

APPENDIX I

CODE SHEET

Variables which have been used to analyse newspapers coverage are as follows:

1. **Coder ID-**
2. **Article ID-**
3. **News Website**
 - I. The New York Times
 - II. The Guardian
4. **Published Date-**
5. **Article Type-**
 - I. News
 - II. Editorial
 - III. Column/Opinion
 - IV. Interview
 - V. Letter to Editor
3. **Title of the news story-**
4. **Theme of the news-**
 - I. Political
 - II. Social
 - III. Economic
 - IV. Cultural
 - V. Scientific
 - VI. Miscellaneous
6. **Tone of story**

Theme 1- Political Image

Sub Category	Positive (a)	Negative(b)	Neutral (c)
Defence			
Governance			
International Relations			
Internal Security			
Domestic Politics			
Protests			

Theme 2- Social Image

Sub Category	Positive (a)	Negative(b)	Neutral (c)
Corruption			
Crime			
Education			
Human Interest			
Human Rights			
Law			
Urban Issues			

Theme 3- Economic Image

Sub Category	Positive (a)	Negative(b)	Neutral (c)
Banking			
Business			
Domestic Economy			
Poverty			

Theme 4- Cultural Image

Sub Category	Positive (a)	Negative(b)	Neutral (c)
Fine Arts			
Cinema			
Food			
Fashion			
Literature			
Performing Arts			
Sports			
Tourism			
Spirituality			

Theme 5- Scientific Image

Sub Category	Positive (a)	Negative(b)	Neutral (c)
Agriculture			
Environment			
Energy			
Health			
R&D			

Theme 6- Miscellaneous Image

Sub Category	Positive (a)	Negative(b)	Neutral (c)
Accident			
Awards			
Obituary			

APPENDIX II

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Dr. Jaimini Bhagwati

Former Diplomat, Economist and Foreign Policy Expert.

Q1: What is the importance of national image in the global political system?

Ans: It matters a lot. A country's image matters a lot in the global political system. Countries focus on soft power activities for this very reason. Every country wants to have a positive global image. It helps them to mould the global opinion in their favour.

Q2: What do you think about the role of western media in shaping the global geopolitics?

Do you think the western media's coverage of India should even matter to it?

Ans: Oh Yes, the Western nations are more economically and technologically more advanced than others and their media continues to play an important role in shaping the global discourse. The world has become very much interconnected today and what the global media thinks about us matters a lot for India in the present times.

Q3: What issues or frames you think are projected more often about India in the Western media? Is the coverage of India driven by some kind of agenda?

Ans: Yes, of course there is an agenda. The owners of the newspaper houses have to present news keeping their business interests and national interests in mind. Power is a zero-sum game and Western nations do not want India to become very powerful. If the Indian economy becomes stronger then the jobs, industries, investors and business capital will flow towards India. Many a times, selective approach is followed in the choice and presentation of news. The New York Times and The Washington Post have been deeply critical about the coverage of India many times. For example, during the emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi in 1977 and the anti-Sikh riots in 1984 these publications were very critical about India.

Q4: How India's international image evolved in the colonial and post-independence period ?

It was seen as the land of snake charmers. It was a nation which could not govern itself and white people could only civilise it. After its independence it was predicted in the international media that the country will soon break up into pieces because of its several fault lines. But, India proved its critics wrong. It continued to progress in every aspect.

Q5: Do you think India's global image has changed sharply after 2014?

Ans: No, I don't think so. I feel that all the governments which were formed after the independence have tried their best to improve the image of India. Cultural exchange programmes, literary events, film festivals, seminars, conferences etc. were organised by different governments for this purpose. The present government has continued that policy. For example, the declaration of 21st June as the World Yoga Day in the United Nations was seen as a big success of Modi government. After this declaration the demand for yoga teachers has increased sharply. Millions of people across the world are practising yoga today and it is seen as a big contribution from India.

Mr. Sachin Gogoi

Editorial Lead, BBC (Asia Pacific).

Former Chief Media Specialist for India at the Embassy of the USA.

Q1: What is the importance of national image in the global political system?

