

GLOBALIZATION: A CRITICAL LITERATURE REVIEW OF BOLLYWOOD

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Introduction

Information flow is an important ingredient that enables our contemporary society to function daily. There is no doubt that without information flowing from all corners of the globe, the world would come to a standstill. Just imagine a day without the flow of information – whether in the form of news, or motion pictures such as films. Again, figure out waking up one morning only to find that all telephone lines are dead, the Internet is gone, and cable networks – CNN, Al-Jazeera, or NBC can't transmit news that an Iraqi reporter hurled two shoes at President Bush in the middle of a news conference with Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki in Baghdad. Or, you can't catch up with the news about golf star Tiger Woods' apology for his infidelity.

All said, however, the important thing isn't the mere flow of information, but also how this information flows. How the information flows around the globe is crucial in all facets of human life, because it has far-reaching ramifications – culturally, socially, economically, and politically. Information is power. Pember and Calvert (2009) observe that “.....those who control the flow and content of information exercise considerable power.”

It should be noted that “media flows” are one of the “flows” that dominate our world as noted by Manuel Castells in *The Information Age*. Thussu (2007) quotes Castells saying: “Our society is constructed around flows; flows of capital, flows of information, flows of technology, flows of organizational interactions, flows of images, sounds, and symbols” (p. 11). Thussu divides the main media flows into three broad categories: global, transnational and geo-cultural (p. 11). These flows can be consolidated into two main categories: “Dominant flows”, largely emanating from the global North, and “Contra-flows”, originating from the global South. See Table 1 below for the main categories of media flows around the globe.

Table 1:

A typology of media flows

Dominant flows	Contra-(subaltern) flows	
Global	Transnational	Geo-cultural
Hollywood	'Bollywood'	Phoenix
MTV	Al-Jazeera	Zee TV
Disney	Telenovelas	TRT-International
CNN	TV5	Al-Hayat
Discovery	Telesur	Baidu.com
BBC	Radio France Internationale	MBC
ESPN	CCTV-9	NHK World TV
Google	RTTV	Islamonline.net
CNBC	Euronews	Roj TV
Wall Street Journal	M-Net	
Japanese animation	Korean films	

Source: Daya Thussu, "Media on the Move" (2007).

Communication studies teach us that effective communication is two-way traffic, the reason why we study media effects on target audience. Today, however, an avalanche of studies point to the fact that there exists a huge imbalance in information flows – between the spheres of the globe - North and South. This imbalance is tilted in favor of the North – meaning that more information trickles from North to South. This is partly because major media conglomerates and

transnational corporations in the world are based in the First World countries such as the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, and France, to mention a few.

The world's leading top six media conglomerates are: Time Warner, Disney, Sony, Viacom, Bertelsmann, and News Corporation. Time Warner, for example, owns CNN, Cartoon Network, and Time magazine; Disney owns ABC and ESPN; Viacom owns CBS, MTV and Comedy Central; and News Corporation whose majority shareholder is Rupert Murdoch, an Australian-American global media mogul owns Fox News, 20th Century Fox, and Sky TV. These corporations are immensely wealthy as pointed out by Daya Thussu in the book *International Communication* where, for example, in 2004 Time Warner, Disney, Viacom and News Corporation combined made a staggering profit of \$9 billion.

Complaints made by Third World countries during the 33rd session of the United Nations General Assembly which adopted a resolution on the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) in 1978 support the fact that there exists an information imbalance between the North and the South. These complaints were as follows:

- Owing to the socio-technological imbalance there was a one-way flow of information from the 'center' to the 'periphery,' which created a wide gap between the 'haves' and the 'have nots';
- The information rich were in a position to dictate terms to the information poor, thus creating a structure of dependency with widespread economic, political and social ramifications for the poor societies;
- This vertical flow (as opposed to a desirable horizontal flow of global information) was dominated by the Western-based transitional corporations;
- Information was treated by the transnational media as a 'commodity' and subjected to the rules of the market;
- The entire information and communication order was a part of and in turn propped up international inequality that created and sustained mechanisms of neo-colonialism (Thussu, p. 31).

