

Electronic Media in the Global Age: A Study of Indian Television

Neeraj Kumar¹

Abstract: This paper aims to analyse the impact of globalisation on Indian television and highlights how Indian television has responded to the challenges and opportunities presented by globalisation. It maps the history of Indian Television from pre-globalised era to post-globalised era. The coming of satellite TV in India, after globalisation, has been referred to as ‘cultural invasion’ or ‘cultural imperialism’ by many scholars. This paper analyses the changes occurring in the content of television programs by taking into account the notions of ‘cultural imperialism’, ‘globalisation’, and ‘hybridisation’/‘glocalisation’. The paper argues that though at the onset it would appear that there is an attempt to replace the native culture with Western culture/guest culture but this study’s analysis shows that there is very limited possibility of cultural replacement. Instead, there are more possibilities of various permutations and combinations of cultures which result in a new hybrid form of culture. Last, but not the least, the paper also highlights the changes occurring in the ideology of image making and portrayal of various characters, particularly women, in TV programs.

Introduction

This paper attempts to analyse the changes that are occurring in Indian television. To begin with, the history of Indian television has been discussed to better understand the situations, opportunities and issues prevailing at the time of inception of television and later. After globalisation, the introduction of transnational television revolutionized the viewing experience and brought significant changes in the life of many people. This paper attempts to map the changes that are taking place in the contents of programs of various TV channels after globalisation. The analysis has been done with the help of notions of cultural globalisation, and four sociological processes of homogenisation, pluralisation, traditionalisation and hybridisation/glocalisation. The paper also highlights how various characters are portrayed in TV programs after globalisation. This paper draws heavily on the author’s M. Phil. Dissertation submitted to the Centre for the Study of Social Systems, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. The study has utilized a content analysis based on a series of secondary sources of data including books, journal articles, newspapers, government reports, and websites.

The Indian media has been witnessing revolutionary changes and expansion after globalisation started in Indian in 1990s. The most significant changes are occurring in television, where chat shows, 24x7 news channels, reality shows, celebrity weddings and birthdays, sting operations, beauty pageants, sports events, award functions, political crisis, natural disasters, stand up comics, tarot reading, music channels and competing religious discourse etc. compete for space and attention (Chaudhury 2010). Prior to globalisation, there was a complete government monopoly over the broadcasting institutions and contents of broadcasting but this has entirely changed since the

1990s when the government ended the state monopoly of television by privatization. Before 1990s there was only one channel – DD National (Doordarshan National), but after globalisation there has been rapid growth of various TV channels. Firstly it was the introduction and expansion of cable TV, followed by the DTH (Direct to Home) service, that has contributed a lot in this regard.

Television was started in India as a developmental tool. In those years (the 1950s and 60s), throughout the world, the modernization paradigm² was the dominant perspective and development was used in its narrow sense i.e. ‘economic growth’ (Servaes and Malikhao 2003, 2). At that time, the main goal, particularly for the developing countries, was to evolve as a modern society by using technology and capital. Based on earlier discourse (Lerner 1958, 1967; Schramm 1963, 1964; de Sola Pool 1966), it was believed that mass media had the capacity to bring a significant increase in the level of development in developing nations. Rogers (1976) criticized the paradigm of development and broadened its definition. In the new discourse, he included social values like social advancement, equality, and freedom, besides economic growth. The new discourse viewed development as a participatory process of social change that can bring material as well as social advancement for the majority of people (Rogers 1976). The new concept of development communication argues for the promotion of social change by encouraging higher literacy, better health, and higher production of goods through more effective communication so that people’s quality of life could be improved (Rodrigues 2010).

Here, it is also important to note that the telecom sector in India is also considered as an important tool of development and that there has been a surge in the number of people using the internet either for entertainment or for gathering information (Govt. of India 2021). According to the World Bank³, in 2019, the number of people using the internet was only 34.45 percent of India’s population. However, there is a significantly high digital divide in India not only in terms of access but in terms of usage as well (Beniwal 2020; EPW Engage 2021). According to a study conducted by BARC (Broadcast Audience Research Council), around 836 million people, approximately 69 percent of India’s population according to the 2011 census, have access to TV and TV has 914 billion viewing minutes per week (Jha 2020). Hence, considering the deep penetration of TV in India, it can be argued that TV is still an influential mass media even in the age of internet because the internet still lacks the accessibility and usability in comparison to TV.

Conceptual Clarification and Theoretical Orientation

The paper employs the concepts like cultural imperialism/cultural invasion, hybridisation/glocalisation, and globalisation to make sense of the changes occurring in Indian Television programming. The term ‘cultural imperialism’ emerged in the 1960s and started dominating the discourse on international communication thereafter (Tomlinson 1991; Sparks 2012; Boyd-Barrett and Mirrlees 2020). The terms ‘cultural imperialism’ and ‘media imperialism’ are used interchangeably to demonstrate the significance of media contents and media corporations as agents of economic and cultural influence in other countries. These terms are also used to show how imperialism has extended beyond media products to influence the entire life world in terms of norms, values, ideas, educational system, pattern of governance in host countries (Boyd-Barrett and Mirrlees 2020). The term has also been understood as using the economic and political power to spread and exalt the habits and values of a foreign culture at the expense of native culture (Bullock and Trombley 1977, 303). Tunstall (1977) argued that though mass media originated in Europe it was in fact the United States which industrialised every mass medium and dominated global media.

Using the cultural imperialism thesis, he opined that, traditional, local and authentic cultures of many parts of the world were being replaced by large scale U.S. American commercials and media products. Although, the term cultural imperialism emerged in 1960s, there is no consensus on the definition. In this regard, Barker (1989, 292) claimed that there was no precise definition of 'cultural imperialism' and it appeared that the imperialist control was aided and abetted by importing supportive forms of culture.

Tomlinson (1991) opined that 'cultural imperialism' is a broad term and it cannot be assigned a single definition; instead, the definition must emerge from its discourse. He elaborates on four discourses of the term – (1) cultural imperialism as 'media imperialism' which is a particular way of discussing cultural imperialism by placing media at the centre; (2) cultural imperialism as a discourse of nationality focuses on the idea of invasion of indigenous culture by a foreign culture; (3) cultural imperialism as a critique of global capitalism views the world as a political-economic system of global capitalism and casts capitalism as the real imperialist power rather than particular nation-states; and (4) cultural imperialism as the critique of modernity stresses the effects of cultural imperialism on the world itself rather than on the individual. It is a discourse on global historical development which encompasses and reformulates the claims made by theorists of cultural imperialism. Boyd-Barrett (2015) stressed that 'media imperialism' is not a single theory but a field of study which uses different theories about the relationship between media and empire. It also incorporates the theories which explain how forms of imperial powers are used by media institutions. The term 'cultural invasion' is used in line with the term 'cultural imperialism'. It refers to spread of foreign cultural traits in the form of media products at the expense of native culture (Schiller 1976; Manchanda 1998; Page and Crawley 2001).