Ans: A country's national image is essentially a broad and generalized assessment of how the world looks at that country. A country like North Korea, which has been living in near isolation for decades now, may not care much about its national image. But any country - which seeks to be a part of the global order and wants to have mutually beneficial bilateral and multilateral relationships with other countries cannot ignore its national image.

Q2: Sir, does media act as a tool to propagate the geopolitical interests of any country? Can you observe some kind of co-relation between the two?

Ans: Media definitely acts a tool to propagate a country's national interests. Without going far back in history, we can take the example of the Russia-Ukraine war as a case study here. As soon as the war broke out, several key Russian media outlets - including its international news channel Russia Today - were among the first Russian entities to have faced a ban from the western powers. Russia started the invasion of Ukraine on 24 February and after merely six days - on 2nd March - Europe imposed sanctions on Russian state-owned outlets Russia Today and Sputnik. The US also took similar measures almost simultaneously.

The western powers stated that they wanted to prevent Russia from conducting disinformation and information manipulation actions through their media outlets. This illustrates how much of importance countries attach to information or disinformation spread by a news outlet in advancing a country's national interests. On the opposite spectrum, western news outlets have been naturally observed to push the narratives of Europe and the US regarding the Ukraine war. For example, it was through the reporting of those outlets that Russian soldiers' involvement in killing civilians in Ukraine's Bucha city in March 2022 was exposed.

Q3: What do you think about the role of western media in shaping the global geopolitics? Do you think the Western media's coverage of India should even matter to it?

Ans: Western media play a crucial role in shaping global geopolitics. Vernacular media may be very popular in a particular country - doesn't matter which continent we discuss - but people usually refer to Western media outlets for their dose of global news. There are several reasons

for that. Prominent Western media outlets such as the CNN, BBC, Reuters etc. have the required resources for gathering news from all over the world. Because of their resources and expertise, they are able to present stories to a global audience in an efficient manner. Also, their story-telling is usually suited for a global audience who can make better sense of the developments in any part of the world.

While local media outlets may have competing priorities and own agendas in covering a particular development, Western news outlets are generally seen as more balanced and reliable. Western media's coverage is broadly crucial for India or any other country. Since India has strong relationships with the Western world and international financial institutions for a host of factors including funding, technology, military imports etc., India will have to be mindful of what kind of messaging is going out to all those stakeholders through Western media outlets.

Q 4: What issues or frames you think are projected more often about India in the Western media? Is the coverage of India driven by some kind of agenda?

Ans: In my observation, Western media's coverage of India ranges from disdain to wonder. Many a times, we notice an orthodox editorial line, almost questioning the India story. It is a slightly old story now, but the 2014 infamous cartoon by The New York Times on India's Mars mission is a case in point. Their depiction of India in that cartoon was not only inaccurate, but was in poor taste too. Some of the western outlets still exhibit the tendency to focus on trivial negative issues in their coverage. At the same time, India often receives positive coverage from the Western media on issues such as its economy, its Information Technology sector and even its human resources.

Q5: How India's international image evolved in the colonial and post-independence period?

Ans: Apologies, I don't have the required academic knowledge to provide an accurate answer to this.

Q6: Do you think India's global image has changed sharply after 2014?

Ans: There has been a marked improvement in India's global image over the years. That has been a work in progress and I am not willing to believe that 2014 is a particularly huge milestone in this. India's nationalistic media would lead one to believe that the country's standing has dramatically improved after 2014 and the world looks up to India for leadership.

However, the global image would not depend on how the country's own media portray it. The global image would be a sum of both optics and substance. We will have to take a more nuanced view of how India has been performing in several key indicators for that.

Some of those indicators include the Human Development Index (HDI), the Global Multidimensional Poverty Index (GMPI), the Global Hunger Index (GHI), the Infant Mortality Rate (IMR), World Press Freedom Index (WPFI) etc. In addition to building economic strength, India will also have to demonstrate sustained progress in those indicators for improving its global image. Along with that, the country will also have to focus on providing a better India experience to tourists who come to the country from different parts of the world. Because what the foreign tourists see and experience in India would naturally spread far and wide.

Prof. (Dr.) Daya K. Thussu

Professor (International Communication)

Tsinghua University, Beijing

Managing Editor of Global Media and Communication Journal

Q1: What is the importance of national image in the global political system?