Since whoever controls information wields considerable power, information is, therefore, used by powerful nations to propagate and maintain their cultural imperialism, hegemony, and dominant

ideologies over poor countries. It is also through these corporations that Western nations are capable of setting agendas on many important issues affecting the world. The volumes of information transferred by the Western media giants exert enormous social influence on people around the world. Such information – mainly in the form of cultural products, films, and news content – and consumed in large proportions contain elements of U.S-centric or Eurocentric values, beliefs, knowledge, ideologies and behavioral norms.

To understand the magnitude of cultural imperialism, it is, therefore, essential to compare the exchange of cultural products between powerful nations and the so-called Less Developed Countries (LDCs). Evidence available indicates that the balance of cultural information exchange is skewed in favor of the First World countries. For instance, according to Miller *et al.* (2005) in the book *Global Hollywood*, Lebanon's total film imports stood at 557 in 1999. But out of this figure, 455 imports were from the U.S. In the same period, Zimbabwe imported 36, and 26 were from the States. Such trade imbalances which illustrate the unfair and skewed flow of information translate to an inequality in consumption of cultural products between developed countries and the LDCs. This means that populations in LDCs continue to consume products from dominant countries and in the process get culturally brainwashed into believing that things from the West are ideal. This is how the West has managed to build hegemonic structures and systems so as to keep dominating the rest of the world. This is seen as neo-colonialism.

The dominant flow of information is countered through a concept called contra-flow. This is a reversal flow of information, from the South to the North. In the article, *Challenger or Lackey? The Politics of News on Al-Jazeera*, Naomi Sakr writes: "...contra-flow in its sense would seem to imply not just reversed or alternative media flows, but a flow that is also counter-hegemonic"

(Thussu, 2007, p. 117). Georgiou and Silverstone argue that “contra implies some form of opposition, either intentional or not, to hegemonic ideologies” (Thussu, 2007, p. 34).

Purpose

With the above background about information flows between the North and the South, the purpose of this paper is to critically review the literature of Bollywood film industry in India in connection to the general topic of globalization. Alongside Arabic network Al-Jazeera and Latin America’s Telenovelas, Bollywood film is a classic example of the concept of contra-flow of information. International communication scholars have argued that the three (Bollywood, Al-Jazeera, and Telenovelas), all located in the global South have managed to challenge the dominant flow of information.

The study covered the period between 2000 and 2010, eleven years. Using qualitative approach, the study analyzed published articles in academic journals from a variety of academic disciplines. This is so because as the review of literature reveals, Bollywood is a topic which is very interdisciplinary in nature. It could have been a great disservice to the international communication scholarship to confine the present project to just mass communication journals. And, anyway there is enough evidence that little research about Bollywood has been undertaken within the field of mass communication. The review of literature for this project was, therefore, borrowed from Women and Feminine Studies, Asian Studies, Culture, Culture and Performance, English Literature, Film and Cinema, Music, and Mass Communication disciplines.

The literature review revolved around the following five key areas in connection to the larger topic of globalization:

- a. Research methods employed in Bollywood scholarship;
- b. Bollywood literature in relation to the concept of contra-flow of information; and

- c. Bollywood literature in relation to the topic of globalization, and specifically the following key sub-topics in globalization:
- Cultural imperialism and hegemony.
 - Glocalization and hybridity.
 - Migration and Indian Diaspora.

The key thing is that the study traced Bollywood scholarship patterns within the above outlined sub-topics in connection to globalization phenomenon. Thus, under the above sub-topics, this research answered the following questions:

Question 1:

Which are the commonly used research methods in Bollywood scholarship?

Question 2:

How is Bollywood film presented within the context of contra-flow of information topic?

Question 3:

How is Bollywood presented within the context of cultural imperialism?

Question 4:

How is Bollywood film discussed in connection to glocalization?

Question 5:

How is Bollywood film discussed in connection to hybridity?

Question 6:

How is Bollywood film discussed in connection to migration?

Significance

It is important to trace the contours of Bollywood film scholarship in globalization topic, because in doing so, the present research will contribute to understanding the state of research in as far as the Bombay film (read Bollywood) in connection to globalization is concerned. This is so because scholars in various disciplines, including mass communication are always interested in knowing research trends or patterns in their respective areas. By doing so, researchers are able to acquaint themselves with what is happening in their field. This is one of the things which the

current research strives to achieve. Edeani (1988) calls the trace of research patterns as “stock-taking” which he says is necessary as a means of “evaluating progress, detecting problems, and describing future directions” (p. 151).