The literal meaning of the term hybridisation is the cross-breeding of two or more species to give birth to a third species which contains the characteristics of both species. In social sciences, hybridisation can take many forms like cultural, linguistic, political, racial etc. The term hybridisation or hybridity is a key term in post-colonial theory and is associated with the work of Bhabha (1994) where he analysed the relationship of colonizer and colonized. In post-colonial discourse, the term means cross-cultural exchange (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2013). Post-colonial theory tries to understand the impact of colonization on native societies. Hybridity is the "creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization" (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2013, 135). Bhabha (1994, 37) used the term 'Third Space of Enunciation' wherein cultural statements and cultural systems are constructed. 'Ambivalence' is another term associated with hybridity. Ambivalence refers to a "complex mix of attraction and repulsion that characterizes the relationship between colonizer and colonized" (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2013, 13). Hence, there exists simultaneous admiration and resentment among the colonized towards the colonizer rather than the colonized being deemed simply submissive. Hence, ambivalence can be understood as unwelcoming aspect of colonial discourse for the colonizer. The colonial discourse wants to produce compliant subjects – who could mimic the colonizers but "instead it produces ambivalent subjects whose 'mimicry' is never far from mockery" (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2013, 13). Though the colonial discourse wants to produce subjects who could reproduce its habits, values and assumptions but it never wants colonial subjects to be exact replicas of the colonizers (Bhabha 1994, 87). The interdependence of the colonizer and colonized and their ambivalence construct hybrid identities (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2013, 136).

'Glocalisation' is similar to the term hybridization. Glocalisation refers to the interplay between global and local. This term was adopted from the Japanese agricultural principle *dochakuka* that calls for the adaptation of farming techniques to local conditions. Japanese businesses have

also adopted this principle. Roland Robertson has been given the credit of popularizing the term. It can be defined as the interpenetration of the global and local resulting in a unique outcome in different geographical areas (Robertson 1995). Ritzer and Atalay (2010, 319) have discussed four important elements of the perspectives on glocalisation – firstly, the world is becoming more pluralistic; secondly, within a globalised world, individuals and local groups have great power to innovate, adapt and maneuver; thirdly, glocalisation is produced as a result of the varieties of reactions provoked by globalisation; and fourthly, in glocalised areas of the world, media and commodities are not viewed as totally coercive but rather viewed as material to be used in individual and group creation. The term ‘glocalisation’ is used sometimes synonymously with hybridisation. However, there are some Indian sociologists like T.K. Oommen (in Kumar and Welz 2003) and Vivek Kumar (2007) who prefer to use the term hybridisation due to its roots in the postcolonial discourse.

Globalisation started with the 16th-century geographical explorations, followed by colonisation and the Cold War (Kumar and Welz 2003). However, in India, it started in 1991 when the Government of India adopted the New Economic Policy (NEP) which liberalised the economy and opened its market to foreign nations. In the 1990s, India became part of the ‘Global World’ with the entry of several MNCs (Multinational Companies) supplemented by the advances made by IT Communication Technology. Robertson (1992) suggests that globalisation refers to the compression of the space resulting in the homogeneity of consciousness. Due to globalisation, different parts of the world have come closer to each other which in turn lead to homogeneity of consciousness among people of the different spaces. Nation-states are invariably dependent on one another and globalisation increases this interdependency, particularly, since the twentieth century when we entered into a ‘network society’ supplemented with the rise of Information and Communication Technology. George Ritzer, while discussing globalisation, argues:

globalization is a transplanetary process or set of processes involving increasing liquidity and the growing multidirectional flows of people, objects, places and information as well as the structures they encounter and create that are barriers to, or expedite, those flows... (Ritzer 2010, 2).

Hence, greater integration is not a necessary constituent of globalisation. However, it is true that with the easy flow of people in different directions, globalisation brings greater integration. Conversely, the level of integration can also be reduced by globalisation when the structure of a particular institution successfully blocks the flow.

The paper uses the theoretical formulations of T.K. Oommen (in Kumar and Welz 2003) regarding cultural globalisation and four sociological processes namely— (1) homogenisation, (2) pluralisation, (3) traditionalisation, and (4) hybridisation for making sense of the changes occurring in Indian television. Oommen draws from Ogburn’s (1922) notion of ‘cultural lag’ to argue that there are two types of cultures, material culture and non-material culture. While material culture like food, dress etc. has the propensity to spread at a very fast pace; non-material culture, which includes the symbolic dimensions of culture like value systems or democracy etc., spreads at a slow pace. This uneven speed of spread creates a gap between two types of cultures referred to as a ‘cultural lag’. By using this concept, Oommen wants to highlight the fact that the material culture must be compatible to the cultural values of a society to gain acceptance. Hence, mere accessibility or availability will not lead to acceptability. Similarly, new coming cultural traits must also be compatible with the existing cultural values of a society to gain acceptance. He gives examples of Jazz music and MTV, to highlight the unacceptability of new cultural elements

in host societies.

Oommen argues that there is a propensity that some kinds of non-material cultural traits like music will spread at a very fast pace. However, they also undergo local adaptations which incorporate specificity of culture in particular regions giving birth to numerous permutations and combinations. Thus, Oommen talks not about a singular world culture but plurality of world cultures. In this regard, he asserts that the process of cultural globalisation started with 16th century geographical explorations. When the colonizers reached different parts of the world they met with 'three others', '*the savage other*' whose epic centre was in Americas and Australia - 'The New World' though, '*the savage other*' also existed in European periphery, '*the black other*' which includes the African Continent, and '*the oriental other*' which is composed of three civilisations, Egyptian, Indian and Chinese. Oommen asserts that in the New World, the colonizers were successful in replicating the European cultural system. But in '*the savage other*' and '*the oriental other*' they chose to retreat because of anti-imperialist struggles. Therefore, in case of Africa and Asia, they did not change everything but left some cultural deposits. Thus, unlike the New World, the empirical situation in Africa and Asia is a curious mixture of various cultures like Islamic, European, local and syncretic. Hence, one cannot think of one world having one culture, rather there are always various permutations and combinations.

