

The Rise of a New Middle Class and the Emergence of a New Film Genre Due to Open Economy: The Dynamics of Indian Society as Seen in the Box Office Success of “The Lunchbox”

OKAMITSU Nobuko*

Film is a medium that reflects the era during which it is produced and the circumstances of the country in which it is produced. Thus, film is not only artwork, it is a mirror that reflects society.

Since India's open economy in 1991, a new genre has emerged that sets itself apart from mainstream cinema with its universal, sober theme. This new genre is referred to as the new middle class subject in Indian Cinema, because the worldview it presents overlaps with the interests of the new middle class that emerged due to the economic policy.

The purpose of this article is to examine the new middle class subject in Indian Cinema as depicted in the film “The Lunchbox” (2013) and the factors of the film's commercial success at home and abroad, and analyze some aspects of social change in India.

Key Words: New Middle Class, India, Box Office, Social Change, Indian Film

1. Introduction: Capturing Social Dynamism through Film

Film is a medium that reflects the era during which it is produced and the circumstances of the country in which it is produced. Thus, film is not only artwork, it is a mirror that reflects society. Indian film is no exception. A new film genre was created as the content of Indian cinema changed with the times.

In the 1980s, India began shifting from a socialist planned economic policy to a policy of economic liberalization in order to escape the low economic growth rate the country suffered since its independence. In 1991, India was hit by an unprecedented foreign currency crisis and drastically changed its policy of economic

* 中央大学政策文化総合研究所客員研究員

Visiting Research Fellow, The Institute of Policy and Cultural Studies, Chuo University

opening. The country's economy was also affected by the Lehman Shock and the subsequent global financial crisis, but is expected to grow in the long term (Shimizu 2009: 44–48).

After major changes in India's economic policy, the country's middle class increased as its economy grew and the poverty rate declined. Middle class Indians born from the success of economic policies are now bombarded with images that glorify consumption and middle-class lifestyles in fashion magazines and advertisements. These waves of social change have been reflected in Indian movies, especially in mainstream cinema, which targets the middle class (Fernandes 2006: 29–30; 236).

Since India's economic opening, a new genre has emerged that sets itself apart from mainstream cinema with its universal, sober theme (Okamitsu 2019). This new genre is referred to as the new middle class subject in Indian Cinema or the new middle class subject in Hindi Cinema^{d)} because the worldview it presents overlaps with the interests of the new middle class that emerged due to economic opening (Anjaria 2015: 153–154).

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the new middle class subject in Indian Cinema as depicted in the film “The Lunchbox” (2013), examine the factors of the film's commercial success at home and abroad, and analyze some aspects of social change in India.

2. Changing Economic Policies and the Growing Middle Class in India

In 1947, India gained independence from Britain. After independence, India's economic policies nationalized institutions like banks and the coal industry based on the example of the former Soviet Union's socialist planning economy, and abstained from fostering private companies. India's GDP growth rate until 1990 was around 4% per year (Roy 2018: 32–33) (Figure 1).

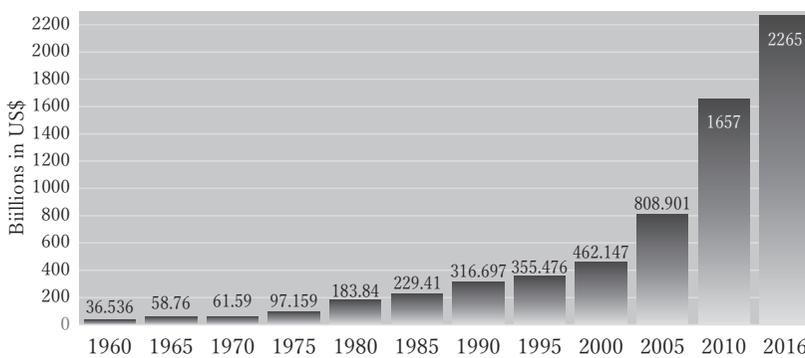
In 1991, India fell into an unprecedented shortage of foreign currencies and shifted from socialist economic policies to open economic policies, actively accepting foreign capital (Yamashita & Okamitsu 2016: 339). This shift in the country's economic policy has paid off, and economic growth has increased dramatically. Since then, India's annual GDP has been growing at an annual rate of 6% to 7% (Roy 2018: 33; Shimizu 2009: 47) (Figure 1).