Ans: In an age of mediatized global communication, images matter increasingly, as these tend to define and shape the media narratives about a country and its culture. Therefore, a positive image matters: especially in relations to encouraging more foreign direct investment as well as attracting tourists as well as foreign students to the country.

Q2: Sir, does media act as a tool to propagate geopolitical interests of any country? Can you observe some kind of co-relation between the two?

Ans: It depends on what kind of media we are talking about. Generally speaking, any foreign policy-related issues are not most important for a majority of mass media which more often than not cater to a national audience and focus on news which interests a majority of their viewers/readers. However, the so-called agenda-setting media, say The New York Times, for example, can be an important instrument for fulfilling the geopolitical interests, primarily of the United States, and more broadly of the West. There are various academic and other studies which show the link between media and geopolitical interests. A notable one is the 2007 book *The Record of the Paper: How the New York Times Misreports US Foreign Policy* by Howard Friel and Richard Falk.

Q3: What do you think about the role of Western media in shaping the global geopolitics? Do you think the western media's coverage of India should even matter to it?

Ans: For historical reasons, the US-dominated Western media continues to define and shape global news media. What British media sociologist Jeffrey Tunstall once called the US-UK 'news duopoly' is evident even in the 21st century: from international newspapers (NYT) to global news agencies (AP, Reuters); to news magazines (Time, Economist) to financial media (Wall Street Journal/ Financial Times, Bloomberg) to on-line journalism: the US-UK imprint is profound in setting global editorial priorities and news agendas. This extraordinary power gives them the wherewithal to influence the global news narratives.

As far as India is concerned, unsurprisingly perhaps, it receives largely negative coverage, affecting its image in the global media space. This image does matter because most people in the world do not have the direct experience of a country or its culture and the information about it, they receive is largely from news media: and news is supposed to be ‘real’, based on facts. So, who chooses those facts and how these are presented still remains important. One must add though, that the extraordinary growth of the social media in the past decade has to some extent democratized global media as more and more people post/forward content produced outside the mainstream media, though the news hierarchy remains firmly in place.

Q:4 What issues or frames you think are projected more often about India in the Western media? Is the coverage of India driven by some kind of agenda?

Ans: As I said earlier, India generally receives a negative coverage: poverty, conflict, ethnic and religious strife, exploitation on the basis of caste, creed and gender. Now all of these ills exist in India, and they provide good ‘material’ for journalists to write about and to film to conform to certain stereotypes which are deeply embedded in Western minds about emerging economies such as ours. What gets left out in such an approach is the fact that India is also the fifth largest economy in the world, with a middle class estimated to be more than the entire population of the United States.

India, unlike other major non-Western countries (especially China) gets a better coverage, it might be argued. Overall, though it is fair to say that the dominant Western media’s coverage of the countries – in terms of tone, tenor and volume of reporting – is influenced by geopolitical and economic interests: with the exception of some stories which might be cultural in nature: art; design, music, literature, cinema etc.

Q5. What was India’s international image in colonial period? How India’s international image evolved in the post-colonial period?

Ans: Appalling. A vast majority of Indians were considered ‘sub-human’ – a trend which was extremely common during colonial times where the colonized populations were seen as little more than ‘savages’ who needed to be civilized and taught European languages and manners. Of course, a lot has changed since then: as the world’s largest democracy and soon to be the biggest country in terms of population, India has achieved huge successes but still faces daunting challenges: especially in relation to eliminating extreme poverty. The international

coverage too has evolved in the past decades; however, a whiff of colonial attitudes persists in the way stories are framed about India in the mainstream Western media.

Q6: Do you think India's global image has changed sharply after 2014?

Since geopolitics is central to foreign policy-related coverage, the US-China ideological confrontation has been arguably in favour of India and its place in a multi-polar world. The popularity of Mr. Modi, his firm and decisive leadership as well as a 'professional' foreign minister has contributed to a better appreciation of India's voice at the global stage. India is beginning to receive a more favorable coverage, but the underlying structure of global media still mitigates against the country and its culture and limits providing a fuller and better image of a major civilizational power which deserves more attention. India should consider developing its own global media networks to complement, if not challenge the existing media order with its roots in colonial history. With an English-fluent professional journalistic class, a huge diasporic presence and growing economic might and cultural strength, the time for such an initiative is perhaps now!