We are aware about the existence of 'three worlds' before the Cold War. In the 1980s the Cold War ended and the Second World disappeared and a unipolar world emerged. Hence, it is argued that we have a world society and therefore a global culture but Oommen does not endorse the concept of one world culture. However, Oommen accepts that one can think of world society in a sense in which communication flows are very easy, reliable and quick but world culture is a different proposition. In the creation of global culture/world culture, four interrelated processes are involved known as homogenisation, pluralisation, traditionalisation, and hybridisation. Oommen argues that when we communicate with other parts of the world all the time then it will certainly leave an impact. It is possible that material things like blue jeans or non material things like pop music or democracy become global. Therefore, one can think of one layer of culture and ideas being homogenised. Nevertheless, underneath the process of homogenisation is a process of pluralisation. In India, though the youth wears jeans, in many situations jeans are not preferred or allowed, hence Oommen argues that adoption of a specific item from the package of global culture is one thing and using it on a regular basis is another. Similarly, we get a different phenomenon if we compare the situation of Indian democracy with its multi-parties and their links to various religions and castes with the democracies in the First World. Therefore, adaption according to the needs and aspirations of local/national situation is necessary which brings in the process of pluralisation.

Oommen asserts that homogenisation often means hegemonisation or assimilation of minority groups in the mainstream dominant culture. Hegemonisation often leads to revivalism or traditionalism. There are two types of traditions – little tradition and great tradition⁴. When we talk of civilisations then we talk about Great traditions. But within these traditions there are Little traditions, for example, within Hindu Tradition (as Great tradition) there are Buddhist, Sikh and Jain traditions (Little traditions). Hence, little traditions will counter the homogenising tendency of Great traditions. In the process of adaptation, mutation occurs. In mutation, some of the traditional aspects are retained and some of the aspects of the modern are adopted to give birth to something new, which is referred to as the process of hybridisation. Sometimes, in hybridisation, the form is retained but the content is changed. Oommen argues that a world society accommodates all the four sociological processes and all these processes can exist simultaneously.

Hence, world culture cannot be conceptualised as a monoculture.

History of Indian Television

The rise and expansion of Indian television can be understood as a reflection of the commodification of culture. Today, it is treated as a product or commodity in the market. These products can be consumed and appropriated in different forms like news, serials, quiz shows, movies, cartoons, and music. Before analysing the changes taking place in Indian television, a history of Indian television must be discussed. For the convenience of the study, the history of Indian television has been divided into two segments: (1) pre-globalisation (before the 1990s) and (2) post-globalisation. The history of Indian television has been analysed on the basis of these two segments because since 1959 to 1991 the Indian Television was growing slowly and struggling to meet its goals. The speed of its penetration was slow, and it was limited to a particular audience. After globalisation (1991 onwards), Indian television grew rapidly, and several significant changes took place. The history of Indian TV along with major events has been illustrated in a table below.

Indian Television before Globalisation

At the time of independence, the infrastructure of the media landscape consisted of newspapers, the state-run radio network All India Radio (AIR), a commercial film industry and the Film Division (established in 1949), a wing of the state apparatus for the dissemination of developmental education and national integration messages. Besides these, there were other narrow cast and interpersonal media like wall newspapers, newsletters, posters and pamphlets, although these were mainly in urban areas. This mass media was largely urban centered and was expected to take up the themes of the new government, namely – unity, progress and social change. However, there was a degree of foreign content in the media landscape at this time as well. English language films were imported predominantly from the United States, but could not influence the public consciousness as much as Shantaram, Mehboob, Raj Kapoor and Guru Dutt (Butcher 2003).

Television broadcasting in India started in September 1959 but it was only a pilot experiment. The daily broadcasting began six years later in 1965 with the aim of broadcasting development messages into villages (Singhal and Rogers 2001; Butcher 2003). In 1968, a national satellite communication group (NASCOM) came into existence to speed up the development process. During 1975-76, the NASCOM planning group experimented with one-year pilot project – SITE (The Satellite Instructional Television Experiment). The objectives of SITE were providing rural teacher training, improving rural primary education, contributing to family planning, improving agriculture, improving health, hygiene and nutritional practices, and national integration (Agarwal 1981).

After SITE, another community-based television experiment, Kheda Communication Project (KCP), was started for educational purposes in India in 1975. Through this project, social change and rural development were promoted at the local level. The TV programs of KCP dealt with local issues like – alcoholism, exploitation, minimum wage, caste discrimination, and local and national elections. Issues like family planning, gender equality, and village sanitation were addressed using television serials, dramas, and other popular regional formats (Mody 1991). Although, the projects of SITE and Kheda did meet their goals for some time but due to various bureaucratic and governance related issues they lasted for a short time and the mission of using satellite television to address rural needs ran into the ground by the 1990s (Singhal and Rogers 2001). However,

during this period, India made advancement in satellite technology and a range of INSAT (Indian National Satellite) satellites were launched. By 1988, the access of television reached to 62 percent of the population (Singhal and Rogers 2001, 85). Despite this widespread increase, rural households and those of lower socio-economic status were least likely to have television access (ibid.). In those days commodities like televisions were considered a luxury and people with lower socio-economic status could not afford them.

In 1976, commercial advertisements were introduced by Doordarshan for the first time on the Indian television to support broadcasting of imported programs (Ninan 1995). In the year 1982, colour television sets were introduced in India. In 1984, soap operas were introduced for the first time in India (PIB 2017). *Hum-Log* was the first soap opera. Along with entertaining people, this program promoted new consumer products like 'Maggi Noodles' in India through commercial advertisements. With the success of *Hum-Log* and 'Maggi Noodles', Doordarshan's focus shifted from development to commercialisation. *Hum-Log* was quickly followed by a historical serial *Buniyaad*, epical serials like *Ramayana* in 1987, and *Mahabharata* in 1988-89. These Hindu religious epics got phenomenal success and generated huge profit for Doordarshan (Singhal and Rogers 2001).

In the late 1980s, Doordarshan's viewership was challenged by cable and foreign TV channels. The cable television offered comedy programs in local languages, foreign programs, and a movie or two every day (Manchanda 1998). The VCR greatly multiplied entertainment options for Indian audiences and provided alternatives to Doordarshan's single channel programming. By 1984, entrepreneurs in cities like Mumbai and Ahmedabad had started wiring apartment buildings. Within few years, this trend became widespread in other urban centers. The Gulf war of the 1990s which popularized CNN (Cable News Network) and the launching of STAR (Satellite Television for Asian Region) TV started the era of private televisions in India (Singhal and Rogers 2001).