As the economy steadily grows, the middle class, whose annual income is between US\$5,000 and US\$34,999, has increased. After the economic opening policy, only 4% of households had annual incomes between US\$5,000 and US\$34,999

in 2000 (Figure 2) (Roy 2018: 32), but in 2017, 53.2% of households fell within that category (Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry 2019: 8) (Figure 3).

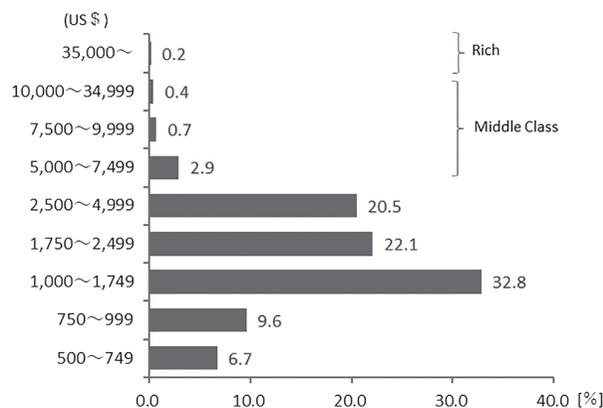
According to estimates of income classes by the National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER)²⁾, the percentage of middle-class households in India by income class between 1995 and 2010 was 2.7% in 1995/96 and 5.7% in 2001/02. This steadily increased to 8.1% in 2005/06 and 12.8% in 2009/10. In proportion to the increase in the middle class, the percentage of those in poverty in India fell from 79.6% in 1995/96, to 71.9% in 2001/02, to 64.9% in 2005/06, and to 51.5% in 2009/10 (JETRO 2012: 12) (Figure 4).

NCAER considers inflation, economic growth, and other factors when defining



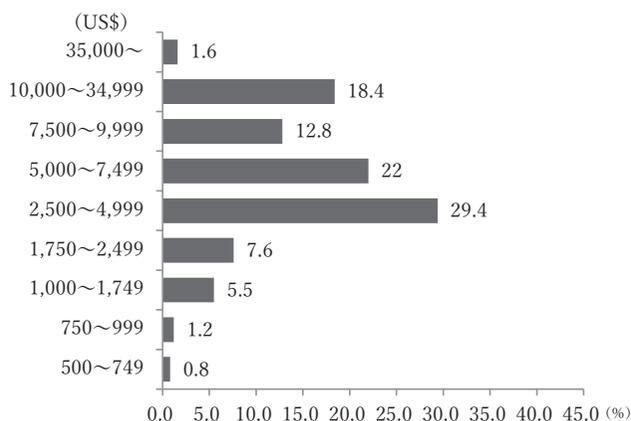
Source: Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (2019) *International Healthcare Base Construction Promotion Project 2018 (International Development System Development Support Project) Medical International Deployment Country Report Basic Information on Healthcare Market Environment in Emerging Countries, India.*

Figure 1: India's GDP 1960–2016 (Current US\$)



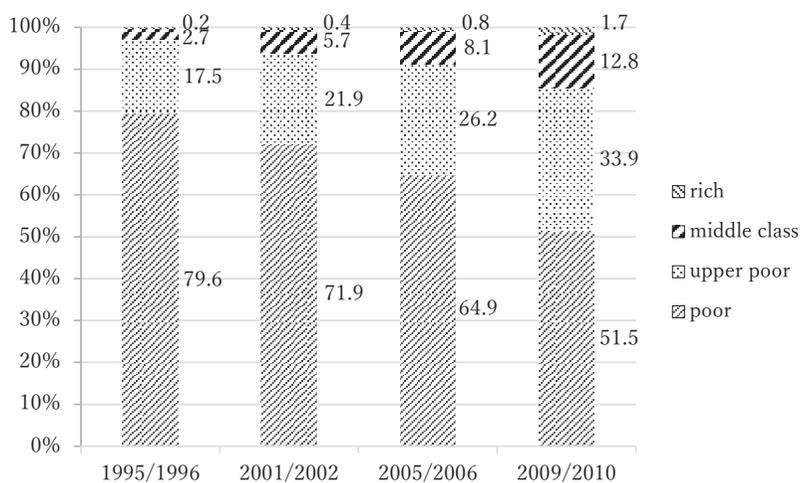
Source: Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (2019) *International Healthcare Base Construction Promotion Project 2018 (International Development System Development Support Project) Medical International Deployment Country Report Basic Information on Healthcare Market Environment in Emerging Countries, India.*

