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A Million Media Now! The Rise of India on the Global Scene

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ABSTRACT *India's growing profile on the global scene owes much to the vibrancy of its cultural and creative industries, media and telecommunications. This article analyses India's media in terms of four 'dividends' (and their corresponding deposits): democractic, diasporic, digital and demographic. Although the deficits produce considerable challenges, the dividends are stronger and the author is optimistic about India's capacity for development and ability to lead to globalisation with an Indian flavour. He reflects on India's potential contribution to international media studies, especially in relation to liberal pluralism, representation of Islam and discourses about development.*

KEY WORDS: India, democracy, globalisation, media, telecommunications, creative industries, diaspora, Bollywood

Introduction

The title of this article is borrowed and adapted from a well-known book by V. S. Naipaul, the Trinidad-born Nobel laureate of Indian descent. As India was beginning to open up its economy in the post-Cold War era, Naipaul was criss-crossing this vast country, trying to make sense—with the help of interpreters—of the great changes unfolding. The resulting book, *India A Million Mutinies Now*, published in 1990, was indicative of the shift of thinking about India among Western or Western-oriented intellectuals. This final book in Naipaul's India trilogy was more positive. This was in striking contrast to the two previous non-fiction books about his ancestral homeland, *An Area of Darkness* (of 1964) and *India: A Wounded Civilization* (of 1977), both published to critical acclaim internationally, and scathing criticism within India.

Did Naipaul get it right on the third attempt? He is, I would suggest, steeped within a British colonial intellectual tradition, which, despite close historical ties, has often misunderstood India. After all, it was Winston Churchill who famously said that India was 'no more a united nation than the Equator'. History has proved those

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prophets of doom decisively wrong. India has not only remained united—despite the legacy of partition and its aftermath—but also emerged as a force to reckon with in the contemporary international arena.

The growing profile of India on the global scene has been helped by the increasing visibility of its cultural and creative industries, its diaspora and its media. Indeed, a million media are in operation in a vibrant and expanding media sphere in one of the world's fastest growing economies. Despite the global economic downturn, in 2011 India posted an economic growth of 7%. Today, the Indian entertainment and media industry is worth 29 billion dollars, with a double-digit annual growth rate (FICCI/KPMG Report, 2011). The 1990s saw the rapid liberalisation, deregulation and privatisation of the media and telecom industries. This, combined with the explosion in digital delivery and distribution technologies, has transformed the media landscape in India. In recent years, India has become an important source of media products, both Indian, as well as a production base for transnational conglomerates.

These transnational media corporations—mostly based in the US—continue to dominate the global communication space by virtue of their ownership of multiple networks and production facilities. They benefit from the growth of markets in large countries such as India and the increase in transnational traffic in media products. The US leads the field in both the hardware and the software of global communication and culture, and its media products are available across the globe, in English or in dubbed or indigenised versions (Thussu, 2007, 2009). According to figures from the United Nations, the 1.3-trillion-dollar media and cultural industry is one of the fastest growing in the world, accounting for more than 7% of global GDP (UNESCO, 2009).

Within the US-dominated global media sphere, India is still a minor player, though perhaps with the potential to become a major one. The changing geopolitical equation in Asia has contributed to a closer economic and strategic relationship between the US and India. International investment is increasing in India's media sector, as cross-media ownership rules are relaxed. At the same time, Indian media companies are also looking abroad (Kohli-Khandekar, 2010). Reliance Big Entertainment, owned by Anil Ambani, one of India's leading industrialists, has invested in DreamWorks, founded by Steven Spielberg, heralding a new era of partnership between the world's richest and biggest film industries. This has led to a greater global presence of Indian cultural products—notably Bollywood, especially in the West.

Off the Western media radar, new configurations are developing, representing South–South media and cultural flows. Indian entertainment is increasingly being recognised as an important part of the 'global popular', even in China, as it opens up to non-Western media content. One example of this is the release of the 2005 Bollywood-inspired Chinese film, *Perhaps Love*—the first musical in that country since the 1950s, choreographed by Bollywood's leading director Farah Khan; and a Beijing-based film group is to produce China's first Bollywood film, entitled *Gold Struck* (Krishnan, 2010). These are indicative of the potential of a 'Chindian' cultural collaboration among the world's two largest populated countries and its fastest growing economies, with old histories and new ambitions (Thussu, 2009; see also *Global Media and Communication*, December 2010).

