CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter comprises eight sections and sub-sections. The development of international communication and the dominance of western countries over media technologies is examined in the first section. The debate over global news flow and the need for a New Global Information and Communication Order are covered in the second section (NWICO). The idea of the contra flow (reverse flow) of media content from non-Western nations is covered in the third part. The subject of section four is how India is portrayed in western movies and literature. Section five examines the various lenses through which India has been viewed. The Indo-US relationship is discussed in the sixth section, while the Indo-UK relationship has been discussed in the seventh section. The eighth part discusses similar studies on national image that have been done previously.

2.1 The Roots of International Communication

The invention of the Gutenberg Printing press in 1454 standardized vernacular languages in Europe and it helped in the reproduction of manuscripts in Latin, Greek and the vernaculars, notably in Germany and England (Innis, 1986). The production and circulation of print played an essential role in the formation of modern nation states and in creating a feeling of nationalism. Through the use of the printing press, the idea of a nation with a common language and discourse emerged. In order to spread their works as much as possible, capitalist entrepreneurs printed their books and other works in regional languages. As a result, readers who spoke different regional dialects could understand one another, and a common discourse developed. As an outcome, national print languages served as the foundation for the first nation-states in Europe.

Nationalistic sentiments propelled the governments of Britain, France, Germany, and other European powers to compete, first within Europe and then globally. Nationalism motivated imperialists to conquer new colonies before their rivals could and communication played a crucial role in establishment and maintenance of these colonial empires. Trade, investment and commerce related activities on international level were not possible without the timely exchange of information.

Telegraph was invented in 1844 by Samuel Morse and European powers like the British, employed it for their colonial expansion and consolidation (Thomas, 2010). Prior to the ,invention of the electric telegraph, it would take six months for news from a colonial outpost to reach the mother country, making imperial control difficult (Gershon, 2023). The telegraphic cables acted as the arteries of an international network of information, of intelligence services and of propaganda (Thussu,2018). It helped to centralise economics, politics, administration and facilitated the process of colonization. Telegraph helped the British to control the uprisings of 1857 and retain their control over India (Choudhary, 2010).

Radio was invented in 1897 and BBC's Empire radio service was started in 1932 to provide British citizens living in colonies with information, entertainment and educational programmes (Alexander, 2019). All the combatant nations used radio waves extensively in the Second World War. It was used as a major tool to spread propaganda by the Allied and Axis powers. Joseph Goebbels who was the propaganda minister of Nazi Germany, called the radio the "eighth great power" and used its influence in promoting the Third Reich.

Similarly, news agencies since their birth were serving the needs and interests of the wealthy Western nations who had a near monopoly and control over the international news (Herman & Mc Chesney, 2004). The French Havas Agency (ancestor of AFP) was founded in 1835, the German agency Wolff in 1849 and the British Reuters in 1851. These agencies were subsidized by their respective governments, controlled information markets in Europe and in 1870 they signed a treaty to divide the world market between them (Thussu, 2000). According to this agreement, Reuters' territory included England, Holland, and their colonies; on the other hand Germany, Scandinavia and the cities of St. Petersburg and Moscow belonged to Wolff and Havas had exclusive right to France, Italy, Spain and Portugal (Srivastava, 2007).

Overall it can be concluded that modern means of communication such as printing press, telegraph, telephone, radio and news agencies originated in the western countries and benefitted them mostly. These technologies became accessible for the developing countries after a very long time.

2.2 The debate over global news flow.

Since most of world's media resources and capital were located in the Western nations so it was the owners of these media houses and their governments which had maximum to gain (Thussu, 2018). The traditional control of Western nations over news agencies, news flow and information gave birth to the debate over global news flow. The Western media has been controlling, shaping and dominating the narrative until now and their narrative on any issue is automatically assumed as the global narrative.

Data, messages, media content and cultural items mostly flowed from larger to smaller nations; from those with power and superior technology to those without; from the developed to the developing world. There was a one-way flow of knowledge from the centre to the periphery as a result of the socio-technical imbalance. One-way flow was visible in the communications' content, the topics chosen, the intrinsic value judgements implicit in the news' presentation and selection, the literature chosen for translation, the music and plays chosen for transmission etc. The portrayal of the Third World countries in the western media was found to be mostly negative mainly due to the lack of communication infrastructure and an absence of powerful media-houses with global reach and clout in these countries.