Figure 2: Household Income Distribution Map 2000



Source: Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (2019) *International Healthcare Base Construction Promotion Project 2018 (International Development System Development Support Project) Medical International Deployment Country Report Basic Information on Healthcare Market Environment in Emerging Countries, India*.

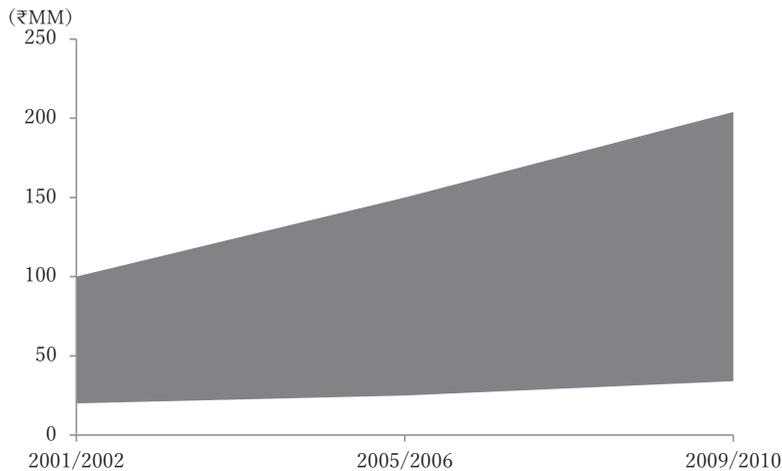
Figure 3: Household Income Distribution Map 2017



Source: JETRO Overseas Research Division (2012) *Indian Market and Market Development*.

Figure 4: Changes in Household Ratio by Income Class by NCAER

the income of the middle class. The annual income of the middle class as defined by NCAER is gradually increasing, from 200,000 to 1 million rupees in 2001/2002, 250,000 to 1.25 million rupees in 2005/2006, and 340,000 to 1.7 million rupees in 2009/2010. This suggests that India's economy has grown steadily, raising incomes and, in response, increasing the incomes of the middle class (Figure 5).



Source: JETRO Overseas Research Division (2012) *Indian Market and Market Development*.