Beyond Chindia, the BRIC's (Brazil, Russia, India and China) cultural exchange is also noteworthy. A prominent example is the successful Brazilian soap opera *India—A Love Story*, screened in prime-time on TV Globo, and winning the 2009 International Emmy Award for Best Telenovela. The soap was set in India and Brazil and dealt with Indian themes, including caste, gender and class, with Brazilian actors playing the Indian characters. The series uses various cultural props from Bollywood, including the musical score. These hybridised media forms have to be understood within the globalisation of communication, which has created multi-vocal, multi-directional and multi-layered media flows, which reach beyond the elites to the wider populations (Thussu, 2007).

Transformation

In this article, I suggest that in a complex, globalised world, both international media and communication and their study are in the process of transformation, partly as a result of an increasingly mobile and globally networked and digitised communication infrastructure. As a recent UNESCO report notes: 'While it is undeniable that globalization has played an integrative role as a ''window on the world'', mostly to the profit of a few powerful international conglomerates, recent shifts prompted by technological innovation and new consumption patterns are spurring new forms of ''globalization from below'' and creating a two-way flow of communication and cultural products' (UNESCO, 2009, p. 131).

Will the combined economic and cultural impact of India, aided by its global diaspora, create a globalisation that has an Indian flavour to it? The most prominent manifestation of India's global media presence is its 3.5-billion-dollar Hindi film industry. Bollywood has provided a popular definition of India and helped to make it an attractive, not to say exotic and colourful, tourist and investment destination. 'Bollywood' is the world's largest film factory in terms of production and viewership. Every year a billion more people buy tickets for Indian movies than for Hollywood films. Beyond the South Asian diaspora, Indian films are increasingly being watched by international audiences. They are shown in more than 70 countries—from Egypt to Nigeria and from Russia to Thailand—and exports account for nearly a third of industry earnings (Kaur and Sinha, 2005; Kavoori and Punathambekar, 2008; Rajagopalan, 2008; Rai, 2009; Gera Roy, 2010; Uba Adamu, 2010).

The term 'Bollywood', coined in a journalistic column in India—and contested and commended in almost equal measure—denotes a major cultural industry that dominates all media in India, including television, radio, print and online content and, crucially, advertising. It even affects social, religious and political celebrations and discourses. Its most striking presence is in the broadcast sector. Until 1991, India had a highly regulated state broadcasting monopoly *Doordarshan*. By 2011, more than 550 TV channels were in operation—nearly 50 broadcasting in English. This makes India one of the world's largest English-language television markets—in a country with 500 million TV viewers (FICCI/KPMG Report, 2011). In parallel with the transformation of the broadcasting sector, a massive expansion in newspaper circulation has taken place, in sharp contrast to the US and the UK. India has more than 2,300 'paid-for' daily newspapers—the highest number in the world—and it is

the world's largest newspaper market with 110 million copies sold every day, according to the World Association of Newspapers (WAN, 2011). FM radio too is growing rapidly, as are digital mobile media. Unlike much of the Western world, journalism as a business is thriving, partly as a result of rising literacy and the demonstrable purchasing power of the 300-million-strong middle class, major beneficiaries of India's enthusiastic embrace of new-liberalism.

Given that neo-liberal ideology seems to influence and inform current academic and policy discourses, I have chosen the vocabulary of 'dividends' and 'deficits' to explore the million media revolution in India and its global implications. I first examine the four key dividends—democratic, diasporic, digital and demographic—which, I argue, help explain India's ascent. To retain a sense of balance, I also point out what I describe as 'deficits' in the four categories, which may hamper, and even distort, the rise of India on the global scene.

Democratic Dividend

I start with what I consider the most important dividend—the democratic dividend. Indians take justified pride in their democracy. It has contributed significantly to India's creative and cultural blossoming. It remains an interesting paradox that a very poor, deeply unequal and undemocratic society, with its pronounced caste and class distinctions, has emerged as the world's largest and arguably most 'argumentative' multi-party democracy (Sen, 2005). This multilingual and often noisy argumentation has been supported and sustained by one of the world's freest and fiercest media systems.