Globalization

Before going further, it is necessary to briefly explore the globalization topic. What is globalization? Held *et al.* (1999) say that globalization reflects a widespread perception that the world is rapidly being moulded into a shared social space by economic and technological forces, and that developments in one region of the world can have profound consequences for the life chances of individuals or communities on the other side of the globe (p. 1). Scholte (2005) sees globalization as describing “a process of dispersing various objects and experiences to people at all inhabited parts of the earth” (p. 57). In addition, Scholte also see globalization as “universalization” which is assumed to “entail standardization and homogenization with worldwide cultural, economic, legal and political convergence” (p. 57).

There are four aspects of globalization, according to Pillania (2008). They include the movements of goods, capital, technology and people across borders (p. 199). It is these aspects of globalization highlighted by Pillania which perhaps Appadurai (2002) refers to as “dimensions” of global cultural flows – namely, *ethnoscapes*, *mediascapes*, *technoscapes*, *financescapes*, and *ideoscapes* (p. 42). It is the *mediascape* which becomes the link between Bollywood and globalization in this study. *Mediascape*, Appadurai says refers to:

Both the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations, and film-production studios), which are now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world, and to the images of the world created by these media (p. 42).

Why Bollywood?

It is important to study Bollywood film because it is the world's largest film industry – in terms of production and viewership. From the globe's Eastern sphere, it is Bollywood, Arabic network – Al-Jazeera, and the Telenovelas from the Latin America which have managed to challenge the dominant flow of information. This is by exporting huge volumes of cultural products from the South to the North, meaning that they now have global presence. Thusso writes that “every year a billion more people buy tickets for Indian movies than for Hollywood” (p. 200). Between 1989 and 1999, Thusso points out that Indian film exports witnessed a 20-fold increase. The film sector in India is estimated to have earned \$990 million in 2004. In 2006, the industry was estimated to be worth \$1.8 billion, says Pillania in the article: *The Globalization of Indian Hindi Movie Industry*, adding that “the industry had produced approximately 27,000 feature films and thousands of documented short films.” Rajadhyaksha (2003) writes:

Practically every newspaper has commented, usually in the same breathless prose as *Newsweek*, on the phenomenon: there is a craze for ‘Bollywood masala that quite exceeds anything we’ve ever seen before; from Tokyo to Timbuktu people are dancing to Indipop, names such as Shah Rukh Khan are circulating in places where people may never have heard of Indira Gandhi, and there seems to be an opportunity, there is apparently money to be made (p. 25).

Pillania observes that Indian movie industry has done a great progress since the motion pictures first came to India in 1896 when the Lumiere brothers unveiled six silent short films in Bombay (p. 116). India's first feature film *King Harishchandra* was released in 1913. Mehta (2005) says that the advent of liberalization in the 1990s imposed certain economic imperatives on the Indian government, forcing it to open its markets to Western products and culture (p. 137). This was the start of the rise of India as an influential player in the global market. The liberalization effects in the film industry started to be felt in 1992 when foreign films released domestically increased (Acharya, 2004, p. 24). As a result of this, Acharya points out that revenue for Hollywood fare jumped from Rs 38 million in 1992 to Rs 400 million in 1999-2000.

From a globalization perspective, Thussu points out that Bollywood has ensured that more Indian films are watched by international audience which includes the diasporic one (p. 26).

Thussu writes:

Hindi films are shown in more than 70 countries and are popular in the Arab world, in central and Southeast Asia and among many African countries. This has made it imperative for producers to invest in subtitling to widen the reach of films, as well as privileging scripts which interest the overseas audience (p. 26).

Research questions pursued in Bollywood-globalization scholarship

One of the questions which this research pursued was: Which are the commonly used research methods in Bollywood scholarship? There is clear evidence that many studies investigating Bollywood film have employed ethnography fieldwork which utilizes observation and in-depth interviews as a means of gathering information from individuals. The following studies employed ethnography fieldwork: (Rao, 2010; Rao, 2007; Punathambekar, 2007; Dudrah & Rai, 2005; Srinivas, 2002; Ram, 2002; and Morcom, 2001).