Figure 5: Changes in the Incomes of the Middle Class by NCAER

3. The Rise of the New Middle Class

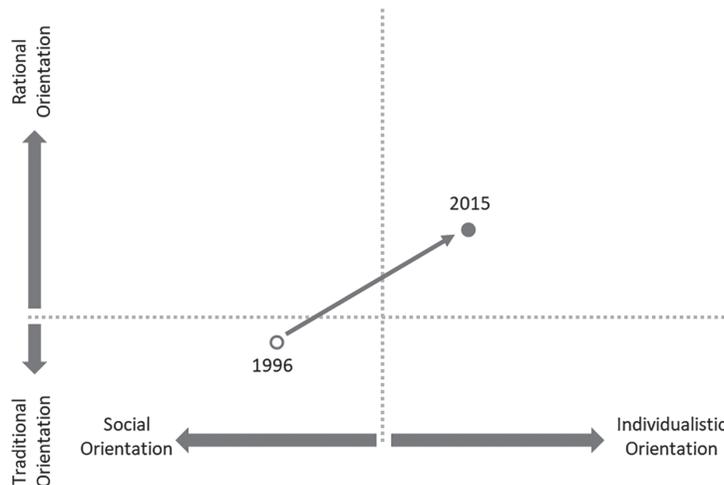
Since India's shift to an open economy policy in 1991, the middle class has been increasing as the economy steadily grows. The upper middle class, with a higher income than the majority of the middle class, emerged since the opening of the economy, earning a large salary and fully enjoying the benefits of privatization and economic liberalization. The new middle class has different characteristics from the previous middle class (Visweswaran 2008: 25). The annual income of the upper middle class is said to be between US\$15,000 and US\$35,000. In India, since those with an annual income of more than US\$35,000 are categorized as wealthy, those in the upper middle class are considered to be a reserve army of the wealthy and are also called the "middle rich" (Ishizaka 2011: 24–37). According to Leela Fernandes, this group is distinguished from the old middle class and is called the "new middle class." The old middle class is made up of government employees and those who work for government agencies such as state banks. The new middle class, on the other hand, is made up of people who work for multinational corporations or banks with foreign capital (Fernandes 2006: 88–89). Importantly, the new middle class in India use English as a medium to communicate (Fernandes 2006: 34–35).

The stereotypical figure of the new middle class receives their higher education in English, lives in a large city apartment with a nuclear family, and has expertise

in the private sector such as foreign companies, IT, or financial services. Thus, members of the new middle class have high-paying jobs and can thus buy cars and luxury goods, enjoy consumer life, and spend a great deal on education, health care, and leisure. Many members of the new middle class have studied or worked abroad in the Indian diaspora, and they to seek the living standards they have experienced overseas. Bombay beach and public beautification campaigns call for public places in India to have the order and cleanliness commonly found in developed countries, and these movements reflect the aesthetics of the new middle class (Fernandes 2006: 146-148).

On the other hand, the new middle class praise consumption and capitalism and are said to tend to be disinterested in poverty in India and displaced people (Anjaria 2015: 133). They are said to be more individualistic and concerned about individual freedom and well-being rather than focusing on traditional values and norms.

Since the opening of the economy, India has seen diversification not only in social changes such as the increase in the middle class and diversification of consumption behavior, but also in people's values. A survey conducted by Nomura Research Institute in 1996 found that the majority of individuals in India had intentions to maintain traditions and placed social emphasis on communities rather than individuals. However, a 2015 survey found that the majority now prioritized rational judgment over tradition and religious standards, and emphasized individuality and freedom of expression rather than order based on traditional values (see Figure 6)



Source: Isozaki et al. (2016) "The Changing Realities of the Middle Class in India".

Figure 6: Changing Indian Values

(Isozaki et al. 2016: 72). The new middle class, with higher education and rational thinking, are perceived as respecting individual freedom more than Indian values and traditional norms.

4. Legalization of the Indian Film Industry and Subsequent Structural Changes

In 1988, a landmark event brought structural changes to the Indian film industry. Sushma Swaraj, the Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting of the national democratic alliance government, which was formed with Atal Bihari Vajpayee as the Prime Minister, certified the film industry as a legal industry for the first time. The central government's legalization of the film industry opened the way for the corporate sector, including banks, to participate in the film business, where black money had been rampant, and provided an opportunity for the film industry to modernize.

The legalization of the film industry dramatically changed film financing in particular. Before legalization, opaque financing with outrageous interest rates was prevalent in the film industry. Blue chip banners, such as Yash Chopra, Subhash Ghai, and Indra Kumar, had no trouble raising their stakes with their investors. However, such producers accounted for only 1% of the total, and most producers struggled to gather funds for films.

In addition, filmmaking was considered a very risky investment. It was not uncommon for a single movie to fail, losing the wealth the filmmakers had built over the years. There was also a deep relationship between the film industry and antisocial forces, and the industry had a corrupt, dark atmosphere.