A federal democratic structure and a constitution that ensures freedom of expression and linguistic, religious and cultural pluralism, has been crucial for the growth of media in India's national languages. The constitution of India recognises 18 languages as official, while 400 other languages are widely used in the country where multilingualism is a norm. Though English remains the link language—of higher courts, bureaucracy and higher education—Hindi, with its regional variations, is most widely spoken. Unsurprisingly, Hindi-language media dominate; but in recent years, as regional parties have gained ground at the national level, audience figures for media use in India's regional languages have also soared. One reason for this impressive growth is that, in the past two decades, India's literacy rate has grown steadily from 52 to 74% (Ninan, 2007).

Indian journalism evolved within the context of a fight for democracy in the tradition of anti-colonialism, represented by leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi (who edited for most of his political life the weekly newspaper *Young India*, later renamed *Harijan*). One indication of the vigour and vitality of Indian democracy is the growth of news networks in the country. India has the distinction of having the largest number of dedicated news channels—122 by the end of 2011 and counting—making India home to the world's most competitive and crowded news market.

The proliferation of news networks and freedom from government control have arguably democratised public discourse as journalists help to give voice to the voiceless and seek accountability from political actors. A multiplicity of media outlets enables citizens to access a wider range of information and analysis,

curtailing the government's capacity to control and manage information and thus influence the media agenda. The transformation of television news has widened and indeed enriched the public sphere.

From electoral politics to economy, to development issues, television news has a major role in shaping public opinion. Networks such as the English-language NDTV 24X7 have taken up causes in the public interest, such as environmental protection, freedom of information, gender equality, among others, and have on occasion influenced government to amend or initiate policy. This democratic dividend, I suggest, is a crucial element in the rise of a million media.

Diasporic Dividend

My second dividend—the diasporic one—has a personal resonance, having lived in the UK since 1988 and observed at first-hand the changing perceptions of India and Indian diaspora in this country. I would argue that the opening up of the media sphere in India, part of India's gradual integration in global neo-liberal capitalism, has given a boost to Indians abroad. Since the 1990s, a new kind of migration from India—a middle-class migration—has bought with it Indian media to the world. Digitisation and the growing availability of satellite and cable television—Zee, Sony, Star, B4U—as well as online delivery mechanisms, have ensured that Indian media content (films, sports, entertainment and news) are regularly consumed among the diaspora. Indian television has been active in selling the global Indian to Indian audiences, and the glitz and glamour of Bollywood to the famed NRIs (non-resident Indians). The 25-million-strong Indian diaspora, scattered around the globe, have excelled in many spheres of life and enriched the cultural, economic and intellectual experience of countries such as the US and Britain. They have also made a significant contribution to India's emergence as an economic and cultural power. The net worth of the Indian diaspora is estimated to be 300 billion dollars and their annual contribution to the Indian economy valued at up to 10 billion dollars. Recognising this, since 2003 the Government of India has organised the annual *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas* (Celebration of Overseas Indians), thus officially sealing New Delhi's recognition of its global diaspora (Kapur, 2010). As more professional migration becomes a reality, English-language news channels and news portals provide information and analysis to keep abreast of developments in the home country. Indian-born or Indian-origin journalists are also contributing to the media of the country of their residence. Fareed Zakaria, formerly editor of *Newsweek International*, and Raju Narisetti, Managing Editor of *Washington Post*, are two rising stars of American journalism. In other fields too, the Indian diasporic presence is increasingly felt, for example in academia, including senior faculty in Ivy League universities. In the US especially, the Indian diaspora has contributed substantially to changing the perceptions of India. It may be relevant here to mention that President Obama has appointed over two dozen Indian-Americans in important federal posts—the highest number for any administration.

The international information technology arena has a pronounced Indian input—from Hotmail to Google and from Microsoft to Apple. Indian geeks, male and female, regularly appear in the media to debate current affairs—consuming and producing content and deploying digital technologies to distribute it globally.

Digital Dividend

I now turn to another crucial dividend, the digital divided, which has contributed significantly to the million media in India. The day after Steve Jobs died, the world's media were full of copious and glowing obituaries for the man who gave us Apple, the iPhone and iPad. On the same day, buried inside the newspapers, was a short news item: India had launched the world's cheapest tablet, called *Aakash* (sky in Sanskrit)—at just 40 dollars.