The countries of the Global South were highly dependent on the North for both software and hardware in the information sector. The Western media provided the rest of the world an exploitative and distorted perspective of these countries since they controlled the primary international information outlets. The proponents of New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) stated that the international information system in its existing form was increasing inequality in development and there were demands by the Third World nations to change the existing state of affairs (Thussu, 2018). In 1979, the MacBride Commission was set up by UNESCO to look into the issue and it submitted its report one year later in 1980.

The report observed that the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America had three quarters of the world's population but only half of the number of all newspapers and only a quarter of their circulation. The world received some 80% of its news through London, Paris and New York. Poor countries either had no television or had a television audience confined to urban centres generally to higher socioeconomic classes of the population. In

developing countries communication facilities were inadequate, there was lack of professional resources, newspapers were small whose news collection network was very small. They were dependent on international agencies for foreign news and on the governmental sources for national news. The commission called for the need of a NWICO. It asked for the elimination of the imbalance and inequalities in flow of information, to end monopoly and media concentration in few hands, diversification in the sources of information and called for the greater freedom of press.

2.3 Contra flow

More than four decades have passed now since the MacBride commission's report was published in 1980 and a lot many things have changed in the global media scenario. The growth of internet, social media, satellite based communication, direct-to-home (DTH) broadcasting etc. has brought a sea change in the way media content is created and consumed. In the exchange of cultural products, non-Western nations like China, Japan, South Korea, Brazil, and India have grown in importance, and the one-way vertical flow has given way to multiple and horizontal flows (Thussu, 2018). There has been an increase in the flow of media content from the global South to the North.

Currently, there is a huge demand for local programmes and regional content. Shows like South Korea's 'Squid Game,' Spain's 'Money Heist,' and France's 'Lupin' have attracted huge viewership worldwide (Rodriguez, 2021). The Turkish TV dramas are being broadcast in around 140 countries including Sweden, Chile, Ethiopia, and Indonesia (Behlil, 2021). Korean pop music and dramas have achieved enormous international success. The song 'Gangnam Style' by Korean musician Psy became the first YouTube video to reach two billion views. The first artist to top the Billboard Artist 100 chart that primarily records in a language other than English is the South Korean boy band BTS. K-pop, the idol pop music from South Korea, is widely popular worldwide and is distributed internationally.

Until the early 2010s, most adapted TV shows in Turkey were the remakes of Hollywood productions. However, in the recent years the remakes of Korean and several Japanese dramas had increased and these adaptations had almost completely replaced Hollywood series as primary source of adaptation for Turkish dramas (Behlil, 2021). The Qatari news

network, Al Jazeera, has emerged as the voice of the Arab world and prime example of a global media contra-flow (Wu, 2013).

Large number of Chinese companies such as Alibaba, Dalian Wanda Group etc. have made high investments in Hollywood studios. By 2017, CGTN News, which broadcasts in six languages including Arabic could boast 200 million viewers outside of China and more than 50 million Facebook fans. A channel dedicated to Africa was launched by CCTV in 2012; it is situated in Nairobi and airs shows like Africa Live and Talk Africa. China Daily, claims to have 45 million readers worldwide for its print and digital versions.

India is among the few non-Western countries which has made its presence felt in the field of media production and the global cultural market (Thussu, 2018). India's media universe is vast, perhaps the biggest in the world: More than 17,000 newspapers, 100,000 magazines, 178 television news channels and countless websites in dozens of languages (Goel et al., 2020). There has been an unprecedented expansion of television in India from a single state channel in 1991 to over 800 channels in 2015, with the growth of a new middle-class audience (Thussu, 2016). Indian television serials and movies are popular not just amongst the diaspora but even in West Asian and African nations. For example, the cable television show Kum Kum Bhagya became highly popular in Ghana that it was eventually dubbed in the Southern Ghanaian language, Twi (Young, 2021)

This counter flow of media content from the developing countries has been possible because of the growth of internet, digital technology, privatised and deregulated broadcasting and satellite networks.

2.4 Representation of India in the Western world

Mass media portrayals play an important role in influencing people's attitudes and shaping their ethnic and national identities (Ramasubramanian, 2005). These portrayals help in creation and perpetuation of national stereotypes. Over a period of time, through repeated exposure to the same or similar stereotypical depictions across films and across narratives in different media sites, people develop a 'schema' about any issue, person or place. They might recall scenes, characters, lines, settings, and actors from various mass media portrayals to make quick judgements.