Prof. (Dr.) Sanjay Dwivedi

Director General

Indian Institute of Mass Communication (IIMC), New Delhi

Q1: Sir, what do you think has been the general image of India in Western media?

Ans: The Western media has a racist approach towards India. They focus more on the negative aspects of India. Their reporting is many a times agenda driven. For a very long time, India was seen as a poor Third world country dependent on others. It was called as the land of snake charmers. Western media has still not come out of that colonial syndrome completely. During the Covid-19 crisis, India ran the world's largest vaccination campaign, provided free food and ration to millions of people, distributed vaccines globally but the Western media was more interested in showing the photographs and videos of the havoc created due to shortage of oxygen cylinders, medicines, medical facilities and the dead bodies.

Q2: Is the Western media's coverage of India driven by some kind of agenda or news framing?

Ans: Yes of course. The Western countries and their media are driven by a superiority complex. They never miss an opportunity to malign and tarnish the image of developing countries like India. They understand very well that power is a zero-sum game and they do not want Asian and African nations to get ahead of them. Even, when India gained independence in 1947, it was predicted by many foreign journalists that Indian democracy would not last long because of multiple fault lines. Mostly crisis centric news stories are focused more by these media houses.

Q3: What frames you think are projected more about India in Western media?

Ans: Every nation, even the most developed ones has various socio-economic and political challenges. But when it comes to the coverage of India then various fault lines in the Indian society such as religion, caste, language, gender bias, poverty, inequality, insurgency, human right violations etc. are highlighted more in the Western media. Communalism, Kashmir conflict, strains in the Indo-Pak relations are some of the topics which attract a lot of media coverage. Western media takes adopts a selective approach to all these issues and a particular kind of narrative which is driven by an agenda is at work.

Q4. What was India's international image in colonial period? How India's international image evolved in the post-colonial period?

Ans: India's image in the colonial period was very negative. It was seen as the country of snake charmers and as a primitive backward nation. British rulers wanted to civilize the native Indians by replacing their education system with the modern English education system. In the post-colonial period India's global image has evolved a lot in the last 75 years. Each government has contributed in the nation making process in their own way. Today in 2023, India is seen as an emerging power and a strong nation on the world stage.

Q5: Do you think India's global image has changed sharply after 2014?

Ans: Yes, it has changed a lot. Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his visits abroad have definitely helped to change the narrative about India. It is no longer seen as a backward, third world nation full of poverty. But today it is seen as a confident nation with unicorns, IT industry etc. India's relations with important countries like the US, the UK, Russia, the European Union, the Arab World etc. have improved significantly in the recent times.

Western countries look at India as a big consumer market for their multinational companies. The diaspora has been another factor which has helped to improve the image of India. They have been successful in the countries of their residence and thus created a new world view and respect for India. Members of the Indian diaspora hold key political offices in different countries (e.g., Rishi Sunak and Kamala Harris); they are the CEO's and in the topmost leadership roles of different business groups e.g. Sundar Pichai (Google), Satya Nadella (Microsoft).