Indian Television in the Post-Globalisation Era

Until 1990, Doordarshan was the only legal broadcasting system. The government of India prohibited any other broadcaster to broadcast on Indian soil. But the Gulf war of 1990s changed this policy. Many Indians were working in the Gulf region, and their families were desperate to get news from there. Under these circumstances, entrepreneurs like Taj Group and other five-star hotels like Oberoi subscribed to CNN and various other televisions networks. In cities across India, people gathered around television sets in the lobbies of these hotels to get any news about the war (Bhatt 1995; Butcher 2003). This successful broadcasting resulted in the entry of electronic signals into Indian Territory from an alien destination with the help of satellite transmission technology (Das 2007). Thus, the idea of satellite television network broadcasting was born in India.

Economic Liberalization and Privatization of Indian Television

In 1991, India faced a serious economic crisis, the then ruling party (Congress Party) government restructured country's economic system through the process of liberalization. This brought several changes to the Indian economic system. The Indian government began to ignore the receiving and illegal re-distribution of satellite signals of foreign and private channels from foreign soil

into Indian homes. The mushrooming of cable operators and the illegal proliferation of dish antennas and cables in urban streets was also overlooked hence; the globalisation process resulted in the de-regulation of the television market in India (Rodrigues 2010). As a result, STAR TV introduced five channels into India. India soon became STAR TV's priority audience, and it started broadcasting programs in Hindi as well as in English. STAR TV's example was followed by Indian private networks like Zee-TV and by foreign-owned broadcasters like SONY (Singhal and Rogers 2001).

Public Broadcasting in the Era of LPG

All these satellite channels and cable television system challenged Doordarshan's complacency. Doordarshan responded to the competition by increasing the number of TV channels and changing the nature of its programming. It created new programming slots, including breakfast, lunch and late night. In 1993, a second metro channel was launched by Doordarshan followed by 15 regional-language channels, a sports channel, and a 24-hour news channel (Singhal and Rogers 2001, 92/103). Doordarshan also engaged itself in dealing with a cultural channel DD3, though this channel was short lived. Lastly, Doordarshan had to sell the marketing rights of its most popular programs like *Rangoli*, *Chitrahaar*, and Hindi feature films, etc. to private companies (Singhal and Rogers 2001; Butcher 2003; Das 2007).

Although, Doordarshan's revenue increased manifold between 1994-1996 along with its reach, but the private TV channels were also developing at a similar rate. Doordarshan could not counter the challenge posed by these private satellite channels (Das 2007). Doordarshan started targeting different audiences with its channels; it relied on audience ratings for the measurement of its success; it vied for advertising revenue with private television channels; and it did not produce many programs of its own (Bhatt 1995).

The DTH service started in India on the 16th of December 2004 with a onetime subscription rate at INR (Indian National Rupees) 3000 that included a free dish and 48 TV channels and 16 radio channels (Press Trust of India 2004). Though, the idea of Direct to Home service was mooted in 1996 but the government did not allow it due to national security reasons and various regulations (Page and Crawley 2001). Subsequently, other private companies like, Dish TV, Tata Sky, Sun Direct, Big TV, Airtel and Videocon also came into existence. The DTH industry grew rapidly in the subsequent years. With the growing base, the price of the initial installment decreased but the price of channel packages of DTH has been increasing due to the additional channels (Girhotra 2012).

History of Indian Television		
Before Globalisation		
S. No.	Time Period	Major Events
1.	1947 (when India gained Independence from the British rule)	Media landscape consisted of newspapers, state-run radio network called AIR, and a commercial film industry
2.	1949	Film Division, a wing of state apparatus to disseminate developmental education and national integration message
3.	1959	Television broadcasting started in India as pilot experiment
4.	1965	Daily television broadcasting started
5.	1968	NASCOM came into existence to speed up the development process
6.	1975-76	NASCOM experimented with development projects-SITE and Kheda but failed to achieve the objectives
7.	1976	Commercial advertisement started in Indian Television for the first time
8.	1982	Color Television sets were introduced in India for the first time
9.	1984	Soap-operas were introduced for the first time
10.	1987-89	Doordarshan shifted its focus from development to commercialisation; historical serials and epic serials like Ramayana and Mahabharata came
11.	Late 1980s	Doordarshan's viewership was challenged by cable TV
12.	1990	Gulf war gave birth to the idea of satellite transmission in India
13.	1991	India adopted the New Economic Policy, opened its market for foreign investment and globalisation started in India, Privatization of Indian Television started
After Globalisation		
14.	Early 1990s	Entry of foreign channels - STAR was launched in 1991, followed by Zee in 1992, SONY and Discovery in 1995, MTV in 1996
15.	1993-99	Doordarshan tried to fight back with DD Metro in 1993, DD3 in 1995, and DD Sports in 1998
16.	2003	Private and Paid DTH service started in India
17.	2004	Free DTH service started by Government of India

Cultural Globalisation and Indian Television: Analysis

Globalisation started with the geographical explorations in the 16th century followed by colonialism (Kumar and Welz 2003). Before that people were in contact with mainly people of their own culture; the contact with other cultures was limited to trading relationships. During colonialism, people came to know about the other cultures (Wallerstein et al. 1996). In India, the 300 years of British rule has brought about significant cultural and social change to which Srinivas has termed as 'Westernisation' (Srinivas 1995). The global age emerged in 1991 when India adopted the New Economic Policy and opened its market to foreign investors. This resulted in the entry of various

MNCs into the Indian market. The NEP not only altered the structure of Indian economy but also the consuming habits of people in different spheres of life. In this regard, Indian television was no exception. As mentioned above Doordarshan broadcasted propaganda and development-oriented programs in most programming that was considered dull and boring by most of the audience. People were wishing for something new and entertaining. After globalisation, the changes that occurred in Indian society are qualitatively different from the pre-globalised changes because post-globalised changes are concerned firstly with the substantive structure of culture and its relationship with social institutions; and secondly, it refers to the change in culture due to globalisation, telecommunication revolution and a new type of market economy (Singh 2000). The privatization of Indian television allowed for the inflow of foreign culture in Indian homes. STAR was the first one to introduce five channels in India. It was soon followed by other foreign channels like Sony, Discovery and Indian channel Zee (Singhal and Rogers 2001).

