. That



apart, after the Sino-Indian War in 1962, the members of the Chinese diaspora are reluctant to talk about their grievances against India, at least in public, out of fear. Therefore, the outburst of Julie's father in a public restaurant in front of a mainstream Indian is a shift from the general image of the community that we have in print literature and in audio-visual media.

Undoubtedly, the Chinese living in India had difficult times, particularly during the Sino-Indian War due to oppressive measures by the Indian State. Therefore, development of antagonism to India in the minds of the people are natural but that historical context has not been referred to in the film (Banerjee 2007:450).

Detective Byomkesh Bakshy

The most recent film, which has Calcutta's Chinatown as the backdrop, is *Detective Byomkesh Bakshy* (2015)⁴. However, there are very few Chinese characters in the film and all are in side roles. Byomkesh Bakshy is a famous fictional detective character created by Saradindu Bandyopadhyay, an eminent Bengali writer. This film is a mystery thriller and the story of the film is set in the Calcutta of 1940. The plot is about the sleuth's inquiry to crack the mysterious disappearance of his friend Ajit's father, who was a chemist by profession. As the investigation passes through different stages, the detective meets different puzzling characters, such as – owner of the lodging home where the father used to stay, a politician cum industrialist, an actress (who is also the mistress of the industrialist), another opportunist militant politician, a Japanese dentist, a Chinese opium dealer and a Chinese gang. The probe reveals that each of them has some connection with the mystery.

It is further revealed that the missing chemist had invented the formula of making one kind of heroin which is very hard to detect. Byomkesh also finds out that an ongoing gang war in the underworld of Calcutta over the illegal business of opium. It is a fight between two rival smuggling gangs – one Shanghai based Chinese gang and another Rangoon based gang. The Chinese gang is operating from its den in Chinatown of Calcutta. The rival gang, on the other hand, helps the Japanese army to attack Calcutta during the Second World War. The gang plans to establish a favourable government to establish its supremacy in opium smuggling.

While continuing with the investigation, the detective comes across a young Chinese man named Kanai Dao. Dao claims that he uses this name as the Bengalis cannot pronounce his Chinese name properly. The character is played by Meiyang Chang, a Chinese Indian. Initially, Dao introduces himself as a government licensed opium merchant. However, later it is disclosed that he is an undercover police officer. He helps Byomkesh in many ways, follows all the directions of the detective and takes the detective to the den of the Chinese gang in Chinatown. Byomkesh joins hand with the Chinese gang, informs the police and saves Calcutta by exposing the Japanese plot.



The only noteworthy Chinese character in the film is Dao. Dao appears to be smart and dependable but he only follows the instructions of the Indian hero of the film and does not do anything on his own. This is in line with all the other Bollywood movies where the Indian heroes take the central stage and almost single handedly they defeat the criminals, including Chinese gangs.

Conclusion

Compared to the Hindi films, *Neel Akasher Nichey* gives better ideas about the social life of Chinatown in Calcutta. In this film, the Chinese hawker is seen visiting a temple of Lord Buddha and so he appears to be a Buddhist. The Chinese New Year celebration has been shown at great length. In one restaurant scene, some Chinese customers are seen eating with chopsticks. In one occasion, the Chinese hawker is ordered to leave the restaurant for inability to pay for food. It indicates that he is a poor man. Once, this restaurant in Chinatown is raided by the police. One Chinese (Ching Lee) and one Indian Muslim (Osman) are arrested for possessing cocaine. This incident suggests that the Chinatown is the place for drug smuggling and a few Chinese have close link with the local Muslims involved in the illegal business.

In *Neel Akasher Nichey*, Ma Ki, the smart girl working in the restaurant speaks Bengali fluently. In one scene, she appears in a sari wearing it in north Indian style. On the occasion of the Chinese New Year's Day, she wears traditional Chinese dress. So she appears to be a half-Chinese and probably this character hints at the intercommunity marriage.

The Hindi films provide very limited information on the Chinese community of Calcutta. Wang, the main Chinese character of *Chinatown*, appears all the time in western dresses. His real name is Joseph, Wang being the family name. So he seems to be a Christian. On the other hand, Ching Li and Jing Hua are shown in traditional Chinese wear. They, in all probability, are Buddhist, though there is no clear indication in the film. Ching Li runs a shoe shop – one of the traditional occupations of the community. In his shop, some Chinese shoe makers are seen busy in making shoes. Ching Li talks very little; he always speaks in a restrained and low voice and speaks only when it is required. This image seems to be in conformity with the image of the ordinary Chinese people (Sreepantha 1999:80). In one of the scenes of the film, a Bengali customer is seen making a hard bargain at the time of purchasing a pair of shoes. Ching Li immediately agrees to sell the item at less than fifty percent of the price he had demanded in the very first place. The image supports the image of the Chinese artisans who sell products at a cheaper rate.