Kapil Sibal, India's minister for human resource development and telecommunication, also announced that these tablets will be distributed to every university student in the country. In this age of 'iMedia', such affordable technology will revolutionise the media scene in India. I would suggest that *Aakash* and other such initiatives will add to the impressive growth of India's cultural and creative industries, given the strength of India in the IT sector and the convergence between these industries and IT-enabled services. Industry estimates say that despite the economic slump, IT exports from India will reach 148 billion dollars by the end of 2012.

The biggest digital dividend is in mobile media, which has witnessed the most explosive growth: India is already the planet's biggest mobile phone market. Its communication infrastructure, though still weak in comparison with many developed countries, has been crucial in fostering a revolution in telecommunication and television.

Internet penetration, however, remains very low. As of the end of 2011, only 121 million Indians had internet access, a penetration rate of just over 10% of India's 1.2 billion population. Happily, internet use is growing exponentially, jointly promoted by the government and corporations. In the period 2000–2010, it grew by as much as 1,520%: from barely 0.1% of the population in 1998 to over 10% in 2011, according to the Internet World Stats (2012). With the growth of mobile internet, making 3G phones affordable and accessible, this will accelerate further; and the youth are the biggest consumers as well as producers of mobile digital content and of social media.

Demographic Dividend

This brings me to my fourth dividend, what Nandan Nilkani, the man overseeing one of the world's largest IT projects—giving every Indian a 'unique identification number'—has called the 'demographic dividend' (Nilkani, 2008). Though an ancient civilisation, India is a very young nation, with more than 70% of Indians being below the age of 35 years. As more and more Indians work and study outside India, or to use Nandan's phrase 'work for the world', the digital content they produce and consume is likely to reach all corners of the globe. It is interesting to speculate what kind of content will be circulating on the web and in which language, when not 10 but 90% of Indians are able to use the internet. Already, as their prosperity grows, a sizeable segment of young Indians are increasingly going online, producing, distributing and consuming digital media, especially using their skills in the English language, the vehicle for global communication. This demographic is also relevant in the context of the growth of English-language media in India, opening up

possibilities for opportunities offered by the globalisation of Indian media industries and Indianisation of transnational media corporations.

Another D, for Deficit

Lest we get carried away, apart from these four dividends—of democracy, diaspora, digitisation and demography—there is another D that any meaningful discussion on India cannot afford to ignore: deficit, especially the development deficit. I now look briefly at the four deficits, beginning with democratic deficit.

Democratic Deficit

Despite demonstrating robust economic growth and lifting millions out of poverty, India remains home to the world's largest population of poor people. One key challenge for India's hard economic strength as well as its soft cultural power is to deploy these to bridge this developmental divide.

Bollywoodised media in India has almost completely taken over public discourse—from television and online entertainment, to news. According to industry estimates, by 2015 television is expected to account for almost half of the Indian media and entertainment industry revenues (FICCI/KPMG Report, 2011, p. 3). The model on which this media system is based is crassly commercial. In an advertisement-led, ratings-driven media environment, a particular version of India is being promoted, with grandeurs of an emerging superpower, following in the footsteps of Uncle Sam. This reinforces a reconfigured hegemony that legitimises the neo-liberal agenda, predicated on free-market fundamentalism.

Entertainment and infotainment dominate what one astute commentator has called the 'ABC of Media—Advertising, Bollywood and Corporate Power' (Sainath, 2010). Ratings-driven television news and circulation wars among competing newspapers are forcing journalists and news executives to go for the safety of the soft news option. The fiercely competitive media market has contributed to a dilution of professional attitudes to journalism. It is unfortunate for a country where newspaper journalism has a long and distinguished history with a tradition of investigative journalism and watchdog functions.

A recent and disturbing trend has further eroded the professional credibility of journalism: the phenomenon of 'paid news'. This was witnessed in its crudest form during the provincial elections in 2009 in the state of Maharashtra, when the Chief Minister there bought editorial space in leading Marathi-language newspapers to promote his election prospects. As India's Press Council warned, 'The phenomenon of ''paid news'' goes beyond the corruption of individual journalists and media companies. It has become pervasive, structured and highly organised and in the process, is undermining democracy in India'.[1] This broader political and corporate corruption has weakened democracy and led to the nation-wide anti-corruption campaign in 2011, led by social activist Anna Hazare, and a demand for a national corruption ombudsman.