In a study titled "*I Need an Indian Touch*": *Glocalization and Bollywood Films*, Rao (2010) examined the audience demand that Bollywood films, in order to be popular among Indians should have "an Indian touch" even when exhibiting global influences. In discussing the reciprocal adaptation between symptoms of globalization and retention of "an Indian touch", Rao used the theoretical framework of glocalization in international communication. The research work drew on seven months of fieldwork conducted in the state of Punjab, northern India in 2005 and 2006. Rao also used ethnography to find the ways in which Indian identity was being shaped by the new globalizing Bollywood and how non-elite audiences from lower middle class and rural India understood images constructed by Indian cinema (2007, p. 57).

Punathambekar (2007) also used ethnographic approach to examine “how the imaginations and practices of media industry professionals, audiences, and state institutions influence global flows of Bollywood content and shape notions of belonging in a de-territorialized ‘national family’” (p.2). Using fieldwork notes, Dudrah and Rai (2005) explored diasporic South Asia identity formation vis-à-vis Bollywood cinema-going in Jackson Heights in the borough of Queens, and in Times Square in the district of Manhattan, USA. The fieldwork was conducted in the summer of 2003.

Srinivas (2002) explains that Indian film studies have overlooked the importance of audience or “the very visible and vibrant culture of reception.” Addressing the existing gap in audience reception research, Srinivas carried out a fieldwork in Bangalore city in south India between 1996 and 1998. The researcher used ethnographic methods of participant observation and interviews. Employing the same methods, Ram (2002) investigated how Indian women in the diaspora actively engage and interpret Indian cinema and how Indian cinema mediates the constitution of gendered identities in the diaspora. Between 1998 and 2000, Morcom (2001) used interviews and observations to gather information from composers and directors of music-making in the Hindi industry in Bombay. The researcher was concerned about the appearance of Hollywood music in Hindi films.

I did come across one study which employed quantitative methods in studying the impact of globalization on Bollywood cinema’s depictions of violence, sexuality, crime and vice, and romance. To test hypotheses in this study, Schaefer and Karan (2009) used systematic content analysis on most popular Indian films spanning a sixty year period, from 1947-2007. A systematic random sample of 20 percent of the films was drawn for coding (p. 9). Here are some of the hypotheses tested:

- The more globalized the content of a Hindi film, the higher the level of depicted violence;
- The more globalized the content of a Hindi film, the higher the level of depicted sexuality;
- The more globalized the content of a Hindi film, the higher the level of depicted crime and vice;
- The more globalized the content of a Hindi film, the higher the level of depicted violence; and
- The more globalized the content of a Hindi film, the higher the levels of romance depicted.

Bollywood vs. Contra-flow

As mentioned above, Bollywood films qualify as one of the media entities seen as confronting West's cultural imperialism and hegemony whose main mover are the media giants located in the West. When we talk about Americanization, Hollywood, McDonaldization, Coca-Cola, CNN, Cartoon Network, and Nike, etc, we are aware that their features are transferred to the rest of the world via media outlets, motion pictures, and human migration. This transfer, in huge volumes is responsible for cultural imperialism and Western hegemony.

To counter the one-sided flows of information, we must incorporate the concept of contra-flow. This is where the information flows from the South to North, or, you can say from the periphery to the center. This flow challenges the status quo or the West's domination of information flows. In fact, Naficy (2010) notes that the "flow of influence is not in one direction only" (p. 18), adding that "the accented and de-centered film practices are having a reciprocal impact on the mainstream and the centered modes of production" (p. 18). That is why this study seeks to examine Bollywood literature in connection to the contra-flow concept. For example: Is Bollywood discussed as a representation of the South's contra-flows of information? Is Bollywood presented as a challenger to the West's hegemony and cultural imperialism?

Addressing these questions pertaining to Bollywood in relation to the contra-flow concept, Punathambekar (2007) examined the forces behind the flow of Bollywood content. These forces include media industry professionals, audiences, and state institutions. Punathambekar, for

example, asks: “How do various people and groups associated with the film industry in Bombay negotiate and define what it means to ‘go global?’” (p. 3). The researcher notes that there are ongoing debates about how transnational media flows have reframed relationships among geography, cultural production, and cultural identity (p. 2).