Films such as Gunga Din, Jungle Book, A Passage to India, Indiana Jones: Temple of Doom, Around the World in Eighty Days, Gandhi, Octopussy, The Man Who Would Be King, Slumdog Millionaire, Extraction, Best Exotic Marigold Hotel have depicted India and created its image in the minds of Western audiences. Similarly, books such as A Passage to India, Mother India, The Jungle Book, Kim, Midnight's children, The white tiger, A suitable Boy, India: An area of darkness, India: A wounded civilization, India: A million mutinies now etc. have shaped the perceptions of Western readers. Here we will discuss the representation of India made in some Hollywood movies and books.

In the 1984 film Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom, India was portrayed in a very horrific manner as a place where evil, poverty, and destitution reigned, where kings and courtiers dined on stewed snakes and monkey brains, where Kali worshippers tore out their victims' hearts and burned them alive (Tharoor, 2012). Another movie the Slumdog Millionaire which was released in 2008 presented India as a dirty, third world developing nation with too much focus on prostitution, crime, poverty and organized begging rackets. Indians were upset by the movie's stereotyped depiction of their country, which highlighted squalor, corruption, and poor natives (Magnier, 2009).

Thapa (2020) observed that the foreign films often romanticized poverty or painted the entire India as a backward nation with no modern infrastructure. Movies like The Darjeeling Limited and Million Dollar Arm generalized Indian cities as having nothing but shoddy shacks of buildings and half-naked children. The yellow filter was employed to depict India as a dusty, tropical, ugly, and unhealthy nation in the 2020 film Extraction and several other Hollywood productions centred on the country (Ganguly, 2021). The developed nations are portrayed in true colour with blue skies and open highways, while the stereotyped poor, polluted, or conflict-ridden nations are portrayed with this filter (Sherman, 2020).

In movie Eat Pray Love (2010), India has been depicted as a place where people come to quench their spiritual thirst. The movie shows actress Julia Roberts traveling to India in search of spirituality. In the movie, The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel (2011) India has been presented as an exotic place. The British visitors, in the film are left surprised by how the Indian roads had camels, elephants, horses, bullock carts and buses co-existing. In the famous American television show The Big Bang Theory the character of Rajesh

Koothrappali has been depicted as socially awkward, nerdy and effeminate thus stereotyping Indians.

In his 1924 book 'A Passage to India', E. M. Forster demeaned and derided Indian culture. Here Indians were portrayed as superstitious, diffident, and illogical while the English were shown as superior human beings, better administrators, and responsible people (Jajja,2013). In her book 'Mother India', written in 1927, American historian and writer Katherine Mayo criticized Indian society, religion, and culture while arguing for the continuation of British control in India (Raghavan, 2018). Her work gave the western reader the impression that India was a country plagued by poverty and with odd and harmful sexual practices (Miller, 2014). Naipaul in his book, 'An Area of Darkness' (1964), called India the poorest country in the world. He described the Indian villages in these words- 'the narrow, broken lanes with green slime in the gutters, the choked back-to-back mud houses, the jumble of filth and food and animals and people, the baby in the dust, swollen bellied, black with flies, but wearing its good luck amulet'.

2.5 Framing India

Contradictory perceptions of India may remain in the minds of Westerners: as a country with a booming information technology sector, as a third-world country engulfed in poverty and starvation, or as a spiritual destination with an exotic, mystical culture stuck in a more prehistoric era (Forrest, 2010). India is a paradoxical nation. There are two Indias: one with an expanding economy and one with a highly unequal distribution of income. One India demonstrates to its young women that they may become rocket scientists, while the other does not guarantee her the right to education and safety. One India travels the shortest distance to Mars, but the other India is still not reachable by road (Agarwal, 2017). Some of these frames have been discussed below:

2.5.1 Fastest Growing Major Economy

From 1950 to 1980, the Indian economy grew by an average of 3.5% per year; between 1980 and 2000 it grew by an average of 5.5% per year and from 2000 to 2012, it grew by approximately 7.5% per year (Baru, 2020). The consistent economic growth helped India to halve its poverty rate since the 1990s (PTI, 2019). In 1991, India dismantled the tight

system of controls and permits and since then it has been on the economic ascent (Luce, 2008). There is no shortage of consumer goods in the country and Indian brands that are just as good as international brands have also been developed (Tully, 2008). Since 1991, the budget size had grown 19 times and the Indian economy by nine times (Mudgill, 2018).