By overwhelming public discourse with Bollywoodised content, the egalitarian aspects are marginalised in the media at a time when as a rising power India is integrating with the US-led neo-liberal economic system, both as a producer and

consumer of commodity capitalism. In an age of global spectacle, the Bollywood variety of entertainment, with its 'larger-than-life' characters, emotional melodrama, peppered with song and dance, can be a useful diversion from issues that require attention.

Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has identified the Maoists—active in some of the poorest districts in India, living in appalling poverty, malnourished and marginalised—as the greatest internal security threat. Yet, Indian media rarely cover the causes of Maoist insurgency, while focusing on external security threats—real and imagined. India is now the world's largest weapons importer and it is estimated it will spend up to 80 billion dollars on military modernisation by 2015, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Diasporic Deficit

There is also a diasporic deficit. Large sections of the diasporic 'global' Indian population are cheerleaders for a muscular, Hinduised India and are not particularly perturbed by the pervasive poverty and deprivation that millions of fellow Indians suffer on a daily basis. The old debates about the 'brain drain' from the developing to developed world have been abating, but the difference between *India* (globalised, English-speaking, modern) and *Bharat* (traditional and rural—the majority India) is growing. English-speaking (or should it be Hinglish, Benglish or Tamlish-speaking) and increasingly Americanised young Indians are leaving India to enrich the transnational corporations and the countries in which they are based. Mayawati, the recently dethroned queen of India's dalits, who until March 2012 ruled Uttar Pradesh, the country's most populous province, was not far off the mark. She is reported to have said that, unlike her English-speaking, mostly upper-caste compatriots, whose loyalties may veer towards transnational capital, she and her people—17% of India's population—have their loyalties firmly rooted in the soil and soul of India. The professional new Indian diaspora—especially in the US and UK—has very few members from Mayawati's class and caste. The majority belongs to a culturally hybridised group, apparently at peace with cosmopolitan living and consuming a mediated India at a distance.

Digital Deficit

Despite exceptional growth in television and telecommunication, millions of Indians are still not benefiting from the digital revolution. This is not a question just of access to new technologies, but more structural deficiencies that force people to ignore the benefits of digitisation. For example, the meteorological office may warn that a storm is likely, on public and private media—television, radio, online sources—and in local languages. Yet fishermen still risk their lives to go on their routine trips to the rough sea. If they do not, their families may not have enough to eat that day.

Another serious deficit is India's failure to use the million media to educate its poorest citizens. Although India was the first country to use television for education through its 1970s Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) programme, educational media have largely been ignored by a Bollywoodised media culture: at a time when more than 300 million people remain illiterate. The digital revolution has

been commodified to provide popular entertainment at the expense of information about health and hygiene, about caste and gender equality or about the wider world beyond India. It is an irony that at a time when the media are prospering and India is 'rising', its media owners and managers—with a few honourable exceptions—do not appear to be interested in preparing Indians to be part of a knowledge-based economy. Instead, their focus seems to be to make Indians, especially young ones, slaves to consumer fetish.

Demographic Deficit

The demographic dividend that is seen as India's major strength can also be its main weakness. Keeping young people employed in a globalised economy—subject to international pressures and fluctuations—can be extremely difficult. Although in absolute terms India is home to the largest number of unemployed, or certainly under-employed, youth in the world, it also has the highest use of child labour, despite legislation that bans domestic or farm labour for children. Even 65 years after independence from colonial rule, millions of India's children continue to do menial jobs as domestic help in middle-class homes or toil on small farms and in cramped and hazardous factories, when they should be in schools or in playgrounds.

Drawing a Balance Sheet

If we draw a balance sheet of dividends and deficits, I would argue the dividends are stronger, though on the surface the deficits may look insurmountable. Democracy has taken deep roots in India. One major factor is the changing power equation in rural India where the majority of Indians live. Half the *panchayats* (village councils) across the country are now run by elected women. More often than not, these women have channelled state funds for developmental purposes, for village schools and primary health centres. The federal and provincial governments, through their various employment and entitlement schemes, have contributed to this transformation; and the mass media, despite commercial pressures and corruption, has continued to discharge, by and large successfully, its fourth estate function.

The Indian diaspora is likely to grow in influence and visibility, and with it things Indian—cultural or otherwise—will be globalised further. The unstoppable digital revolution and the demographic change, if handled carefully, could bring unprecedented prosperity to India.