APPENDIX III

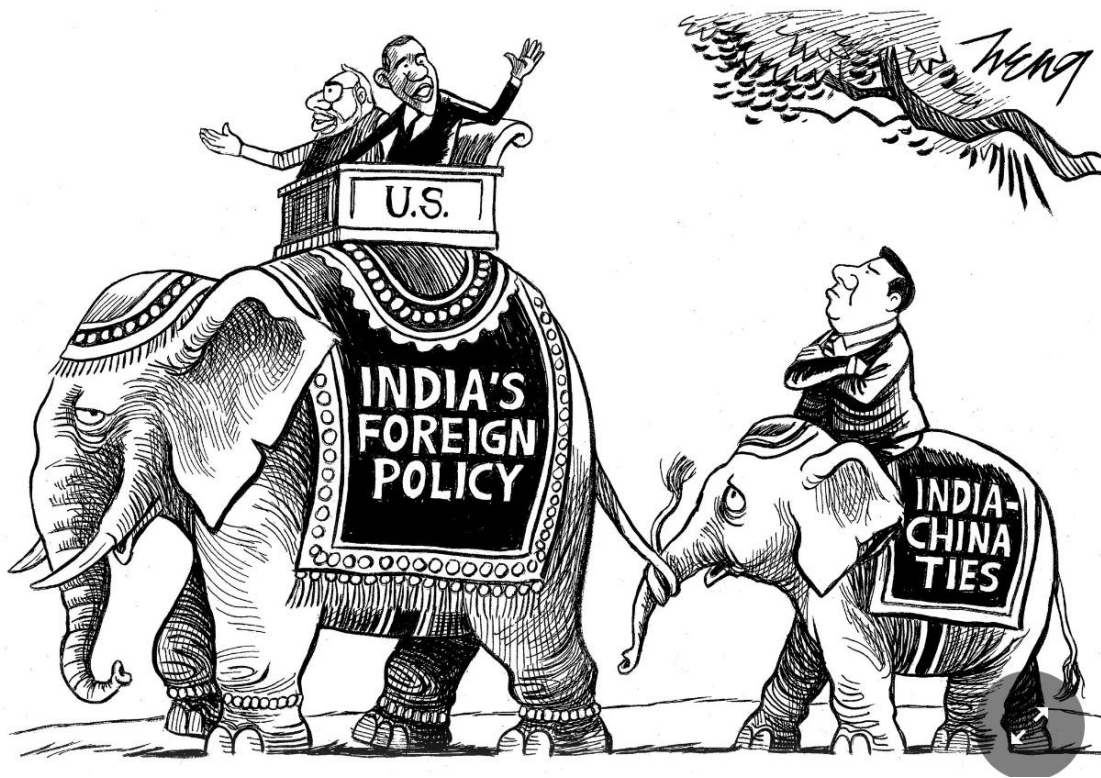
REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN CARTOONS IN THE WESTERN MEDIA

The New York Times

Ties Between India and the U.S. Deepen

Feb. 1, 2015

 Give this article



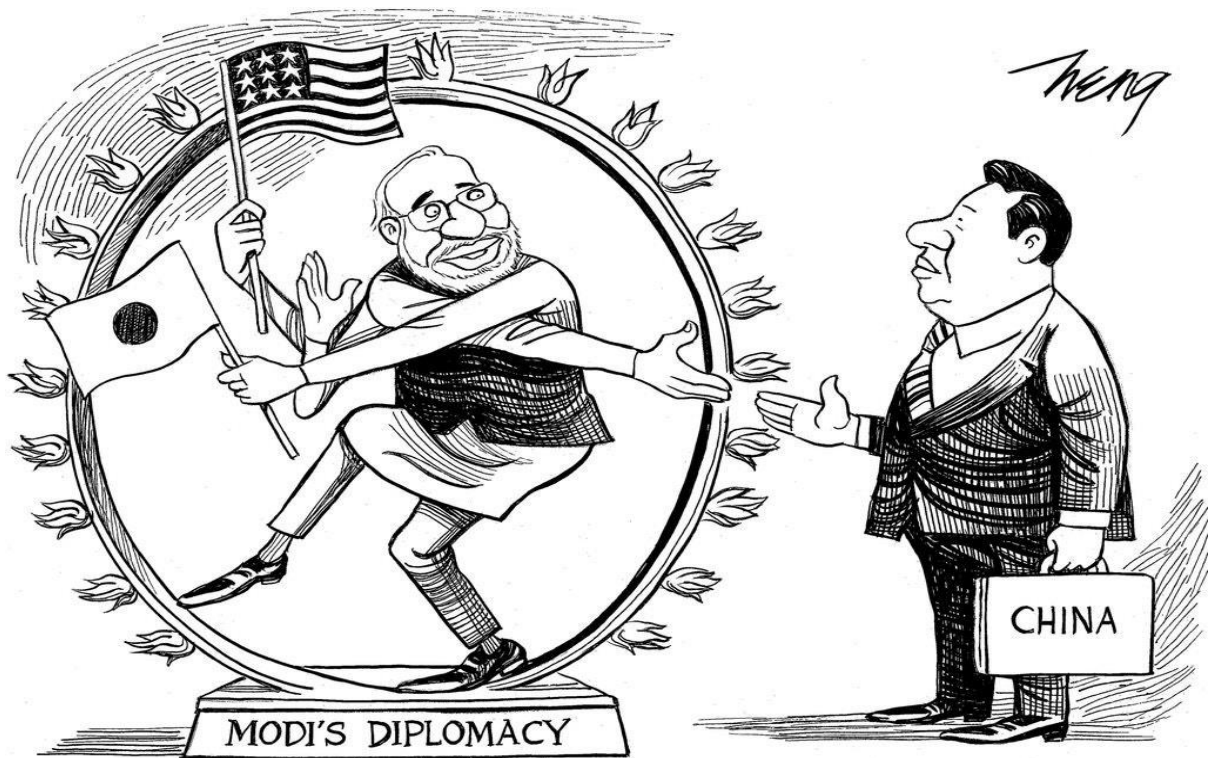
Source: The New York Times, 1st Feb. 2015