In 2022, India overtook Britain to become the world's fifth largest economy. In nearly a decade, it has leaped from the 11th place to the 5th place. As per the latest projections on world economic growth by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), with 6.1% growth rate India continues to be the fastest-growing economy in the world today (Johny, 2023). It is expected to grow at 6.8 per cent in the financial year 2024. Around 2030, India is predicted to surpass Germany and Japan to become the third-largest economy in the world. By 2048, it is expected to overtake the US to become the second-largest economy in the world, behind China. India's contribution to the global GDP has increased from 2.6% in 2014 to 3.5% as of now. It is predicted that by 2027, it will grow even further, reaching 4% and surpassing Germany. India's foreign exchange reserves rank fifth in the world and are a far cry from the early 1990s when India had barely enough to meet its demands for two weeks (Vickery, 2023).

2.5.2 Country with Immense Business Possibilities

India has been continuously improving its rank in the Ease of Doing Business Index. In 2013, it was ranked 134 which improved to 63rd rank in 2020. India is rapidly emerging as a preferred country for foreign direct investments in the manufacturing sector. The FDI inflow in India was at its highest ever at $ 81.97 billion in 2020-21 and it further increased to $ 83.6 billion in 2022-23 with Singapore, USA, Mauritius, Netherland, Switzerland being the top five investing countries. With 1.39 billion population, India has the third-largest consumer market and the fastest-growing market economy in the world. The unmatched demographic dividend offers significant possibilities for knowledge transfer, manufacturing, trade, and investment for global corporations. India aims to become a $10 trillion economy in near future and this is the reason why the government has been inviting multinational companies to set up their production centres in the country under the Make in India initiative.

Petroleum products, jewellery, automobiles, machinery, bio-chemicals, pharmaceuticals, cereals, iron and steel, textiles, electronic goods are the topmost exports from India and it is penetrating markets earlier monopolized by China. The total exports from India were around $670 billion in 2021-22 which puts it among the top 10 exporters in the world. Indian companies are spreading their foot prints globally. Reliance, Tata, Mahindra, Adani, Jindal, Vedanta, Arcellor Mittal etc. have made huge investments abroad and are big employers today. Indian software companies Wipro, Infosys, TCS, Tech Mahindra, Mindtree, Accenture are the leaders in the global IT industry. India has witnessed the phenomenal rise of unicorn start-ups. It became the world's third-largest start-up economy and also crossed the 100-unicorn mark in 2022. The country now ranks behind the US (661 unicorns) and China (312 unicorns). Currently, India has 115 unicorns with a cumulative valuation of over $350 billion (Mitter, 2023)

2.5.3 From a Regional to a Global Power

In the recent years India's role in world affairs has increased. India's voice carries more weight today in multilateral forums largely due to its enhanced economic power, political stability, and nuclear capability (Mukherjee & Malone, 2011). It is a member of important global bodies and institutions and plays a stronger and more prominent leadership role inside international organisations than it did in the past (Ayres, 2018). It is one of the major contributor of troops for UN peacekeeping missions and has been demanding reforms in United Nations Security Council for permanent membership (Pande, 2017).

It is no more seen as a third world, non-aligned nation, rather it is viewed as a global power, graduating from its regional role (Baru, 2020). Indian foreign policy has been moving towards 'multi-alignment,' i.e. one that retains an independent foreign policy but builds closer relations with all major powers. India has moved closer to the United States to join the Quad, a strategic alliance to challenge China that also includes Japan and Australia, having left the idealistic Non-Aligned Movement in the 1950s for a close relationship with the Soviet Union during the Cold War (Kulkarni, 2021). With the Look East Policy, it has engaged with East and Southeast Asian countries. On the other hand, it has maintained its economic and defence ties with West Asian countries like Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Oman.

It has maintained an independent foreign policy with respect to Iran, despite pressure from the United States (Baru, 2020). Despite the western pressure it continued to maintain a

neutral position on the Russia-Ukraine crisis. Until May 2021, PM Modi made 109 visits abroad, visiting 60 countries not just to influential countries like the US, Russia, China, UK, Japan, Australia, France, Germany, Canada and Israel etc. but also, to countries which are very small in size and economy (Sibbal, 2021). These bilateral visits added a new energy and momentum into the relations between India and these countries.