A Million Media and International Media Studies

In the final section, I reflect on how the million media and India's rise may affect international media and its study. India's example of a multi-ethnic, multilingual and multicultural media system offers interesting sites for the study of media and communication. Will the growth of media and communication in India contribute to broadening research concerns and agendas of media and communication studies worldwide? Media studies, like other fields broadly within the arena of social sciences and humanities, is affected by what might be called epistemological essentialism, rooted, as it is, within an Euro-Atlantic intellectual tradition. The dominance of

English as the language of global media and communication has contributed to the primacy of English-language scholarship in this field. Its study as an academic subject itself emerged in the US and was deeply influenced by American theorisation. It reflected the political climate during the Cold War era, when the authoritarian versus the liberal media theory remained the dominant paradigm. Such theorisation failed to take into account large and complex countries such as India, which did not quite fit the bipolar construction of the world. As one of the founder members of the Non-Aligned Movement, India pursued a largely autonomous foreign policy. It was a leading voice during the 1970s' and 1980s' debates within UNESCO about the creation of a New World Information and Communication Order.

Will the 'rise' of India pose challenges to the Western-dominated epistemological and pedagogic frameworks for the study of media and communication? I contend that the rise of million media in India is not easy to analyse within traditional media theory—whether liberal or critical, though both have insights to offer. I suggest two areas to which India could add its intellectual and cultural input. First is how India could contribute to liberal pluralism. Unlike in the West, where multiculturalism is an imposed 'official' policy, and not always an agreeable social and cultural position, India is a multicultural, multi-faith and multilingual country. Every major religious festival is celebrated there—both officially and socially, and with gusto. Different languages, dialects and accents coexist. The composite culture that India embodies has given its media a degree of plurality not found in many other countries.

In this context, the representation of Islam, which has acquired deep political connotations in the post-9/11 world, has gained great importance. The research community may benefit from drawing on Indian contributions to this discourse. What is distinctive about India and in contrast to the West is that it represents a civilisation—the Hindu-Buddhist tradition—whose roots are not in the Abrahamic religions. The perception of Islam therefore is less likely to be influenced by discourses that refer to the crusades and the 'clash of civilizations', though sections within Hindu fundamentalist groups have been slavishly following the anti-Muslim diatribe. It is important to remind ourselves that had the British not partitioned India at independence in 1947, it would have been the world's largest Muslim country in terms of population. Today, at 177 million, the country has the world's third largest Islamic population, contributing significantly to the millennia-old Indo-Islamic culture, noticeable in its classical music, poetry and cuisine—as well as popular media discourses in news and current affairs or in Bollywood representation of Muslims.

The other area where a million media should make a difference is the discourse about development. Being home to the largest number of people living in poverty in the world, India has a moral and material imperative to be at the forefront of poverty alleviation programmes internationally. Given India's long-standing tradition of Gandhi's egalitarian ideology and the Nehruvian legacy of elegantly articulating the voice of the global South, it can make meaningful contributions to international debates, beyond World Bank-dictated anti-poverty programmes. The Indian presence in multilateral bureaucracies, the international non-governmental sector and the development communication field can be harnessed by the million media. Would development discourse be different if it were shaped in New Delhi rather than in New York? Would an Indian media perspective on events in other

developing countries be less affected by the colonial mindset? What does Indian experience tell us about the power of indigenous media against Americanisation of global media?

If the first two decades of globalisation caused extensive expansion of largely Western cultural products around the world, the second decade of the 21st century will witness a steady growth in the visibility and volume of media products from countries such as India, if projected growth of its media industry is any guide.

As Indian media integrates further with the global media sphere how would it affect research imaginings and theorisation? There is a strong and deeply entrenched tradition of argumentation and critical conversation in the Indian body politic and in its academic and journalistic life. As Indian media and academia globalise will this critical mass contribute to a critical media studies? Indian scholars and scholars of Indian diaspora have a good record for pushing the boundaries of research in social sciences and humanities, with a major impact on developing post-colonial critiques of literary and cultural works, as well as historiography that privileged the subaltern. India has the potential to develop academic discourses that are not derivative: though research into media and communication in India is in its early stages, already some innovative work is beginning to emerge. Will a million media contribute to the blossoming of a million thoughts?

Note

1. Press Council of India, *Report on Paid News*, New Delhi, 30 July 2010, accessible at http://presscouncil.nic.in/CouncilReport.pdf

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