The Case of STAR

STAR was launched in India in the early 1990s. It had access to foreign programs like *'Baywatch'*, *'X-files'*, and *'Ally McBeal'*. Initially it was an all-English language channel. Moreover, its programs like *'Baywatch'* were not considered appropriate for home viewing because of its nudity. It also started dubbing its English language serials like *'Baywatch'* in Hindi but such attempts were mostly unsuccessful and were rejected by its audience because the setting of local language within Western context was too large a juxtaposition; Pamela Anderson standing on a beach wearing bikini and speaking in Hindi. Similarly, other programs which were not produced in India failed because people were unable to connect with these programs (Butcher 2003).

In October 1996, STAR Plus channel which originally broadcasted in English started broadcasting in Hindi, between 7pm-9pm (India Time). By 1999, STAR implemented 'Star Network' where it introduced several channels in various Indian languages. Hindi was the only language that Star Plus broadcasted from its programs produced in India. All its English language serials were shifted to English language international channels (Singhal and Rogers 2001; Butcher 2003). Today, STAR network has exclusive channels for various Indian languages. Moreover, along with Hindi, and other vernacular languages, it also has English language channels which broadcast contents produced in foreign/Western countries.

The Case of MTV India

MTV, a 24 hour music channel, started in 1981 in the US and it basically targeted teenage viewers. It broadcasted series of popular music videos. This channel is noted for its sexually explicit content (Singhal and Rogers 2001). In 1991 it was launched in India as MTV Asia and was carried by STAR TV but broke away from Star in 1994 and was renamed MTV India (Cullity 2002). Initially, it tried to relocate Western MTV products like Western pop-music in India which was considered 'cultural invasion' (Page and Crawley 2001, 149) by Indians. The programming of the channel was not enticing. The channel broadcasted Western music full time even though the audience favoring Western music was quite small. The Hindi speaking population outnumbered the anglophile. The 'irreverence' in the content and rebellious quality of the channel was too Western for the older generation in India. The older generation felt disrespected over MTV's 'choice of language' (Cullity 2002, 412).

An important factor which forced MTV to Indianise was the popularity of another music video channel called 'Channel V'. The language of Channel V was a mixture of English and Hindi commonly referred to as 'Hinglish'. Instead of focusing on Western music this channel focused on Bollywood music video clips. MTV started losing ground and its viewership started shifting towards Channel V. MTV had no other choice but to Indianise itself to stay afloat in India (Cullity 2002). MTV made changes in the contents of its programs. Instead of fully Western English music, it started focusing on Bollywood videos. Its prime-time slots were given to Hindi music and all the English language programs were shifted to non-prime-time, usually after mid night. At this time around 70 percent of its music videos were drawn from Bollywood. The new programming of the channel was homegrown and it reflected Indian culture. The promos, packaging and programming of the shows were all Indianised to suit the Indian culture and Indian middle-class taste. However, MTV did not abandon its Western format. They took Western programs but reformatted and redesigned them to suit Indian culture (ibid.). Today, MTV India represents a hybrid look of Indian and Western cultures. Many of its programs are borrowed from the foreign countries but they are modified to suit Indian culture and taste.

Understanding the Change in Indian Television after Globalisation

As for the cases of STAR and MTV, similar changes were happening in the realm of food as well. There was a huge protest against the first opening of KFC (Kentucky Fried Chicken) in Bangalore because KFC used beef in its products and it subsequently shut down (Dolphijn 2006). But this is not our concern here. The paper is concerned about what was happening with the Indian Television. In this regard, it is important to note what T. K. Oommen (in Kumar and Welz 2001) argues that availability, accessibility and acceptability are three important components for any new (or any foreign) products to establish itself in a host culture. If something is available it may not necessarily be accessible to everyone. For example, when satellite TV first came to India it was not accessible to every Indian. It was mainly for the urban middle class who had disposable income. Considering the economic inequalities in India, a large number of Indian households did not have access to Satellite TV or even TVs for that matter. In this sense availability does not necessarily lead to accessibility. Secondly, if something is available and accessible then it is not necessarily acceptable too, as shown with in the case of STAR, MTV and KFC.

Such kind of changes has been referred to as 'cultural imperialism' or 'cultural invasion' by various scholars (Schiller 1976; Fejes 1981). If we look at the history of cultural globalisation (Kumar and Welz 2003), it is evident that the colonial masters tried to impose their culture wherever they went in order to smoothly administer those societies as per their convenience. But we also have to note that the colonizers did not completely replace the host culture with their own culture. Although, they were successful in replacing some aspects of Indian culture but they could not completely erase the host culture which ultimately gave rise to a different kind of culture – one with characteristics of both. It means that even the colonizing mission was not successful in making one world one culture; instead, there were various permutations and combinations (Oommen in Kumar and Welz 2003). These kinds of permutations and combinations gave rise to hybridisation.

India is a very diverse country with different castes, classes, and religions. It has 22 official languages and thousands of dialects. The majority of people have an understanding of Hindi, and there are also a fairly large number of English-speaking people. But in many parts of the country people neither know Hindi nor English. However, when the private satellite TV came to India

most of the foreign programs were in English. The television channels wanted to increase their subscriber base but at the same time there was a linguistic barrier; so emerged the idea localization of Indian television in regional languages. As a result, there was the introduction of several regional language channels like Sun-TV, Udaya-TV, Eenadu-TV, Asianet, Raj-TV, Zee-Bangla, and various other channels. The English channels also dubbed their programs in Hindi and other regional languages (Rodrigues 2010).

The Discovery Channel dubbed its English programs in Hindi and various other regional languages and obtained massive subscriber base and ratings (Singhal and Rogers 2001). Channels like Zee introduced Hinglish so that they could reach a maximum number of people. Even cartoon channels joined the race of dubbing programs in Hindi and various regional languages. As discussed above MTV India specially designed its contents of its programs to suit an urban Indian audience; however, there was much hue and cry over the contents of its programs among seniors and parents (Rodrigues 2010). Similarly, the change in STAR Sports is a significant one. Till 2007, while there were only two sports channels – ESPN and Star Sports (Star Cricket was added in 2007), now there are four channels of STAR dedicated to sports, on top of that there are HD (high definition) channels. What is significant in this case is that each channel shows live streaming with commentary in different languages. For every match, one channel gives special Hindi commentary. Star Gold was among the first to broadcast Hollywood movies dubbed in Hindi in 2002-03. SET Max and UTV Action are other channels which started broadcasting Anglo-Hollywood movies dubbed in Hindi. These days there is boom of South Indian Movies (dubbed in Hindi) on almost all the Hindi movies channels.