2.5.4 Vibrant Diaspora

The Indian diaspora is the largest in the world, with 18 million people from the country living outside their homeland in 2020 (The Tribune, 2021). They are a "model minority" and have made a name for themselves in the countries of their residence. They have helped in spreading the Indic culture abroad and in shaping the global perceptions about India. The country received remittances worth over $89 billion in 2021 from its diaspora and continues to be the world's largest recipient. There is a large number of Indian professionals (working as doctors, engineers and scientists) who through their sheer hard work and achievements have created goodwill for India in the international arena. They have helped to increase India's prestige and influence abroad. People of Indian origin hold key cabinet positions in many countries. Kamala Harris, Rishi Sunak, Priti Patel, Meghnad Desai, Pramila Jaypal, Ro Khanna etc. are just a few examples.

In the world of science, technology and business too Indian diaspora has created its mark. There is a large number of Indians working at premiere companies and institutions like Google, Microsoft, Tesla, NASA etc. Many of the current CEOs of these companies such as Google (Sundar Pichai), Microsoft (Satya Nadella), IBM (Arvind Krishna), Adobe (Shantanu Narayan), Vimeo (Anjali Sud) etc. are also the people of Indian origin. This talented Indian diaspora has acted as an asset in exercising global influence and played an active role in determining policy towards India in countries such as the US, the UK, Australia and Canada (Pande, 2017). For example, the Indo-American diaspora played an instrumental role in lobbying for the US-India Civilian Nuclear Agreement Bill in 2008. This is the reason why PM Modi in his travels abroad has been consistently trying to connect with the Indian Diaspora.

2.5.5   Hub for Low-Cost Innovation

India has achieved global recognition for the low-cost innovations in the field of science and technology. NASA's Mars probe, Maven, cost $651 million; the budget for the movie 'The Martian' was $108 million; in comparison to it the budget for India's first

successful interplanetary mission, Mangalyaan was $74 million (Agarwal, 2017). In 2017, ISRO launched 104 satellites in a single mission to create world record. In the field of medical science, in 2016, India became one of the first countries to introduce an indigenously manufactured rotavirus vaccine. During the Covid-19 pandemic, vaccines Covishield (Serum Institute of India) and Covaxin (Bharat Biotech), manufactured in India, helped to save millions of lives. In the present times, India has emerged as the biggest exporter of generic and affordable medicines in the world and is seen as the pharmacy of the world.

Information technology, software production, missile development, nuclear technology, space research are not the sole areas where India has excelled. Artificial Intelligence, Machine Learning, Robotics, 6G technology, Drone technology etc. are other emerging spheres where work is in progress. Indian scientific and research institutions such as Indian Institute of Science, Indian Space Research Organization, Defence Development & Research Organization, Indian Institutes of Technology (IIT) etc. have carved a niche for themselves on global level. Tharoor (2012) observed that in the present era in the United States, IITs are seen with same level of reverence as MIT or Caltech, and the Indian engineers and software developers are taken in high regard.

2.5.6 Colourful Cinematic Culture.

Films have played an important role in creating a positive image of India abroad. Indian film industry is one of the largest producers of movies in the world. It produces movies in different languages i.e. Hindi, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada etc. Bollywood alone 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 (Thussu, 2016). Indian movies are popular not just amongst the members of the Indic diaspora but across the globe including the nations of Arab world, central and southeast Asia as well as Africa (Thussu, 2018). In the recent times, movies like Bajrangi Bhaijaan, Dangal, PK, Secret Superstar, Andhadhun etc. have been superhit in China.

By 1998, the overseas market had emerged as a major source of income, bringing in 30 per cent or more of the total revenue of the Bollywood film industry (Khandekar, 2010). In 2017 alone the revenue earned by Indian movies from overseas market was $367 million (Vohra, 2018). According to a Price water Cooper(PwC) report,   India's media and entertainment (ME) sector will be the fastest growing one globally and by 2025 it would

be a Rs 4,12,656-crore industry (PTI, 2021). These movies are not just a source of huge revenue and employment but have also proved helpful in promotion of Indian culture, songs, dances, values, beliefs and soft power. There are many festivals, functions, theme weddings, dance tutorial classes centred around Indian films and songs. Prestigious universities offer courses and research into this form of popular culture (Thussu, 2013).