In a study carried out in Bombay (India), Kathmandu (Nepal), and Los Angeles (USA), Shreshova (2008) was interested in global circulation of Hindi films. The researcher interrogated Bollywood dance as performed reception, inspired through global circulation of Hindi films, which is an example of contra-flow of information. Shreshova asks: “Who dances?” “Who watches?” “What is included?” “What is omitted?” (p. x). The researcher writes:

In Bombay dance classes are set to the latest Hindi film remixes and taught by dancers who allow students to begin to access the promises of success of India’s current globalization tendencies. In Kathmandu, Bollywood inspired dances exist on the unstable border between tradition and modernity, stigma and nation, and pollution and purity. In Los Angeles, nostalgic and hybrid definitions of Indianness collide against Orientalized preconceptions of Indian and Bollywood. Yet, even as they remain geographically disparate, a deeper examination of these instances of Bollywood dance begins to reveal a mapping that connects these sites in ways that comment upon globalization through performance (p. xi).

Another signifier of Bollywood’s contra-flow can be explained through the impact which the Hindi films have made in the international market, especially in the United States where arch-rival Hollywood is based. Hindi films’ performance in the global market can also be used as a measure of their influence in the receiving audience and their cultures as well. Commenting about the influence of Bollywood films in international platform, Luck (2005) says the term “Bollywood” has “become globally influential, as the cinema that bears its name continues to grow as a powerful international film industry” (p. 1).

Such films as *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* (1998) and *Taal* (1999) made huge impact in international arena. According to Kaur (2002), the two films “created a record of sorts by climbing into the US/Canada top 20 and UK to 10 charts, as well as playing to packed halls in the United Arab

Emirates, Singapore, Mauritius, and South Africa” (p. 200). The film *Koi* is billed as having challenged the hegemony of Western cinematic production, both economically and ideologically” according to Alessio and Langer (2007, p. 227).

Bollywood vs. Cultural Imperialism

In Kraidy (2003), Beltran (1978) defines cultural imperialism as “a veritable process of social influence by which a nation imposes on other countries its set of beliefs, values, knowledge, and behavioral norms as well as its style of life” (p. 33). Similarly, Barker (1997) explains that cultural imperialism is understood in terms of the imposition of one national culture upon another and the media are seen as central to this process as carriers of cultural meanings which penetrate and dominate the culture of the subordinate nation (p. 183). The “central strand of the cultural imperialism thesis stresses the homogenization of global culture through the spread of capitalist consumerism for which global television is one vehicle” adds Barker (p. 185).

These definitions are important because this study critically explored Bollywood literature in relation to cultural imperialism. This raises such questions as: Has Bollywood succeeded in shipping of the Indian culture to the West? What does the Bollywood literature say? An exploration of the literature shows that the Bollywood-cultural imperialism connection is discussed from the perspective of comparing Bollywood with Hollywood. Heather Tyrell is quoted by Alessio and Langer (2007) asking: “Is Bollywood named in imitation of Hollywood, or as a challenge to it?” (p. 227).

Rao investigated Indian audience demands about Bollywood. Audiences’ acknowledgement that English as a Western and global language has entered mainstream Bollywood is a good example of cultural imperialism from the West. Kudleep, an audience interviewed by Rao in Punjab

comments about the English infiltration in the Bollywood films: “It used to be that heroines would say *nameste or Adab* (Hindi and Urdu greetings). Now they say Hi, even to their mother-in-law and father-in-law” (p. 11).

Morcom (2001) investigated the use of Hollywood music and techniques in Bollywood films. The use of Hollywood music in Hindi films is itself an action of cultural imperialism. Supporting this argument, Morcom says that “the appearance of Hollywood music in Hindi films is easily traceable to a direct influence from Hollywood” (p. 64). The researcher interviewed and observed composers and directors in Hindi film industry during nine months of fieldwork in Bombay between 1998 and 2000. Examples of Hollywood-style music in Hindi films include a scene from *Mughal-e-Azam*, and the use of bluesy saxophone music to accompany “unvirtuous” women. According to Morcom, the use of bluesy saxophone music in both Hindi and Hollywood films to mark a woman as unvirtuous is a “convention learned from Hollywood” (p. 70). “There is a degree of crossover in the use of Hollywood-style music in Hindi and Hollywood, which is particularly evident in scenes of disturbance, discomfort, trauma, fear and evil,” explains Morcom (p. 69).