Furthermore, even though around 200 movies were produced in Mumbai annually, 30–35 of those movies were never completed, and around 30 movies could not even be found. Banks operating according to rules and regulations seldom financed the risky film business (India Today 2019).³⁾

According to an India Today article in 1988, about 25% of films produced in the country were financed by financiers with exorbitant interest rates of 36–40% per year, and about 70% of the films were jointly funded by 15–20 businessmen of varying degrees, such as jewelers and builders. Interest rates on these loans were very risky, as they could be raised without notice after lending. In addition, about 5% of the movies were said to be produced with loans from anti-social forces.

With so many problems in the film industry, from financing to distribution, bank financing was not possible without first-class professionals. Many filmmakers

longed to get loans from banks at low interest, which would allow high-quality movies to be produced without worrying about cash flow (V Shankar Aiyar & Anupama Chopra 1988).

The legalization of the movie industry allowed film financing and distribution to be conducted in a healthier manner. Banks started financing film production and bank loans soon became the driving force behind the industry. For example, the Industrial Development Bank of India began lending to filmmakers at an annual rate of 15–16%. Bank loans could now be borrowed with confidence without the sudden rise in interest rates that often occurred with loans from private financing companies (V Shankar Aiyar & Anupama Chopra 1988; Live Mint 2016; India Today 2019).

However, bank loans cannot be made unless the film meets certain requirements; for example, the script must be completed and contracts must be signed with actors. In addition, banks will not issue a loan to a film producer unless the actor receiving the performance fee is deemed valuable for the movie. The planned film must be considered a valuable product that may be completed within a certain period of time, and there must be an expectation of fund recovery.

When banks started financing film production, the film industry lost its ad-hoc nature: film scripts were now written before shooting began, work was completed within the contract period, and business was conducted on a contract basis. This led to structural changes in the film industry. The biggest producers established studios, film production became an international project, and Indian films were distributed more widely than the traditional overseas markets. As the Indian film industry changed, independent producers began to emerge in India as is seen in Hollywood (Live Mint 2016; V Shankar Aiyar & Anupama Chopra 1988).

In the 1990s, Indian cinema, especially Hindi cinema and its audiences, began to change, helped by the legalization of the film industry and the shift in economic policy. Hindi films were produced targeting non-resident Indians (NRI) as an important audience. Such works are known as “NRI Cinema” and feature A-list stars, wealthy or upper middle-class characters, melodious music, designer outfits, and foreign locations. NRI Cinema dramatically increased the box office revenue of Indian films and changed the overseas market strategy of the Indian film industry.

NRI movies were in their heyday in the 1990s. “Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge” (1995) is a representative NRI film, with domestic and international box office revenues topping the list of Hindi films released that year. The commercial success of “Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge” increased producers’ awareness of the audience

base of NRI (Ahuja 2013). The film portrays an NRI played by Shah Rukh Khan as a modern youth who dresses in designer outfits but still embodies Indian values. The movie's popularity with NRI may have been influenced by its shooting in Europe and the free love it's depict (Ahuja 2013; Live Mint 2016).

The legalization of the film industry provided the opportunity for the opaque and inefficient Indian film industry to transform into a modern business. The legalization of the film industry accelerated structural changes enabled by economic opening and paved the way for the revitalization of the Indian film industry.

5. New Genre of Movies: “New Middle Class Subject in Indian Cinema” and the Emergence of a New Audience

Since 1991, alongside the emergence of a new middle class that embodied the results of economic growth, the focus of commercial Indian films, and Hindi films in particular, has been on the absurdities and personal selfhood that everyone experiences in everyday life. The worldview drawn by this new genre overlaps with the interests and consciousness of the new middle-class – highly educated and high-income people who value individualistic values more than traditional norms. Thus, the genre is called the new middle class subject in Indian cinema or new middle class subject in Hindi cinema.

New middle class subjects in Indian Cinema are low-budget movies that do not feature big stars who need expensive garages, large sets, fancy action scenes that use explosives, heavy uses of VFX, or song sequence requiring luxurious sets and costumes. Films in this genre are within the framework of commercial cinema but deviate from traditional stereotyped formats and can be found in any country or region.