Many international production houses like Fox Star Studio, Warner Bros, Walt Disney Pictures etc. have been making investments in Indian film production industry. Indian film stars like Amitabh Bachchan, Rajnikant, Anupam Kher, Shahrukh Khan, Aamir Khan, Priyanka Chopra, Deepika Padukone, Ram Charan etc. are recognised faces on the international advertising and entertainment media sphere. Recently, Naatu Naatu song from the movie RRR made by S.S. Rajamouli won the award for best original song at the 95th Academy Awards (Oscars) while The Elephant Whisperers won the award for the best documentary on a short subject.

2.5.7 The Land of Yoga & Spirituality

Four of the world's eight great religions originated in the Indian subcontinent- Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism (Baru, 2020). Hinduism spread East into Asia both through trade and the expansion of southern Indian kingdoms of the Satavahanas and the Cholas. On the other hand, Buddhism spread to all of Asia to the north, east and southeast of India. There is the presence of a large number of temples, mosques, churches, gurudwaras and monasteries in India which attracts people of different faiths. Kedarnath, Varanasi, Tirupati, Shirdi, Madurai, Ayodhya, Haridwar, Amritsar, Bodh Gaya, Amarnath, Mathura, Rishikesh, Badrinath, Vrindavan, Rameshwaram, Puri, Ajmer etc. are some such places which draw domestic and foreign tourists in large numbers.

Yoga and meditation have gained even greater popularity after the declaration of 21st June as International Day of Yoga by the United Nations in 2014. Approximately 300 million people practise yoga regularly across the world out of which 36 million are in the US alone (Yogaearth, 2022). Worldwide yoga industry has been evaluated to be a $30 billion-plus business (Rowlatt, 2015). There has been a huge influence of Indian spirituality in the west and many celebrities have been drawn towards Indian gurus and their teachings. Many Indian spiritual organizations which teach yoga and meditation such as the Art of Living, Isha Foundation, Ramakrishna Mission, Swaminarayan Sampradaya, Divine Life Society,

ISKCON, Brahmakumaris, Divine Life Society, Yogda Satsang Society etc. have their followers across the world.

2.5.8 A Strong Military Power

In last few decades India has emerged as a strong military power. With approximately 1.4 million personnel, the Indian Army is now the world's largest ground force, even ahead of China (Philip, 2020). India is well-equipped with powerful nuclear weapons. It is capable of conducting surgical strikes and air strikes in the enemy territory as it was evident in Uri (2016) and Balakot (2019). For financial year 2023-24, the Ministry of Defence has been allocated US$ 72.4 billion which is approximately 2% of the GDP of the country. With a military spending of $76.6 billion in 2021 it is the third-highest military spender in the world, only behind the US and China. This spending grew by 0.9 per cent from 2020 and by 33 per cent from 2012. Recently, the Agnipath scheme has been introduced by the central government with an aim to modernise its armed forces.

In the field of defence production India is not just becoming 'aatmanirbhar' but also emerging as an exporter now. In between 2016-17 to 2021-22 there has been an increase of 334% in India's defence exports. In January 2022, Philippines approved a $374.96 million contract with India to supply Brahmos supersonic cruise missile (Peri, 2022). India exported defence equipment worth ₹8,434.84 crore in 2020-21 compared to ₹1,940.64 crore in 2014-15 (Roche, 2021). The Ordnance Factory Board (OFB) has been converted into seven new, 100% government-owned corporate entities to enhance its functional autonomy, productivity and efficiency (Singh, 2021). In year 2021-22, the Union Defence Ministry dedicated 64% of its modernization funds (over Rs 70,000 crore) for purchases from the domestic sector. Military equipments such as Light Combat Aircraft Tejas, transport aircraft C-295, AK-203 rifles are all being produced in India now (Dutta, 2021).

2.5.9   High Socio-economic Inequality

The Global Multidimensional Poverty Index report 2022 revealed that the number of poor people in India fell by about 415 million between 2005-06 and 2019-21 (Roy, 2022). However, with a large number of 228.9 million people, India continues to be the home to the highest number of poor in the world (Nitnaware, 2022). Within India, states such as

Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh continue to have poor social indicators as well as high levels of poverty. In the multi-dimensional poverty index (MPI) states like Bihar and Jharkhand were in the same category as some of the poorest African countries like Mozambique and Sierra Leone (Dreze & Sen, 2014).