In the same vein, Alessio and Langer in the article titled *Nationalism and Post-colonialism in Indian Science Fiction: Bollywood’s Koi....Mil Gaya*, demonstrate how Bollywood has borrowed heavily from Hollywood, another moment of cultural imperialism. This is so because whatever elements are borrowed from Hollywood embedded in them are American or Western values, beliefs, knowledge, etc. Alessio and Langer say that the Indian interest in America’s Superman Film (SF) grew throughout the 20th century, and by 1978 had manifested itself in films and comics as well as literature (p. 219). The worldwide popularity of the first Superman film “spurred a number of Indian imitations, including an unauthorized remake of the original US film that not only

used the same title but even lifted whole sequences of special effects” writes Alessio and Langer (p. 219).

Other films which appear to have borrowed heavily from Hollywood productions, according to Alessio and Langer are a disco-dancing contest (*Saturday Night Fever*) and a multi-helicopter military sequence filmed against a sunrise (*Apocalypse Now*) (p. 221). In the article ‘*Bollywood Flashback*’: *Hindi Film Music and the Negotiation of Identity among British-Asian Youths*, Dawson (2005) gives another example of cultural imperialism from Hollywood to Bollywood:

Ramesh Sippy’s *Sholay*, made in 1975, remakes the classic expression of American imperial hegemony: the Western. As such, it provides a powerful example of the indigenizing dynamic through which Hindi film absorbs the products of the globally dominant Hollywood industry (p. 163).

Bollywood vs. Glocalization

Both glocalization and hybridization are very close in meaning and at times it is difficult to put a thin line between the two. They are other elements or components of globalization which scholars of Bollywood film have studied. Kraidy (2003) points out that “glocalization recognizes and conceptualizes social decentralization, cultural hybridization and political fragmentation as both factors and outcomes conceptualized as articulations along the global-to-local theoretical matrix” (p. 41). Moreover, Rao (2010) quotes Robertson, who writes that “glocalization captures the dynamics of the local in the global and the global in the local” (p. 4). In the book *Globalization and Culture: Global Melange*, Pieterse says hybridity “concerns the mixture of phenomena that are held to be different, separate,” adding that hybridization refers to “a cross-category” (p. 78). In the same book, Pieterse quotes Bakhtin who says hybridization refers to “sites, such as fairs, that bring together exotic and the familiar, villagers and townspeople, performers and observers” (p. 78). Other categories of hybridization are: cultures, nations, ethnicities, status groups, classes, and genres, according to Pieterse.

Rao (2010) studied Bollywood in relation to glocalization from an Indian audience point of view. The researcher contends that understanding audience response to Bollywood movies as a process of glocalization can help theorize the ways that Indian audience articulate and construct the multifaceted intersections of the global and local (p. 2). Writes Rao:

Audiences read, and respond anxiously, ironically, acceptingly, resistingly, or even with pleasure, to the signs of the global featured in Bollywood. These signs include the new styles of clothing, audience music, dance, and cinematography, as well as the diverse, worldwide settings of the films. Despite the variety in their responses to the signs of the global in films, audience members agreed that Bollywood films should retain some traditional clothing, dance and musical styles, and emphasize familial emotion along with 'Indian' values (p. 6).

Here are some excerpts of what some audiences said when interviewed by Rao:

Nancy:

We can make films as Western as we want but our films have to have feelings with lot of crying, anger and fighting. Western films are without emotions and that will never work here (p. 13)

Sonal:

Our films always have to include the family even if it is about a gangster. In western films, there is no portrayal of emotional; connection to the family (p. 14).

Shoma:

Our mothers only listened to Hindi film songs. We have more variety. We listen to Western music and Indian pop, Spanish songs, American Idol, and Indian Idol (p.12).

Arjun:

We listen to Shakira and Ricky Martin as often as we listen to Sonu Nigam and Shaan (Indian pop singers) (p.12).

Shalini:

Their culture is like that, our culture is different. At the end of the film, we like to see the girl and boy follow our *parampara* (tradition). We will not accept the heroine as too sexy. She has to be shown as having Indian values (p. 13).

Commenting on audiences' reactions, Rao says:

The 'emotional connection' to the family and kin, as Sonal explains, drives Bollywood film narratives. Film representation heightens the emotional experiences of audiences and enables them, to experience their 'true identity' which is social and emotional rather than individual and rational. This emphasis on familial emotion in Bollywood films and

audience reactions to them exhibits an active resistance to the global, as exemplified by the lack of emotion in Hollywood films, and an insistence that the local trumps the global (p. 14).