New middle class subjects in Indian cinema were not anticipated to be smash hits from the beginning. Such films have low box office risk due to their low budget, do not have to follow the fixed format of mainstream movies, and embody the personality of the director; feelings are found everywhere in such films (Okamitsu 2019: 124–129). Films in this genre have been produced from the very beginning for a targeted audience, producing highly accomplished, excellent works that have won numerous awards at national and international film festivals, as well as box office successes.

Works of this genre do not condemn the inconvenience and absurdity of daily life, such as difficulties in making train reservations, the inefficiency in government office work, frequent power outages, as social problems. Instead, such issues

are seen as part of everyday life (Anjaria 2015: 153–154). Further, unlike the films of the 70s featuring angry young men played by actors like Amitabh Bachchan, these films do not make claims about the rights of a specific group or highlight social contradictions such as the difference between the rich and the poor in binary opposition. The works of this genre instead reflect the justice and concerns of the new middle class against the backdrop of a growing public awareness, depicting the desire to exercise fair justice and achieve efficient governance.

This new genre is driven by young directors who have little experience in feature film production. Such directors write their own original scripts and their own works with the smallest details. The contents of such films focus on the internal problems of the individual, such as social inconsistencies and mental conflicts that ordinary people experience in ordinary life, and personal happiness escaped from social restraint.

“English Vinglish” (2012) and “The Lunchbox” (2013) are representative works of the new middle class subject in Indian cinema. These are excellent works focusing on internal conflicts that have not only been highly acclaimed at domestic and international film festivals, but have achieved box office success.

Both works, which are classified within the genre of the new middle class subject in Indian film, tend to have higher rankings overseas than in India, although they still perform well in India. “English Vinglish” ranked 8th worldwide, but also 22nd in India. “The Lunchbox” ranked 3rd worldwide but also 39th in the country (Box Office India 2019). Although the domestic and overseas rankings of both works widely differ, they have high revenues because they are produced with a low budget.

The multiplexes produced by the liberalization of the economy since 1991 has allowed such sober works to have a box office success in India. Small theaters with about 50 to 80 seats that make up the multiplex are commercially successful if half of the seats are filled for each show. The new middle class subject of Indian film lacks popular elements and cannot be expected to be attended by wide audiences. The appearance of multiplexes has made it possible for new middle class subjects of Indian film, which are only seen by small audiences, to be shown in theaters.

The commercial success of the new middle class subject of Indian film shows that these films also had a certain audience in India. The emergence of the new middle class subject of Indian film and multiplexes enables those bored with the patterned mainstream cinema – a new, highly educated and conscious middle class – to visit the theater. In other words, the new middle class subject of Indian film has uncovered a new audience in India for Indian cinema.

6. New Middle Class Subject in Indian Cinema Individual Happiness Depicted in “The Lunchbox”

Here, I will examine a typical work of the new middle class subject in Indian film, “The Lunchbox,” discuss the everyday and personal well-being of the characters in the film, and clarify the characteristics of this new genre.

“The Lunchbox” was created by multiple studios: DAR motion pictures, UTV Motion Pictures, Dharma Productions, Sikhaya Entertainment, NFDC (India), ROH Films (Germany), ASAP Films (France), and the Cine Mosaic (United States). The film was directed by Indians, while the music, editing, and photography were conducted by Westerners. The director, Litesh Batra, is a young filmmaker born in 1979, and the film follows his original script.

This work depicts the romance between an unknown man and woman caused by the mistaken delivery by a lunch deliverer called dabbawalas, a Mumbai specialty. The main characters are a young beautiful housewife, Ila, who entrusts her lunch to dabbawalas, an elderly accountant, Saajan, who receives the lunch, and Shaikh, the successor to the accountant.

Ila lives with her husband and daughter in an apartment on the outskirts of Mumbai, but her relationship with her husband is cold. She is a lonely woman who has lost her only brother, has a spiritual distance from her father who has cancer and her mother who cares for him, and has no one to trust or confide in. She makes a lunch to regain her husband’s love and begins delivering her lunch to her husband using dabbawalas.

Saajan is a widower who lives and eats alone in an old suburban home. He has no children, close colleagues, or relatives, and lives a monotonous life, going back and forth between home and work. He orders lunch from a nearby canteen to his office using dabbawalas.