Source: The New York Times, 20th Jan. 2013



Source: The New York Times, 14th April, 2019



Source: The New York Times, 21st Sept. 2014



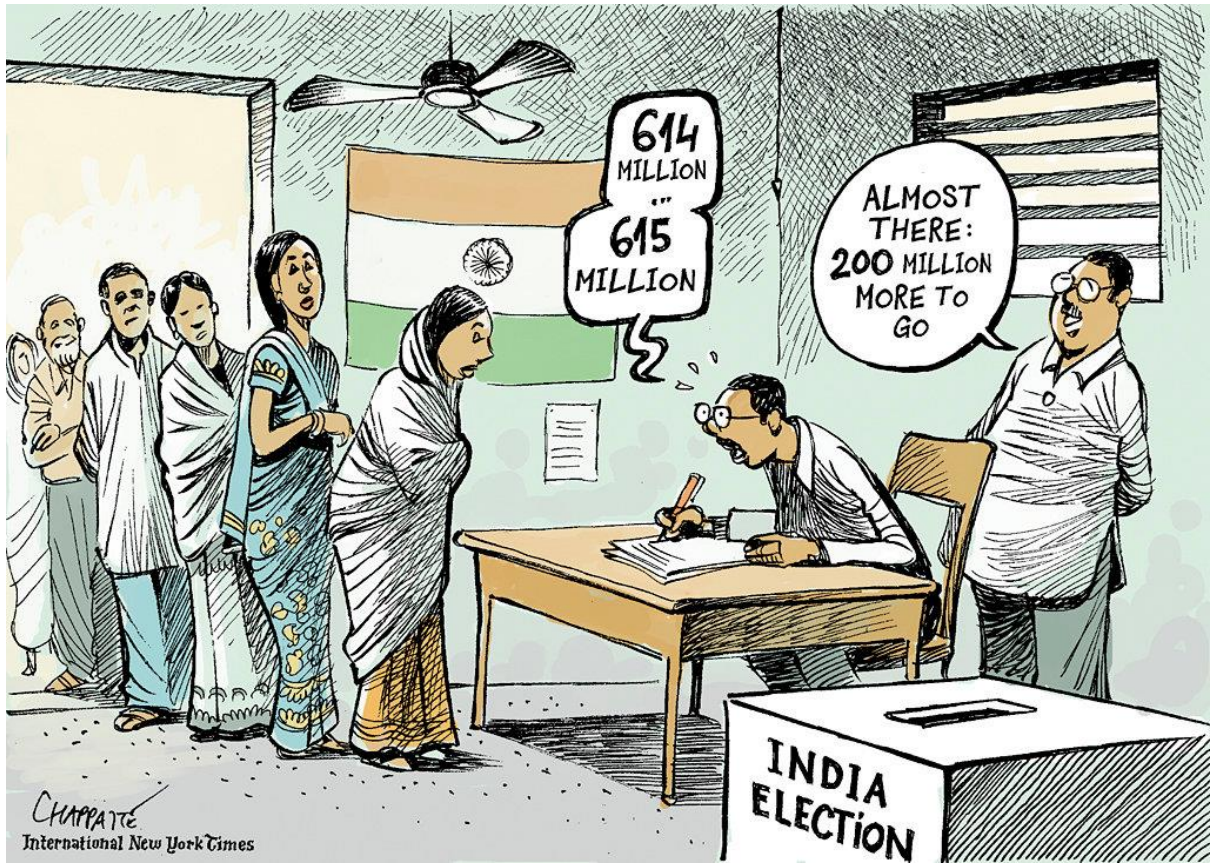
Source: The New York Times, 23rd July 2017



