Aswin Punathambekar, **From Bombay to Bollywood: The Making of a Global Media Industry,** New York, NY: New York University Press, 2013, 255 pp., $21.60 (paperback).

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Globalization affects the media industry more each day as local industry integrates attitudes from abroad. Other than Hollywood, only one media industry has gone global: Bollywood. What is happening in Bombay is not happening in the UK, Germany, Spain, France, or elsewhere. Why has only Bombay evolved into a significant global industry with worldwide influence? In **From Bombay to Bollywood: The Making of a Global Media Industry**, Aswin Punathambekar analyzes the transition of India's media industry, documenting how the Bombay film industry became Bollywood. Today, Bollywood is the second film center of the world, and its brand is known globally.
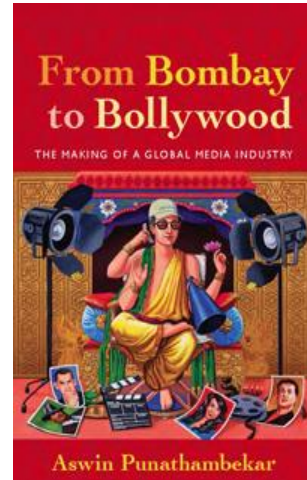
To understand this transition, Punathambekar's field research included interviews, attendance at Indian and U.S. media events, and an analysis of studio and local production companies and the movies they made. He also highlights the industry's new entrepreneurs, who strengthened the Bollywood brand abroad.

The author examines three factors that contributed to the Indian media transformation: the Indian state and its policies, the Indian diaspora, and the behavior and technologies of media industries. His research helps explain the relationships among these three elements from 1998 to 2009, the decade of corporatization. He frames the transformation of India's media industry using the tensions between the government's position and industry professionals in India and the United States. Officially, the Indian government celebrates the globalized, professionalized, and corporatized industry that developed after the Indian state granted official "industry" status to Bombay film production in 1998. By contrast, some local producers and professionals complain about a chaos in the industry that hampers its growth. Punathambekar explores both positions.

From Bombay to Bollywood begins by stressing that the Indian state desperately wanted to stop the bad accounting practices rampant in the film business prior to the state granting it industry status. The state urgently wanted to transform the Bombay film business into a global industry. Punathambekar emphasizes three aspects that encouraged Bollywood's development: (1) India's desire to reconfigure its national space and rebuild its relationship with the Indian diaspora, (2) its dream of refashioning Bombay as a global city in an era of economic and cultural globalization, and (3) the expansion and convergence of Indian media, including television, radio, film, Internet, mobile phones, and advertising. The blend of these elements allowed for Bollywood's rise.

Chapter 1 reviews the status of the Indian diaspora and its significant impact on strengthening Bollywood. Punathambekar describes the sociocultural and political reorganization of India and its diaspora. Before the 1980s, emigrants living abroad were no longer considered part of the nation. The government changed its rules, and since 1977, it welcomed those of Indian descent back into the fold because of their sustained loyalty. This policy change began to have a major impact at the end of the 1980s when the Indian economy was integrated more strongly into the global market. New laws, informal initiatives like seminars overseas, and India's inclusion in the global market resulted in all Indians, regardless of where they reside, being considered part of India. By linking the domestic and international Indian communities, the government aimed to corporatize and globalize India. Indeed, important Bollywood movies like *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham*, *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge*, and *Pardes* made it clear that Indians living abroad still practiced Indian traditions. Punathambekar provides an in-depth analysis of *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham*, a film that shows the reality of an Indian family living in Britain. Rahul, his wife, Anjali, and his son, Krish, emigrated because Rahul refused to marry the woman his father chose. Krish is considered by others to be only half-Indian because he was born abroad, even though his parents are from India. In one scene, Anjali sings a traditional Indian song; Krish is completely indifferent. Nonetheless, Anjali tries to give her son Indian values even though he grew up in Britain. In another scene, Krish is in a school presentation and the audience expects him and his classmates to sing "Do, Re, Mi," the song that they rehearsed. Instead, he dedicates a song to his mother and sings the Indian national anthem. He forgets the end, but Anjali finishes it. Two different generations are living abroad; the younger generation has never been to India, although when Krish sings the national anthem, he too is Indian. Although the diaspora allows some controlled transgression of Indian values, this sequence shows that diaspora is not a threat. Punathambekar shows that the government believed that the diaspora could promote economic growth at home and make India a greater part of a globalized world.