The media houses have launched various channels to deal with various sections of information and entertainment. For example, Bannett Coleman and Company commonly known as Times group has Times Now and Mirror Now channels for English News; ET Now channel deals with financial news; Movies Now deals with English Movies; Zoom channel covers the glamour and entertainment industry of Bollywood. Similarly, NDTV group has channels dealing with News and lifestyle. NDTV 24x7 uses English News; NDTV India focuses on Hindi News, whereas NDTV Prime, and NDTV Good Times are lifestyle channels. All these channels particularly target urban middle class audiences since they have disposable income (Mathur 2010) to spend on products featured during the commercials on these channels.

Television for Entertainment

There was a shift in the ideology of image making. For producers and audience, television is about pleasure and not the ideals of paternalism, duty effort, and social responsibility. The consumer demands more entertainment and pleasure. Thus, the consumer belongs in the realm of popular culture project where the question of pleasure and taste dominates all aspects of the industry (Brants, Hermes and Zoonen 1998). In the ideology of image making, the two popular formats are soap operas, popularly known as ‘serials’, which are telecast during the day and prime-time, as well as reality-based shows such as *Indian Idol*, *Fear Factor*, *Khatron ke Khiladi*, *Big Boss* etc. While serials are mostly preferred by older audiences, reality shows draw in young viewers. Before 1991, the most popular programs were *Rangoli*, *Chitrahaar* and Hindi feature films whereas after the privatization of Indian television there was an increase in soap operas and reality shows as private channels developed exclusive channels for movies and film-songs and various movies-related programs (Chadha and Kavoori 2012).

It is important to note that reality shows and many Indian soap operas are adaptations of Western reality shows and TV-series. For example, the serial 'Jassi Jaisi Koi Nahi' is adaptation of the American show 'Ugly Betty'. Similarly there are many other serials- 'The Suite Life of Karan and Kabir' (The Suite Life of Zack and Cody), 'Reporters' (The Newsroom), 'Sumit Sambhal Lega' (Everybody Loves Raymond), '24' (24 Hours), 'Tedhi Medi Family' (The Middle), 'Ek Nayi Ummid Roshni' (Grey's Anatomy), 'Meri Aashqui Tum Se Hai' (Wuthering Heights), 'India's Got Talent' (Britain's Got Talent), 'Khatron ke Khiladi' (Fear Factor), 'Jhalak Dikhla Ja' (Strictly Come Dancing), 'Big Boss' (Big Brother) and the list goes on. What is common in all these cases is that the storyline, concepts, and characters have been adopted from Western shows, and recontextualized in Indian context. However, the story line or most of the characters or concept remains the same. They are slightly modified to fit the Indian culture. Hence, once again the hybridisation can be seen explicitly.

Anthony Giddens while defining Globalisation argues:

...a process of intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. This is a dialectical process because such local happenings may move in an obverse direction from the very distanced relations that shape them. Local transformation is as much a part of globalisation as the lateral extension of social connections across time and space (Giddens 1990, 64).

In this regard, it is important to note another phenomenon which is taking place at regional levels. The process of hybridisation extends to the local level. There has been an increase in the practice of remaking popular TV shows in regional languages. Once again, the concept remains the same but recontextualized to fit the local culture. 'Kaun Banega Crorepati' which is a Hindi adaptation of 'Who Wants To Be A Millionaire' has been further adapted from Hindi to Kannada as 'Kannadada Kotyadhipati'; Tamil *trans.* 'Neengalum Vellalam Oru Kodi'; Malayalam *trans.* 'Ningalkkum Aakaam Kodeeswaran' and Marathi *trans.* 'Kon Hoel Marathi Crorepati'. Similarly Big Boss has been adapted in to various regional languages like Bangla, Kannada, Tamil, Telugu and Marathi. Similarly, popular Hindi soap operas like 'Uttaran' have been remade into Bangla as 'Asava Sundar Swapnancha Bangla'.

Soap Operas, Sartorial Images and the Portrayal of Women

There has been a paradigm shift in TV serials from *Hum Log*, *Buniyaad*, *Tamas*, *Malgudi Days*, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, in terms of the ways these serials project men, women, and varying social relationships. Earlier TV serials were about national issues and concerns spanning the historicity of the colonial and post-colonial experience. But in the last 10 to 15 years serials that indulge in melodrama and family conflicts have become popular. These serials show overdressed men and women, and an infinite number of weddings, religious rituals and *poojas* (Dasgupta, Sinha and Chakravarti 2012).

There has been a practice of remaking serials related to Indian epics like *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Shiv Mahapuran*, *Vishnu Puran* etc., in which the content of the program is changed to suit an altered story line. A disclaimer is given at the start or end of the program regarding the change. An important aspect in these serials is the way characters dress themselves. There is too much focus on clothing, jewellery and the body. The journey of TV can be seen as a reflection on the commodification of culture as made evident through the images of actors

and actresses in these programs. Character based programs receive a lot of attention. Men are shown with muscular bodies and women are shown with slim bodies wearing excessive jewellery and glittering clothes. Instead of their performance, their tattooed body, clothing and jewellery become the centre of attraction. Bodies become the commodity available to imitate and consume.

After globalisation there has been qualitative change in the portrayal of women. There are still negative portrayals which show women in negative light, specifically, as the person responsible for all troubles in the family, or as the one who conspires against other members of the family. The image of ideal Indian women, dressed in *saree* or fully clothed, as a traditional house wife, confined within the four walls of the house and the torch bearer of customs and traditions within the family, is changing. Now women are projected as more liberal and free who actively participate in different economic spheres by taking active participation in important family decisions. At the same time, the television image of Indian women has changed from being honest, pure, innocent housewives and mothers to westernized sexual beings who have careers outside the home. These images are portrayed by almost all channels in India (Malhotra and Rogers 2000). The relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are portrayed as farcical while in actual circumstances the opposite is more often the case. There are serials that indicate the reversal of stereotypes of quarrelling mother-in-law and daughter-in-law like *Ogo Bodhu Sundari* but the serial merely consolidates the roles and hierarchy that the middle-class family internalizes. There are some relatively contemporary soap operas like *Ekhaney Akash Neel* and *Kurukshetra* that feature contemporary dialogue and is more attuned to its social environment. However, they do not venture beyond expected normative practices (Dasgupta, Sinha and Chakravarti 2012).