All the films show that the Chinese characters are little bit uncomfortable with the Hindi language and they mix English words with Hindi. From *Neel Akasher Nichey*, it appears that



the Chinese prefer Hindi than the local language Bengali. The films also hint at very limited interaction between the Chinese and the local Bengalees of Calcutta.

These Chinese prefer to keep safe distance from the other communities and they interact with the local Indians (particularly with the Bengalees) primarily in the work place. In films like *Chinatown* or *Neel Akasher Nichey* we find Bengalee customers purchasing items from the Chinese. The Chinese have relatively closer ties with other communities living in Calcutta. In Bollywood films, we find the Chinese doing business with Anglo-Indians, Muslims, and with the Marwarees.

The Hindi films do not make any effort to present an account of the Chinese diasporic life in Calcutta. Nevertheless, they try to create a 'Chinese' ambience in several scenes of the movies for exoticism. The majority of the films involving Chinese characters or Chinatown as the background do not involve any Chinese artist and most of the Chinese characters in the Indian cinema do not look like Chinese at all.⁵ As per the reports in the Internet shooting of a Hindi film named *Tina Ki Chabbi* was carried out in East-Calcutta's Chinatown located in Tangra. This is the first Indian feature film to be shot at this Chinatown. This film has a half - Chinese girl character played by a Sikkim model.⁶ With the growth of the Bollywood, Chinese artists from outside India have been used in films like *Fire*, *Chandni Chowk to China*, *Krish*, *Detective Byomkesh Bakshy* etc. But the participation of the Indian Chinese in Indian films is almost nonexistent. The only notable Chinese Indian artist is Meiyang Chang. He became famous for his singing skills. However, we have seen him only in one minor role of a Chinese character in a Bollywood film (*Detective Byomkesh Bakshy*). Though China has emerged as a major market for the Bollywood films in recent past⁷, yet the Chinatowns of Calcutta has not received much attention.

However, the films have made conscious efforts to create an ethnic 'Chinese' ambience by showing statues of dragons, Chinese wall hangings, and people in traditional Chinese dress. *Detective Byomkesh Bakshy* shows streets of Chinatown decorated with paper lanterns, Chinese women moving around with Chinese umbrellas, Chinese men playing Mahjong inside the restaurant decorated in Chinese style, opium den in a narrow dark lane of Chinatown etc. In *Neel Akasher Nichey*, there is an elaborate coverage of the Chinese New Year celebration. This film is also significant because some Chinese residents of Calcutta's Chinatown acted in the film and their names have been shown in the beginning of the film. The director also acknowledges their cooperation in the making of the movie. A Chinese girl from Dhapa Chinatown (Tangra) played a small but significant role in the film. Hsieh says, 'She was probably the only Chinese girl actress born & breed from Calcutta's China Town. She married a Bengali man, an actor of that film, and probably left for America (Hsieh 2011:153).



Apart from decorated Chinese ambience, the use of names having Chinese connection creates a sense of cultural remoteness and otherworldliness for the Indian audience. The hotel is named 'Blue Dragon' or 'Café Shanghai'; the smugglers' ship is 'Shanghai' and the smugglers are linked to places like Singapore. It also suggests that the Chinese smugglers have connection with the foreign countries with sizable Chinese population.

The Hindi films, like some literary works, depict the Chinatown as a mysterious place and link the Chinese with crimes. The Chinese locality, in a sense, helps to create a mysterious environment⁸.

Apart from the films discussed so far, there are a few more Indian films, mostly on crime, having Chinese characters in minor roles, e.g. *Dushman* (1990), *Andho Bichar* (1990) (the Bengali version of *Dushman*), *Awara*, *Pagal*, *Deewana* (2002), *36 Chinatown* (2006), *Chandni Chowk to China* (2009)⁹. Most of these films are about the underworld activities and there is no mention of the Chinese Indian community. There is no reference to Calcutta's Chinatowns as well.¹⁰ Monisa Quadri (2014) has named some Hindi films, where the villains look like the Chinese: *Tahalka* (1992), *Saazish* (1975), *Ye Gulistan Hamara* (1972) and *Gudachari 116* (1967)¹¹.

Banerjee points out that the representation of the Chinese characters in the Indian films changed after the Sino-Indian war of 1962. She argues, 'Chinese characters and China-related themes in films prior to the war are generally positive ones, conveying messages of political and/or personal solidarity and friendship with Indians' (Banerjee 2007:439).

She refers to *Neel Akasher Niche*. Banerjee points out that the sibling relationship between a Bengali lady and a Chinese hawkker corresponds to the "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai" sentiment prevalent that time. Here, we can also refer to the Hindi film *Dr. Kotnis Ki Amar Kahani* (1946) – perhaps the first Indian film in which the Chinese characters appeared for the first time¹².