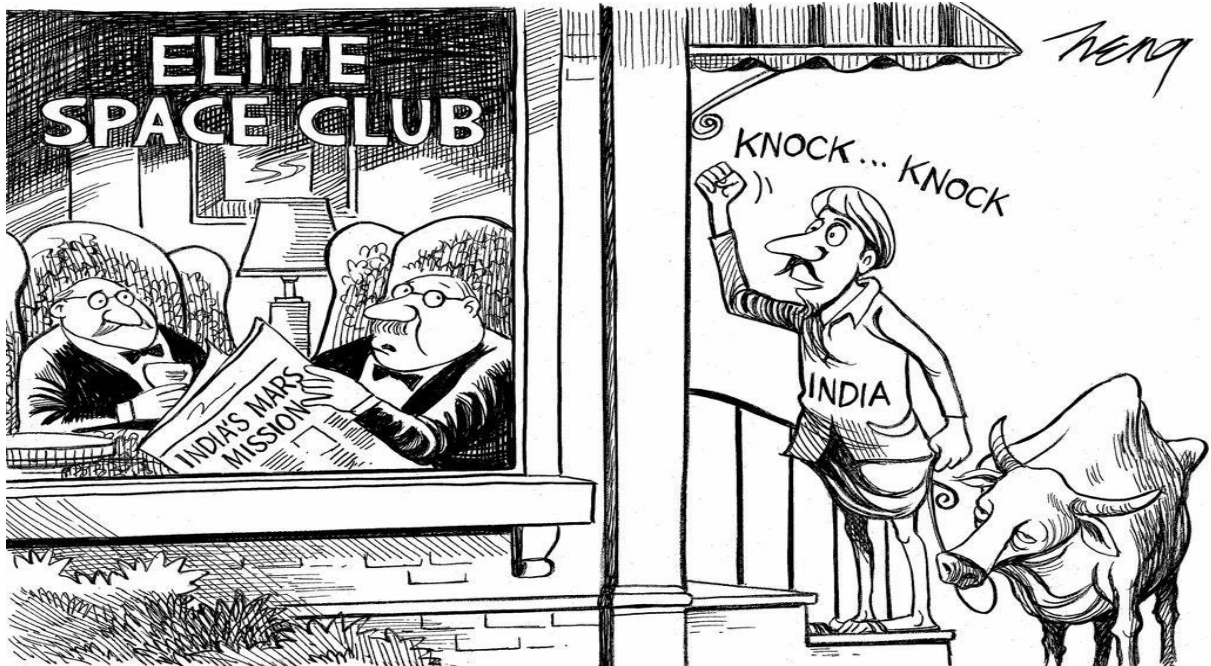
Source: The New York Times, 28th Feb 2016



Source: The New York Times, 30th July 2017



Source: The New York Times, 8th April 2014



Source: The New York Times, 28st Sept. 2014



Source: The New York Times, 26th May 2019



Source: The New York Times



Source: The New York Times



Kanchan Gupta  
@KanchanGupta · Follow



 [#Germany](#) this is outrageously racist. [@derspiegel](#) caricaturing India in this manner has no resemblance to reality. Purpose is to show [#India](#) down and suck up to [#China](#).

This is as bad if not worse than the racist cartoon in [@nytimes](#) lampooning India's successful Mars mission.



4:16 PM · Apr 23, 2023



Source: Twitter, 23rd April 2023

APPENDIX IV

DEBATES AROUND THE GLOBAL REPRESENTATION OF INDIA



Sansad TV is an Indian public broadcast service. [Wikipedia](#)

The Big Picture – India in Foreign Media



Sansad TV
7.43M subscribers

Subscribed

1.4K



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Source: Sansad TV, 10th July 2018



Is Western-Media agenda driven?



