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The Gatekeeper Problem: India's Digital-Competition Moment

 **THE HINDU**

25 July 2026

ECONOMY**GS2****GS3**

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GS2

GS3

✓ Every fact web-verified against primary sources

THE LIFT LINE

When a market has a **gatekeeper**, the toll is invisible but real: consumers pay in higher prices and lost choice, and rivals pay in denied access. The question every regulator now faces is whether to punish that toll after the fact, or **write the rules before the gate is built**.

WHY THIS EDITORIAL MATTERS FOR YOUR EXAM

The European Commission's latest strike on Google is not a foreign business-page item; it is a live template for a regulatory choice India is about to make. The debate over how to discipline **Big Tech** brings together the economics of platforms with the governance question of institutional design, which is exactly why it straddles two GS papers.

GS Paper 2: Regulatory bodies, government policies and interventions, and the **statutory** framework governing competition. **GS Paper 3:** The Indian economy, growth of markets, and the effects of digitalisation and monopoly on innovation and consumers.

For **Prelims**, hold the specifics: the European Commission fined **Google around 890 million euros** on **23 July 2026** under the **Digital Markets Act (DMA)**, its first DMA penalty on the company, for **self-preferencing in Search and steering restrictions on Google Play**; the DMA (in force since 2022) regulates “**gatekeepers**” operating “**core platform services**”; India's regulator is the **Competition Commission of India (CCI)** under the **Competition Act, 2002**, amended by the **Competition (Amendment) Act, 2023**; the **Committee on Digital Competition Law (CDCL)**, set up by the **Ministry of Corporate Affairs** in 2023, proposed a **Digital Competition Bill** with the concept of **Systemically Significant Digital Enterprises (SSDEs)**.

For **Mains**, the argument is that India needs a **calibrated ex-ante framework** that curbs abuse of dominance without throttling the very digital firms it hopes will scale.

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

On 23 July 2026 the European Commission imposed a fine of about **890 million euros** on Google, splitting it between **self-preferencing** of Google's own services in Search (around 460 million euros) and **restrictions on app-store steering** on Google Play (around 430 million euros). It was the **first penalty against Google under the DMA** and the largest the Commission has levied under that law, with a 60-day compliance window backed by threatened penalties of up to **5 per cent of worldwide daily turnover**.

The case matters less for its size than for its **method**. The DMA does not wait to prove harm in each instance; it lays down **standing obligations** on designated gatekeepers. This is the frontier of competition policy, and India is standing at the same crossroads with its own draft law.

THE CORE ARGUMENT / ISSUE

Ex-post versus ex-ante regulation

Traditional competition law, including India's Competition Act, is **ex-post**: the regulator acts **after** an abuse of dominance occurs, investigates, and penalises. In fast-moving digital markets this is often too slow. By the time a case concludes, the market may have **tipped irreversibly** to the incumbent. **Ex-ante** regulation, exemplified by the DMA, instead sets **pre-emptive rules of conduct** for the largest platforms, forbidding practices like self-preferencing before harm crystallises.

FEATURE	EX-POST (COMPETITION ACT)	EX-ANTE (DMA / DRAFT BILL)
Timing	Acts after abuse occurs	Sets rules in advance
Burden	Prove dominance and harm	Obligations apply on designation
Speed	Slow; markets may tip first	Faster, preventive
Risk	Under-enforcement	Over-reach; may bind growing firms

Why platforms tend to dominate

Digital markets tilt toward concentration because of three forces: **network effects** (a service grows more useful as more people use it), **data advantages** (dominant firms accumulate data that entrenches their edge), and **economies of scale** with near-zero marginal cost. A gatekeeper controlling a search engine, app store or operating system can then engage in **self-preferencing**, ranking its own products above rivals it also hosts. These are structural tendencies, not mere misconduct, which is why regulators reach for structural rules.

India's calibrated path

India's **CDCL** concluded that the ex-post Competition Act needed an **ex-ante supplement** and proposed designating **SSDEs**, firms providing core digital services such as **search, social networking, operating systems and web browsers** with significant financial strength and user spread in India. The draft Bill would bar self-preferencing, anti-steering and misuse of non-public data by such firms. As of mid-2026 the Bill remains in **pre-legislative consultation**, with industry warning that **low thresholds** could sweep in fast-growing Indian firms and blunt innovation.

HOW TO THINK ABOUT THIS (ANALYTICAL FRAME)

Weigh the choice on a **cost-benefit balance**. The cost of **under-regulation** is entrenched monopoly, foreclosed startups and consumer harm; the cost of **over-regulation** is compliance burden that handicaps home-grown platforms and deters investment. The optimal design is **narrow and precise**: it should bind only the genuinely **systemic** gatekeepers, target **specific abusive conducts** rather than size itself, and preserve room for Indian firms to scale. Regulation should discipline **abuse of dominance**, not dominance earned through better products.

THE DIAGRAM IN WORDS

Network effects + data advantage + scale -> platform tips to a gatekeeper -> self-preferencing, anti-steering, data misuse -> ex-post law too slow (market already tipped) -> add ex-ante rules (DMA abroad, SSDE Bill in India) -> curb abuse while protecting innovation -> contestable, fair digital markets

WAY FORWARD

- ❶ **Legislate a calibrated ex-ante Bill.** Enact the **Digital Competition Bill** but designate only truly **systemically significant** firms, with thresholds high enough to spare emerging Indian platforms.
- ❷ **Strengthen the CCI's digital capacity.** Build a specialised **digital markets unit** with data-science and technical expertise so enforcement is evidence-led and swift, not merely **punitive**.
- ❸ **Target conduct, not size.** Prohibit specific harms, **self-preferencing, anti-steering and non-public data misuse**, rather than penalising scale, so that success in the market is not itself an offence.
- ❹ **Coordinate globally while protecting sovereignty.** Learn from the **DMA and other jurisdictions** and align on principles, while tailoring rules to India's stage of digital development and its **Digital Public Infrastructure** ecosystem.

PYQ LINKAGE AND PRACTICE

The theme links to Mains GS3 questions on how competition and regulation shape markets, and to GS2 questions on the role of regulatory bodies. It also connects to prior probes on the digital economy, data governance and the balance between innovation and consumer protection.

Practice question: “In digital markets, ex-post competition law arrives too late. Examine the case for an ex-ante regulatory framework in India, and the risks it must guard against.” **(15 marks, 250 words)**

Sources: EU fines Google 890 million euros, France 24, Digital Competition Law summary, PRS India, Draft Digital Competition Bill, Vajiram and Ravi

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