In their study about the impact of globalization and Bollywood Cinema's depictions of violence, sexuality, crime, vice and romance, Schaefer and Karan hypothesized that "the more glocalized the content of a Hindi film, the higher the levels of romance depicted" (p. 8). This hypothesis was empirically supported because "glocalized content demonstrated a significant positive association with romance" (p. 20). Bollywood literature also suggests that hybridization is taking place in Hindi films. This is by incorporating foreign characters in the Hindi films. Aftab (2002) gives an example of *Lagaan* which features a number of British actors, adding that "in India, white tourists are encouraged to turn up at film production houses for the chance to be picked as extras" (p. 91).

Bollywood vs. Migration

Available literature indicates that migration is one of the key components of globalization. It involves movement of people from corner of the world to another, may it be from Mombasa (Kenya) to Dallas in the USA, or from Santiago (Chile) to Helsinki (Finland). A report by the UN Global Commission on International Migration, indicates that there were nearly 200 million migrants in 2005, up from 82 million in 1970 (Thussu, p. 188). According to Held *et al.* (1999), migration refers to the movement of people and their temporary or permanent geographical relocation (p. 283). Additionally, Held *et al.* explain that:

There are many impulses behind these movements: victorious armies and empires have swept across and implanted themselves into new territories; the defeated and dispossessed have fled to defensible land and safer havens; the enslaved have been torn from their homes and relocated in the lands of the enslaver; the unemployed and underemployed have searched for work; the persecuted have sought asylum; and the curious and adventurous have always been travelling, drifting and exploring (p. 283).

Georgiou and Silverstone have addressed the diaspora as a locus of transnational, using the dispersal of populations as an inquiry into the dispersal of communications. What the two are demonstrating is that migration plays a major role in the information flows. This is so because as people move or relocate to new places, information tends to flow towards the destination where the diasporic communities are located. Georgiou and Silverstone argue that:

Mediated communications generated around and by such groups provide a key route into the understanding of the contra-flows of global media. Just as migration itself disturbs the boundaries of the state and the culture of a nation, so too do the communications that migration generates (Thussu, 2007, p. 33).

Of course, India is one of those countries in the world whose people are on the run - globetrotters. Statistics available from the U.S. Department of Homeland Security shows that a total of 63,352 Indians obtained legal permanent resident during the fiscal year of 2008. Of these, 31,861, 31,490, and 27,385 were male, female and new arrivals respectively. And according to Rytina (2006), in 2004 there were 11.6 million legal permanent residents in the USA, and Indians comprised of half a million of this figure.

These figures demonstrate that a huge population of Indians lives in foreign locations, creating potential audience which producers of Bollywood films have not hesitated to exploit. Similarly, Bollywood scholars haven't been left behind in targeting this diasporic Indian audience. One commonly shared characteristic of immigrants, their nationalities notwithstanding is the desire to reconnect with their motherland. These displaced populations are disconnected from their families and their culture as well. In trying to reconnect with their motherland, most immigrants use online social networks, for example, Facebook and MySpace. Others use e-mails and cell phone texting. These diasporic populations do also watch online videos containing contents about their countries. YouTube has played this role very well. This is very true, because as an immigrant I find

myself searching for Kenyan music from YouTube, especially when I am bored with the American life or when I want to have “a Kenyan touch.”

While Indians immigrants do use all these communication technologies to engage with their people and culture back home, they have at the same time used Bollywood films to serve the same purpose. More so, Mishra is cited by Kao and Rozario (2008) saying that “while the diaspora utilizes Bollywood in constructing its identity, the diaspora likewise informs Bollywood’s imagined spaces” (p. 315). Sundar (2007) investigated how music constructs gender, sexuality, and nation. The researcher observes that “ignoring Hindi film music, or treating it as the sentimental excess designed for the ‘masses’ entails dismissing one of the most potent and familiar aspects of Indian culture” (p. ix). Relating this to Indians in the diaspora, Sundar explains that Hindi film songs can be a way of connecting with their culture. This help Indians in the diaspora to “cultivate a sense of Indianness” (p. ix).