Banerjee's article contributes significantly to our understanding of the Chinese Indian community in the context of Indo-China relations (Sen, 2007:394). Referring to Oxfeld's argument that the Indians' conceptions of the Chinese in India was largely determined by the Indian nationalist response to the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 (Oxfeld 1993), Banerjee argues that the image of 'untrustworthy' and 'back-stabbing' Chinese remains rooted in contemporary Indian psyche and nationhood (Banerjee, 2007:452). There was an effort to project the Chinese as the aggressor, as brutal and fundamentally different from peace-loving Indians. This idea was implemented at discursive, political, social and legal levels. As a result, the Chinese living in India, even those who were Indian citizens, became the target of strong measures taken by the government (ibid: 446). The durable legacies of these laws, influenced the Chinese residents' experiences in India. The Chinese felt excluded from the Indian society. Banerjee also underlines the lack of sensitivity among the Indians to the injustice done to the Chinese. She points out that the representation of the Chinese community of India 'is virtually non-existent in the Indian media, mainstream or otherwise' (ibid:437). There are



'a handful of popular films from previous decades featuring the Chinese in mostly peripheral or villainous roles' (ibid:437).

Though the Chinese have been stereotyped as criminals, we must note that stereotyping is a complicated issue and attributing motive runs the risk of making error. In *Howrah Bridge*, Chang is not shown to be the cruelest character. Piyarilal, a mainstream Indian character, seems to be more cruel than the Chinese villain. In *Chinatown*, there are Anglo-Indians, Muslims and Marwari characters involved in the crime racket. In fact, in the end, it is revealed that the person who is at the helm of affairs of these underworld activities is a mainstream Indian. Another important point is that there also exists completely different kind of image of the community like peace-loving people. Therefore, it would be a mistake to think that political motivation works behind representation of the Chinese in negative light in India. One should not forget that in large number of Indian films, the vamps, villains and prostitutes are Indian.

However, there is a tendency among Indians for stereotyping and it is documented in *Neel Akasher Nichey* as well – the film made before the Sino-Indian political tension. The film hints that the Bengali mindset dislikes the physical features of the Chinese and find those features comical. That apart, Basanti's husband and a servant, stereotype the Chinese by pointing out their perpetual untrustworthiness and their opium peddling careers. The lawyer husband remarks that, unlike the common Bengalis, the Chinese are very cunning and calculative. According to the servant, they try to impress the ordinary people to make profit. When enough is accumulated, they gold plate their teeth and leave the country. The lady, however, does not pay attention to such remarks. (Kar and Lahiri 2008:5).

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Notes

¹ So far, we find only one two books written by Chinese Indians – a story book (Li 2006) and one memoir (Hsieh 2011)

² According to the information available in the Internet, the film was banned for two years by the Government of India for its overt political overtones. (www.en.wikipedia.org)

³ Assamese novel *Makum* is an exception (Choudhury 2010).

⁴ For more information about *Detective Byomkesh Bakshy* see Pal (2015), Vats (2015), Bollywood Hungama News Network (2015), Gupta (2015).

⁵ The Chinese, in general, look different from the Indians (except the mongoloids living in North-East India) because of their physical features like yellow skin, small eyes, small nose etc.

⁶ Dhapa.2008. “Tina Ki Chaabi – 1st Bollywood Film in Tangra, Chinatown (www.dhapa.com).

⁷ See Aiyar (2006), Kripalani (2013), Roy Chowdhury (2008), Srinivas (2013), Uberoi (2011), Patra (2015).

⁸ See the following literary works in Bengali – *Kalo Bhromor* (Gupta 2010), *Dragon Syndicate* (Dhar 2013), *Hatir Danter Kaj* (Mitra 1992), *China Lodge* (Swapankumar 2012), *Jhao Jhien Hatya Rahasya* (Bhattacharya 2007), *Chinatown* (Das 1956-57) etc.

⁹ In *Roop Ki Rani Chor Ka Raja* (1993), the heroine, a member of a smuggling gang, arrives at a party to steal a valuable antique in the disguise of a Chinese magician.

¹⁰ Two films, *Haqqeeqat* (1964) and *Prem Pujari* (1970), are made against the backdrop of the border tension between India and China and in these films the Chinese army personnel are shown as inhuman and cruel (Quadri 2014).

¹¹ In *Krrish* (2006), there is a Chinese circus player, a good human being. A few insignificant overseas Chinese characters are shown in *De Dana Dan* (2009) or *Johar Mehmud in Hong Kong* (1971).

¹² The film is about the real life story of an Indian Physician who went to China in 1938 to treat Chinese and married a Chinese lady.