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that television has undergone qualitative changes after globalisation. It is evident that while prior to globalisation it worked as a catalyst in the process of social change and through its programs like *Hum Log*, *Buniyaad*, and *Hindi* feature films, it tried to provide edutainment to the masses. But it later deviated from its intention of development and educating the masses. After the privatization of Indian television, Doordarshan changed its style of programming but by that time private channels had already lured viewers with their several entertainment-oriented channels. Doordarshan could not maintain its position in the media market and was doubly defeated. On the one hand, it failed as a tool of development and on the other it could not entertain people as well as the private channels could.

The coming of satellite TV in India was viewed as 'cultural imperialism'. At the onset it can be said that there was an attempt to spread Western culture in India through the programs of private TV channels. But it could not succeed because of the cultural complexities of the country. It was even difficult for these private channels to gain acceptance of the Indian audience as it is one thing for something to be available and accessible but another to be accepted by the masses. The complete Western outlook of TV programs was not acceptable to the Indian audience, particularly seniors. Moreover, these TV channels had to remold their programs according to the culture of India. The case of MTV is ideal here whose programs failed to gain acceptance because of its complete Western look. After MTV adapted itself according to Indian culture it gained popularity. It can be concluded that when a foreign culture encounters another region some change will occur but it is very unlikely that it will completely replace the host culture. Rather there will always be possibilities of various permutations and combinations which give rise to a mixed form of culture. This phenomenon is evidenced by various foreign TV channels in

India; the availability of multi-linguistic dubbed programs.

The dialectics of globalisation impacts the local conditions which are shaped by macro level processes. The local transformations of TV channels are adaptations of TV series or reality shows at the macro level. The coming of various regional language programs which are indirect adaptations of foreign programs further discards the notion of cultural imperialism. However, it does not mean that the theory of cultural imperialism is altogether irrelevant but it does not fit into the context of Indian Television. Furthermore, the paper highlighted the changes of image production and the portrayal of characters in Indian programs. There has been an increase in the practice of remaking of Indian epic serials like Ramayana, Mahabharata and programs made on historical and mythological characters. In new programs a lot of attention is paid on the body and the characters' appearance. Hence, along with the storyline of the programs, the bodies of the characters also become objects of consumption.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my supervisor Prof. Vivek Kumar for his valuable comments and his constant support and encouragement during the writing of my M. Phil. Dissertation. Without his support the dissertation would never have been completed and this paper would not have been written. I would like to offer my thankfulness to the reviewers and editors of the paper for their valuable comments and suggestions. I am also thankful to my friend, Ankita Chatterjee, for completing the painstaking task of proof reading the manuscript.

References

- Agarwal, Binod C. 1981. *SITE Social Evaluation: Results, Experiences and Implications*. Ahmedabad: Space Application Center.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. 2013. *Post Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. New York: Routledge.
- Barker, Martin. 1989. *Comics: Ideology, Power, and the Critics*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Beniwal, Vrishti. 2020. "As digital divide widens, India risks losing a generation to pandemic disruption." *ThePrint*, December 17, 2020. Accessed February 27, 2021. <https://theprint.in/india/education/as-digital-divide-widens-india-risks-losing-a-generation-to-pandemic-disruption/568394/>.
- Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Bhatt, S.C. 1995. *Satellite Invasion of India*. New Delhi: Gyan Publications.
- Boyd-Barrett, Oliver. 2015. *Media Imperialism*. London: Sage.
- Boyd-Barrett, Oliver, and Tanner Mirrlees. 2020. "Introduction." In *Media Imperialism: Continuity and Change*, edited by Oliver Boyd-Barrett and Tanner Mirrlees, 1-10. London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Brants, Kees, Joke Hermes, and Liesbet van Zoonen. 1998. *The Media in Question: Popular Cultures and Public Interests*. London: Sage Publications.

- Bullock, Alan, and Stephen Trombly. 1977. *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*. London: Fontana Books.
- Butcher, Malissa. 2003. *Transnational Television, Cultural Identity and Change: When Star Came to India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Chadha, Kalyani, and Anandam Kavoori. 2012. "Mapping India's Television Landscape: Constitutive Dimensions and Emerging Issues." *South Asian History and Culture* 3(4): 591-602. doi:10.1080/19472498.2012.720076.
- Chaudhury, Maitrayee. 2010. "Indian Media and its Transformed Public." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 44 (1&2): 57-78.
- Cullity, Jocelyn. 2002. "The Global Desi: Cultural Nationalism on MTV India." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 26(4): 408-425.
- Das, Biswajit. 2007. "Communication Culture and Culture of Communications: A Study of Indian Television." In *Globalisation, Governance Reforms and Development in India*, edited by Kameshwar Choudhary, 424-442. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Dasgupta, Sanjukta, Dipankar Sinha, and Sudeshna Chakravarti. 2012. *Media, Gender and Popular Culture in India: Tracking Change and Continuity*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- de Sola Pool, Ithiel. 1966. "Communications and Development." In *Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth*, edited by Myron Weiner, 98-109. New York: Basic Books.
- Dolphijn, Rick. 2006. "Capitalism on a Plate: The Politics of Meat Eating in Bangalore, India." *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture* (University of California Press) 6(3): 52-59.
- EPW Engage. 2021. "Why 'Online' Is Not the Way Forward in Education: A Reading List." *EPW Engage*, February 12, 2021. Accessed February 27, 2021. <https://www.epw.in/engage/article/why-online-not-way-forward-education-reading>.
- Fejes, Fred. 1981. "Media Imperialism: An Assessment." *Media, Culture & Society* 3(3): 281-289.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Girhotra, Dheeraj. 2012. "Indian DTH Industry: A Strategic Analysis." *International Journal of Marketing, Financial Services and Management Research* 1 (3): 38-52.
- Govt. of India. 2021. *Economic Survey 2020-21. Vol. 2*. New Delhi: Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs. Accessed January 31, 2021. <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/resources/article33695483.ece/binary/Economic%20Survey%20Volume%20II%20Complete%20PDF.pdf>.