Shaikh is an orphan who is a lonely young man. He has been instructed to take over Saajan’s work and realizes Saajan loves Ila. Shaikh establishes a personal connection with him, inviting Saajan to his home, and asks Saajan to serve as the relative at his wedding.

Eventually, Ila decides to leave India and live in Xintiandi, Bhutan, leaving her husband. Saajan realizes his love for Ila and decides to meet her directly. Shaikh marries a loved one and begins taking the first steps to form a family.

The lives of the people in “The Lunchbox” are depicted as they are, without unnatural settings and exaggerations. According to director Rishabh Batra, the story

only takes place in the setting of Mumbai, India, so the filmmakers paid close attention to the details of the Indian landscape. A special feature of the new middle class subject in Indian film is that it takes place in India without exaggerations or distortions.

As the story progresses, the characters' religions are identified by their names, their places of residence, the languages they use, and their clothing. Ila is shown to be Hindu because she wears a bindi on her forehead. We see that Saajan is a Christian because the nameplate on his house is Fernandez. Shaikh can be identified as a Muslim from the dress of the bride, groom, and attendees at his wedding.

The characters; classes are also understood by their lifestyles, homes, transportation, and clothing. Ila is the middle-class housewife who lives in a small, neat apartment on the outskirts of Mumbai. She wears faded clothes at home and travels around the city by taxi, and her husband commutes to Mumbai on a crowded train. Saajan is also a middle-class man. He earns a steady income as an accountant, lives in an old detached house on the outskirts of Mumbai, and travels by bus and train. Shaikh lives in an unfurnished old apartment, takes public transport, and is a bit lower in the middle class because of his new employment.

The daily life of the three characters is elaborately described, centering on the mistaken delivery of a lunchbox, which can only be described as a miracle, and the protagonists reconsider whether they are happy and search for greater happiness. However, the three protagonists are set apart from the social restraint that keep individuals in place in Indian society, such as caste, religion, and family ties, and are able to act on their own wills.

Inter-religious romance between men and women as depicted in "The Lunchbox" is presented as respecting individual values over traditional Indian values. Although Ila and Saajan clearly differ in religion from the screen, these differences do not intervene in their relationship.

In India, family ties are so strong that marriages and divorces are seldom decided solely at the individual level. However, Ila decides to get a divorce in order to live her own life. In a sense, Ila's determination to get divorced can be viewed as a symbolic event that shows an individual pursuing happiness.

"The Lunchbox" not only depicts love between a man and woman who are connected through mistaken delivery of a lunchbox, it presents characters who pursue happiness by respecting their own wills rather than social norms. In other words, "The Lunchbox" is a work that escapes various invisible restraints that bind people and asks individuals to live as themselves.

7. Conclusion

In 1988, the legalization of the Indian movie industry led to structural changes, creating an environment in which a new genre of movies called the new middle class subject in Indian film could be produced. The new middle class subject in Indian film focuses on the absurdities and personal interiority experienced in everyday life. “The Lunchbox” is a representative work of the new middle class subject in Indian film.

Although the new middle class subject in Indian film is not considered commercially successful in India, the genre attracts audiences who are bored with mainstream cinema and has given birth to some of the most successful films in India. The domestic commercial success of “The Lunchbox” has attracted the support of a new, highly educated and high-income middle class that has emerged in the wake of India’s economic liberalization that started in 1991. This is because the new middle class tends to value individual values more than traditional norms, and the themes depicted in the new middle class subject in Indian film overlap with their interests.

Films are both works of art and commercial products. The commercial success of the new middle class subject in Indian film in India indicates social change in the country, as the audience for this genre grows in size.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to Tandai Ryou from the Faculty of Science, Tohoku University, who prepared the figures and tables in this dissertation.

Notes

- 1) This new genre of movies is primarily produced in Hindi.
- 2) The National Council for Applied Economic Research is a non-profit organization founded in India in 1956 that estimates income classes independently in the field of applied economics based on a national consumption survey.
- 3) For unsigned journal articles, use publication date instead of author name.