It is the use of the Hindi films by the Indian immigrants which has attracted a lot of interest from Bollywood film scholars. A plethora of studies have examined how Indian immigrants engage and interpret meaning in the Bollywood cinema. In fact, Mehta (2005) writes that “the desires of the diaspora appear to have been inscribed within the texts of ‘Bollywood’ films” (p. 143). While noting that the consumption of Indian cinema is “pervasive”, Ram (2002) investigated the ways in which Indian immigrant women interpret the gendered representations in Indian cinema. Ram’s objective was to “locate how Indian cinema mediates the constitution of gendered identities in the diaspora” (p. 265). In interpreting the texts, Ram says the “notions of gender, home, and nation are reconstituted, re-imagined and interpreted within transnational contexts” (p. 48).

Taking a perspective of a “globalizing cinema” whose apparatus, financial structure, narrative strategies, and bodily technologies are being dismantled and restructured, Dudrah and Rai

situated and compared experience of Bollywood cinema-going in Jackson Heights and Times Square in New York (p. 143). Elsewhere, Kaur (2002) examined the “renewed” interest of the Indian Diaspora towards Bollywood films. The researcher further explains that Bollywood films have “caught the fancy of not only the original immigrants, but also second-generation and even third generation Indians” (p. 200), adding that:

Both privileged Indians at home and the diaspora abroad who had grown tired of routine stories of callous deaths, mishaps, drought, or famine in India as reported in the international media are keen to devour a cultural product that brings them no shame. Indeed, they can claim moral superiority over their Western oriental warmth (p. 208).

Other than contra-flow, cultural imperialism, hybridity, glocalization, and migration, Bollywood scholars have also investigated challenges facing the Hindi film industry in the process of globalization or how the process of globalization has affected Bollywood film.

Pillania singles out small and fragmented market as a challenge facing Bollywood. So, to unlock Bollywood’s potential and in the process “crack open” global markets, Pillania suggests that production, distribution and retail need to function in unison with the market (p. 122). Acharya examined the indirect and direct effects that globalization has had on Bollywood. Some of the direct causes that Acharya mentions are the rise of alternative sources of entertainment such as TV, both satellite and Doordarshan, and the Internet. The rise of a new middle class as a result of new jobs created because of globalization and the Indian diaspora abroad are the indirect effects (p. 22). Internet, according to Acharya has been “making inroads in India, accounting for audiences at the expense of other forms of entertainment” (p. 25). About the rise of the Indian middle class, Acharya writes:

The rise of the Indian middle class has been impressive. Over the past decade, India’s very rich have grown from 500,000 to 2.1 million. This has brought about a sea change in consumption patterns, from cars to butter entertainment. A large proportion of this group are English speaking and, having grown up on cable TV, do not necessarily respond to the standard song-dance melodramas that is the Bollywood staple (p. 25).

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study critically reviewed Bollywood literature in relation to the process of globalization. This is important because, in doing so, it gives an understanding of the patterns which Bollywood scholarship in relation to globalization has taken in the last 11 years. In a nutshell, the study contributes to understanding the state and patterns of Bollywood scholarship in relation to globalization process. Specially, and using qualitative approach, the study examined the commonly used research methods in Bollywood research and how the Hindi film is discussed in connection to the concept of contra-flow of information. How Bollywood is presented in relation to the general topic of globalization within the contexts of cultural imperialism and hegemony, glocalization and hybridity, and migration was also addressed.

Findings show that ethnography approach was commonly used in research topics about Bollywood. Discussing Bollywood in relation to contra-flow concept, scholars sought to investigate forces behind the flow of Bollywood content, global circulation of the film, its impact in international markets, and whether Bollywood has really challenged the hegemony of Western cinema. In as far as cultural imperialism is concerned, scholars were interested in comparing Bollywood with Hollywood with the main concern being whether the former mimics the latter in many aspects especially in the use of music. For example, a question was posed, thus: “Is Bollywood named in imitation of Hollywood or as a challenge to it?”

About glocalization, scholars were interested in examining how glocalized the Bollywood films are and audience response to the Bollywood films as a process of glocalization. Those interviewed called for the incorporation of Indian elements in Bollywood films. This, according to them, gives the films an “Indian touch.” In migration topic, research was interested in investigating

how Indian immigrants use Bollywood to re-connect with their motherland or how Indians in the diaspora use Hindi films to construct their identities.

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