WION
7.37M subscribers

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Source: WION, 11th May 2019



India Election Watch: The Inherent bias of the western media

WION 7.37M subscribers

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Source: WION, 23rd May 2019



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Gravitas: Why India should stop seeking validation from the West

WION

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Source: WION, 29th April 2020



EAM S Jaishankar Speaks At World Economic Forum, Smashes Western Media's Propaganda

Republic World 5.51M subscribers Subscribed

Source: Republic World, 4th Oct. 2019



Is Western-Media agenda driven?

WION 7.37M subscribers Subscribed

Source: WION, 11th May 2019



Is Western-Media agenda driven?

WION 7.37M subscribers

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Source: WION, 11th May 2019

Why is Western media so biased against India?

From offending cartoons in The Australian and NYT to over-the-top criticism of PM Narendra Modi, Western media outlets often get India wrong.

Reported By:  | Edited By: Nirmalya Dutta | Source: DNA webdesk | Updated: Dec 29, 2015, 07:46 PM IST



Source: DNA, 29th Dec 2015



Is Western-Media agenda driven?

 WION 
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Source: WION, 11th May 2019



Jaishankar laughs off India's poor press ranking; 'Imagine Afghanistan is freer than us' | Watch

 Hindustan Times 
5.43M subscribers

 Subscribe

 1.6K



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Source: Hindustan Times, 8th May 2023

List of Publications

Research Papers

- i. **Prabhat Kumar**, Dr. Abhijit Bora & Dr. Manoj Deori (2023), Coverage of India-related Scientific News in Western Media: An Analysis of the News Portals of The New York Times and The Guardian, *Communicator*, (Jan-June 2023), UGC CARE listed
- ii. **Prabhat Kumar**, Dr. Abhijit Bora & Dr. Manoj Deori (2023), The Continuities and Changes in India's Soft Power Policy after 2014, *Third Concept*, May 2023, UGC CARE listed
- iii. **Prabhat Kumar** & Dr. Abhijit Bora (2023), The Changing Dynamics of Indian Soft Power in Contemporary Times, *Akshara*, March 2023, UGC CARE listed
- iv. Pankaj Sahani & **Prabhat Kumar** (2022), Jharkhand Ke Adivasi Samaj Ke Mudde aur Unke Samadhaan mein Media ki Bhumika, *Sameecheen*, July-Sept. 2022, UGC CARE listed

Book Chapters

- I. **Prabhat Kumar** (2022) Land of Snake Charmers to the Land of Unicorns: The Role of Soft Power Diplomacy in Creation of a New Global Image of India, *Media sans Frontiers: A 21st Century Critical Reading*, Notion Press, ISBN- 979-8888695647.

Conferences

- i. **Prabhat Kumar** (2023) Indian Languages and South East Asia. National Seminar, Centre for Indic Studies, Banaras Hindu University on February 12-13, 2023.
- ii. **Prabhat Kumar** (2022) Land of Snake Charmers to the Land of Unicorns: The Role of Soft Power Diplomacy in Creation of a New Global Image of India. *International Conference on Borderless Communication: Reimagining global Mediascapes* Organised by Department of Mass Communication, Mizoram University on November 17-18, 2022.
- iii. **Prabhat Kumar** (2022) Transition from Importer to a Global Exporter: A Study on India's Attempts to Becoming Aatmanirbhar in Defence Sector. ICSSR sponsored *National Conference on Aatmanirbhar Bharat* Organised by Department of Mass Communication & Journalism, Tezpur University on

November 17-18, 2022.

- iv. **Prabhat Kumar & Dr. Abhijit Bora** (2021) From Yoga to Vaccine Diplomacy: The Evolution of India's Global Image in Modi Era. *International Conference on Media, Communication and Design*. Organized by Faculty of Journalism & Creative Studies (FICS), Jagran Lakecity University, Bhopal, 25-26 June 2021.
- v. **Prabhat Kumar** (2019) A study of globally successful tourism advertising campaign strategies and emerging lessons for the states of North East India. *National seminar on Foreign Languages, Literatures and Cultures*, Organised by EFLU, Shillong, 19-20 September 2019.