- Jha, Lata. 2020. "TV records 762 million viewers per week in 2019 despite NTO: BARC study." *mint*, March 21, 2020. Accessed February 27, 2021. <https://www.livemint.com/industry/media/tv-records-762-million-viewers-per-week-in-2019-despite-nto-barc-study-11584735703190.html>.
- Kumar, Anand, and Frank Welz. 2003. "Approaching Cultural Change in the Era of Globalisation: An Interview with T.K. Oommen." *Social Identities* 9(1): 93-115.
- Kumar, Vivek. 2007. "Governance and Development in the Era of Globalization: Understanding Exclusion and Assertion of Dalits in India." In *Globalization, Governance Reforms and Development in India*, edited by Kameshwar Choudhary, 302-331. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Lerner, Daniel. 1967. "International Cooperation and Communication in National Development." In *Communication and Change in the Developing Countries*, edited by Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm, 103-125. Honolulu: East-West Center Press.
- Lerner, Daniel. 1958. *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East*. New York: Free Press.
- Malhotra, Sheena, and Everett M. Rogers. 2000. "Satellite Invasion and the New Indian Women." *Gazette* 62(5): 407-429.
- Manchanda, Usha. 1998. "Invasion from the Skies: The Impact of Foreign Television on India." *Australian Studies in Journalism* 7: 136-163.
- Marriott, McKim. 1955. "Little Communities in an Indigenous Civilization." In *Village India: Studies in the Little Community*, edited by McKim Marriott, 171-222. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mathur, Nita. 2010. "Shopping Malls, Credit Cards and Global Brands: Consumer Culture and Lifestyle of India's New Middle Class." *South Asia Research* 30(3): 211-231. doi:10.1177/026272801003000301.
- Mody, Bella. 1991. *Designing Messages for Development Communication*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Ninan, Sevanti. 1995. *Through the Magic Window: Television & Change in India*. New Delhi: Penguin Books India Pvt. Ltd.
- Ogburn, William Fielding. 1922. *Social Change: With Respect to Culture and Original Nature*. New York: B.W. Huebsch.
- Page, David, and William Crawley. 2001. *Satellite Over South Asia: Broadcasting, Culture and the Public Interest*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- PIB. 2017. *Journey of Television Revolution*. August 06, 2017. Accessed February 26, 2021. <https://pib.gov.in/newsite/printrelease.aspx?relid=169686>.

- Press Trust of India. 2004. *PM launches India's first DTH broadcast service*. December 16, 2004. Accessed February 26, 2021. <https://www.outlookindia.com/news-wire/story/pm-launches-indias-first-dth-broadcast-service/267926>.
- Redfield, Robert. 1960. *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Redfield, Robert. 1955. "The Social Organisation of Tradition." *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 15(1): 13-21.
- Ritzer, George. 2010. *Globalisation: A Basic Text*. West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.
- Ritzer, George, and Zeynep Atalay. 2010. "Creolization, Hybridity, and Glocalization." In *Readings in Globalization: Key Concepts and Major Debates*, edited by George Ritzer and Zeynep Atalay, 319-321. West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.
- Robertson, Roland. 1995. "Glocalisation: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity." In *Global Modernities*, edited by Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash and Roland Robertson, 25-44. London: Sage Publications.
- Rodrigues, Usha M. 2010. "Glocalization of Indian Television." In *Indian Media in a Globalised World*, edited by Maya Rangnathan and Usha M. Rodrigues, 3-25. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Rogers, Everett M. 1976. "Communication and Development: The Passing of the Dominant Paradigm." In *Communication and Development: Critical Perspectives*, edited by Everett M. Rogers, 121-148. London: Sage Publications.
- Schiller, Herbert I. 1976. *Communication and Cultural Domination*. New York: International Arts and Science Press.
- Schramm, Wilbur. 1963. "Communication Development and the Development Process." In *Communication and Political Development*, edited by Lucien W. Pye, 38-57. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Schramm, Wilbur. 1964. *Mass Media and National Development*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Servaes, Jan, and Patchanee Malikhao. 2003. "Development Communication Approaches in an International Perspective." In *Approaches to Development: Studies on Communication for Development*, edited by Jan Servaes. Paris: UNESCO.
- Singer, Milton. 1960. "Preface." In *Traditional India: Structure and Change*, edited by Milton Singer, ix-xxiii. Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- Singer, Milton. 1955. "The Cultural Pattern of Indian Civilization: A Preliminary Report of a Methodological Field Study." *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 15(1): 23-36.
- Singer, Milton. 1960a. "The Great Tradition in a Metropolitan Center: Madras." In *Traditional India: Structure and Change*, edited by Milton Singer, 141-182.

- Jaipur: Rawat Publications.
- Singer, Milton. 1964. "The Social Organisation of Indian Civilization." *Diogenes* 12(45): 84-119.
- Singh, Yogendra. 2000. *Culture Change in India: Identity and Globalisation*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications.
- Singhal, Arvind, and Everett M. Rogers. 2001. *India's Communication Revolution: From Bullock Carts to Cyber Marts*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Sparks, Colin. 2012. "Media and Cultural Imperialism Reconsidered." *Chinese Journal of Communication* 5(3): 281-299.
- Srinivas, M. N. 1995. *Social Change in Modern India*. New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan.
- Tomlinson, John. 1991. *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction*. London: Continuum.
- Tunstall, Jeremy. 1977. *The Media are American*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel, Calestous Juma, Evelyn Fox Keller, Jurgen Kocka, Dominique Lecourt, V. Y. Mudkimbe, Kinhide Miushakoji, et al. 1996. *Open the Social Sciences: Report of the Gulbenkian Commission on the Restructuring of the Social Sciences*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Notes

¹The author is a Ph.D. candidate at the Centre for the Study of Social Systems, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. His areas of interests are work and labour, new spaces of consumption, consumerism, consumer culture, new communication technology, electronic media, social change and globalisation.

²The central thesis of the modernization perspective is the idea of evolution in that all societies would pass through similar stages to eventually evolve into a "modern society". This idea implies that development is firstly, 'directional and cumulative', secondly, 'predetermined and irreversible', thirdly, 'progressive', and fourthly, 'immanent with reference to the nation state'. According to this perspective, the developing societies (traditional societies) strive to reach to the level of developed Western societies or 'modern societies'. In order to do so, the traditional societies will have to give up all their traditional attitudes and beliefs. It explains the differences between nations in terms of degree of development. Hence, there exists a binary of traditional and modern as stages of development. These two stages co-exist in time and in due course their gap will disappear because of natural urge towards equilibrium. So, the central problem of development revolved around 'bridging the gap' between traditional and modern and catching up with the modern by means of the imitation process between these two stages (Servaes and Malikhao 2003, 2-3).

³data.worldbank.org

⁴The origin of Little and Great tradition can be traced back to Robert Redfield who conducted his studies in Mexican communities. But Redfield did not coin these terms. McKim Marriott and Milton Singer were influenced by the works of Redfield and they used his model in their studies in India. For detailed information and discussion on Little Tradition and Great Tradition, see Redfield (1955; 1960), Marriott (1955) and Singer (1955; 1960; 1960a; 1964).

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