References

- Ahuja, Nitin Tej (2013) “Return Of The Native”. *Box Office India*. 9 March. Retrieved 25-07-2019, from <https://web.archive.org/web/20131202231308/http://www.boxofficeindia.co.in/return-of-the-native/>
- Anjaria, Ulka (2015) “Hindi Film and the Making of the New Middle Class”. *Proceedings of the 28th Annual Meeting of the South Asian Studies Association of Japan*, pp. 153-154.
- Box office India (2019) Retrieved 24-01-2019, from <https://boxofficeindia.com/>

- Fernandes, Leela (2006) *India's New Middle Class: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- India Today (2019) "How Sushma Swaraj made film an industry and changed how India looked at movies" *India Today*. 7 August. Retrieved 14-12-2019, from <https://www.indiatoday.in/movies/bollywood/story/how-sushma-swaraj-made-film-an-industry-and-changed-how-india-looked-at-movies-1578108-2019-08-07>
- Ishizaka, Eisuke (2011) "Marketing Strategies to Respond to Lifestyle Changes in Middle-rich People in India". *Creating Intellectual Property*. (Nomura Research Institute) October. Retrieved 10-07-2019, from https://dl.ndl.go.jp/view/download/digidepo_8308815_po_cs20111004.pdf?contentNo=1&alternativeNo=
- Isozaki, Hikojiro; Sasaki, Dai; Pandit, Ishan (2016) "The Changing Realities of the Middle Class in India". *Creating Intellectual Property*. (Nomura Research Institute) July. Retrieved 10-07-2019, from <https://www.nri.com/~media/PDF/jp/opinion/teiki/chitekishisan/cs201607/cs20160708.pdf>
- JETRO (Japan External Trade Organization) Overseas Research Division (2012) *Indian Market and Market Development*. Retrieved 10-07-2019, from https://www.jetro.go.jp/ext_images/jfile/report/07000866/in_market_development.pdf
- Live Mint (2016) "The Liberalization of Bollywood". *Live Mint*. 2 December. Retrieved 02-12-2019, from <https://www.livemint.com/Consumer/BVVx6EV79uZcrkZBgAky3H/The-liberalization-of-Bollywood.html>
- Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (2019) *International Healthcare Base Construction Promotion Project 2018 (International Development System Development Support Project) Medical International Deployment Country Report Basic Information on the Healthcare Market Environment in Emerging Countries, India*. Retrieved 10-07-2019, from https://www.meti.go.jp/policy/mono_info_service/healthcare/iryoudownloadfiles/pdf/countryreport_India.pdf
- Okamitsu, Nobuko (2019) "The Emergence of 'New Middle Class Films' and the Transformation of Content in Commercial Films in India". *Toho*. 34: 117-138.
- Roy Abhijit (2018) "The Middle Class in India: From 1947 To the Present and Beyond". *Education About Asia*. Vol. 23. Number 1, pp. 32-37. Retrieved 10-07-2019, from <http://aas2.asian-studies.org/EAA/EAA-Archives/23/1/1528.pdf>
- Shimizu, Satoshi (2009) "Economic Growth in India: Long-term Issues and Short-term Outlook", *Pacific Rim Business Information RIM*. Vol. 9 No. 33 pp. 44-84. Retrieved 21-11-2019, from <https://www.jri.co.jp/MediaLibrary/file/report/rim/pdf/2735.pdf>
- Visweswaran, Kamala (2008) "The Middle Class". *Economic & Political Weekly*. 24 May. pp. 23-25.
- V Shankar Aiyar; Anupama Chopra (1988) "Bollywood hazy about new industry status, but expects business to get streamlined now". *India Today*. 25 May. Retrieved 24-12-2019, from <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/economy/story/19980525-bollywood-hazy-about-new-industry-status-but-expects-business-to-get-streamlined-now-828244-1998-05-25>
- Yamashita, Hiroshi; Okamitsu, Nobuko (2010) *Hollywood in Asia-Globalization and Indian Film*. Tokyo: Tokyodohshuppan.