Next, *From Bombay to Bollywood* discusses FRAMES 2009, an annual event since 1998 organized by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI). FRAMES 2009 celebrated the 10th anniversary of the corporatization that transformed the Bombay cinema industry into Bollywood. The official speeches made at the event were optimistic about corporatization, but media insiders thought there was still much work to do. Corporatization forced small-scale family businesses to reinvent themselves to remain relevant, while new large corporations entered the Bombay cinema market. Larger firms had professionalized the production process by imitating Hollywood practices, so small companies that previously relied on kinship to build their networks had to open new networks beyond kinship. This tension was reinforced because movies produced by larger enterprises often failed at the box office. Smaller companies claimed that although the corporations' production model was superior, larger companies did not understand the audience. By contrast, small firms had better results with Indian audiences, even though they failed by the standard of injecting risk and speculation into the corporatized business model. Therefore, corporatization is still ongoing, despite the official speech.

Chapter 3 explains that the emergence of new marketing strategies and promotions in Bollywood helped expand its national audience using advertising and television growth. Case studies and interviews with marketing executives describe the transformation of the relationship between television and cinema, when new television content was introduced to promote movies. This meant that television gave the film business access to their audiences by distributing movie content through television. Television exposure

helped the film business raise its box office. Since 2000, film industry marketing practices have changed movie and marketing spending as a proportion of production budgets, increasing the risk of investment. Small-scale family companies also searched for new ways to reach audiences in the fast-evolving media environment. New financing tools and sources, new models of speculation, and the globalization of Bombay altered the distribution and exhibition process in India and overseas. These marketing changes increased audience involvement and made Bollywood a strong global brand.

However, television marketing strategies do not penetrate every foreign market. The next chapter examines dot-com companies and their interaction with overseas audiences, especially the Indian diaspora, and how the dot-coms strengthened the Indian market abroad. Dot-coms are "knowledge brokers" (p. 21) helping domestic and nonresident Indian audiences understand each other. Dot-coms work as intermediaries for the diasporas in the United States, Britain, and elsewhere, making them more relevant across online geographic space. This new space allowed the expansion of capital in new territories and helped Bollywood gain a foothold outside south Asia. Dot-coms helped make the diaspora economically and culturally relevant, linking nonresident Indians based in financial circuits such as Silicon Valley. Punathambekar uses websites such as indiafm.com and indiatimes.com to show the dot-coms' growing influence after the 2000 launch of the trailer for the action movie *Kaante*, which was accessed by more than 600,000 people on its first day online. Cyberspace became a second home for the diaspora.

Chapter 5 analyzes the new diasporic entrepreneurs and their role in media produced outside of India. The new relationships linking Bombay, Los Angeles, and other cities changed media production patterns. Today, Indians living abroad have greater access to Indian content because of the overseas availability of Indian television channels. Punathambekar notes the failure of MTV-Desi to understand youth diasporic culture, documenting how U.S. culture marginalized this large community when MTV-Desi designed the channel's programming, exhibitions, marketing, and distribution strategies. Similarly, Saavn.com, a Bollywood digital media company, illustrates the challenges that producers and media companies face. Saavn.com started as the "passport" (access) to Bollywood and helped make Bollywood attractive globally. These diasporic ventures built a shared cultural space that provides a large scale of media production and circulation to Bollywood, from Bombay to Los Angeles, allowing the Indian media production to become the second-leading global media industry.

Finally, Punathambekar reflects on changes in Bollywood from a cultural and geographic perspective. Building on an examination of fan behavior, he discusses the implications of global media cultures in a globalized world, where media users build their engagement over spatial and linguistic limitations with the help of technological convergence. Thus, Bollywood is his main example of the effects and consequences of global media that are emerging in a participatory culture.

Readers concerned with new media configurations in the wake of globalization will be attracted to *From Bombay to Bollywood*. The structure and prose grow clearer as the book proceeds. No prior knowledge of the Indian film industry is needed, but the Bombay Bollywood evolution provides insights that will carry over to those concerned with media developments in places ranging from Lagos to Sao Paulo.

More importantly, this book is well-suited for people involved in the media industry in developing countries. In these geographic areas, many production companies have not yet leveraged the value of marketing when initiating project developments. The success of India's media industry in Bombay stemmed from its use of marketing strategies. By expanding their investment beyond production, Bollywood was able to cross different media platform, thus allowing for additional exposure and adding value to their overall projects. Other geographic centers can mirror the strategy of success that Bombay employed in producing the now-famous Bollywood. Thus, other Bombays can become other Bollywoods.