According to the World Inequality Report 2022, in India the top 10% rich people hold 57% of the total national income, including 22% held by the top 1%, while the bottom 50% hold just 13% (Magazine, 2021). The country is ranked 101 out of 116 countries in the Global Hunger Index 2021 (Chandra, 2021). A large number of Indian population, mostly women and children, suffer from massive micronutrient deficiencies. According to an article published in The Indian Express, almost 6.5 crore people in India lived in the slums, with no proper drainage, sanitation or drinking water facilities (Express News Service, 2019). Dharavi (in Mumbai) is one of the largest slums in the world. In films such as City of Joy, Slumdog Millionaire, Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom and Black Narcissus, poverty of India has been an important part of the plot itself.

2.5.10 Highly-polluted

India continues to be seen as a highly polluted nation. Every now and then there are reports published in the international media which substantiate and justify these assumptions. For example, a recent report published by World Health Organisation found that in air pollution, Indian cities claimed 14 of the top 15 spots with Kanpur being at the top of the list (The Economist, 2018). In 2020, CNN reported that 21 of the world's 30 cities with the worst air pollution were in India (Regan,2020). Year after year similar reports keep emerging with regard to India. Air pollution led to more than 2.3 million premature deaths in India in 2019, according to a new Lancet study. In India, each year on an average nearly 1.6 million deaths were caused due to air pollution alone, and more than 500,000 were caused by water pollution (BBC, 2022).

Central Pollution Control Board (CPCB) in 2018 identified 351 polluted river stretches in India with almost all the major and minor rivers facing the severe problem of water pollution (Senapati, 2021). This pollution was mainly due to the discharge of untreated sewage and industrial effluents from the cities located on their banks. Another study conducted in 2021 by Delhi-based NGO Toxics Link found that the microplastic

concentration in Ganga was more than any other major world river (Sharma, 2021). Over 9.5 crore toilets were built across the country under Swachh Bharat Mission to end the practise of open defecation but still this practise continues. Big mountains of garbage can be seen at landfill sites located on the peripheries of Indian metro cities which reflect the poor condition of the waste management system in the country.

2.5.11 Unsafe for Women

India in the international media has very often been framed as a country which has high gender inequality. Crimes against women such as domestic violence, rape, marital rapes, harassment, female infanticide, honour killings, dowry killings, acid attacks, child marriage etc. continue to haunt the Indian society. It was claimed to be the world's most dangerous country for women in a survey by Thomson Reuters Foundation due to the high risk of sexual violence and women being forced into slave labour (Goldsmith & Beresford, 2018).

On 16th December 2012, the brutal gang rape and murder of a 23-year-old physiotherapy student, Nirbhaya drew condemnations across the world. Massive demonstrations against this incident continued for many days in Delhi as well as other parts of the country but the situation has not changed much since. Rape crimes continue to occur in large numbers. According to the 'Crime in India 2021' report published by the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), India registered 31,677 cases of rape in 2021 - an average 86 daily- while nearly 49 cases of crime against women were lodged every single hour. The number of rape cases in 2020 was 28,046, while it was 32,033 in 2019.

The female- male sex ratio in the age group of 0-6 years has been going down over time due to sex selective abortions. The sex ratio fell from 927 girls per 1000 boys in 2001 to 914 girls per 1000 boys in 2011 (Dreze & Sen, 2014). The deep patriarchal nature of Indian society is also to be blamed for creating an unequal society for women. Every now and then some fatwas and diktats are issued by the religious bodies and Khap panchayats about how women should conduct themselves (such as what dress they should wear, whether they should go to college or not, whether they should keep smartphones or not).

2.6 Indo-US Relationship

Even before India became a sovereign state, there were historical ties between India and the United States. Swami Vivekananda, a Hindu monk from India, gave his famous speech at World Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893. He also visited cities like New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Alameda etc. later and introduced the Yoga, Vedanta philosophy and Hinduism to the west. Mark Twain toured India in 1896, and wrote extensively about the country in his well-known travelogue, 'Following The Equator'. Throughout the colonial era, Americans who travelled to India as sailors, traders, missionaries, and tourists brought back artefacts, paintings, sketches, and etchings that showed Indian daily life. They continued to view India as a mythical land filled with camels, jugglers, pole climbers, and naked saints (Raghavan, 2018).

Lala Lajpat Rai sojourned in the US in 1905 to gain international support for India's independence and started the Indian Home Rule League of America (1917) in New York City. Another monk, Paramhans Yogananda, who wrote the all-time bestseller book The Autobiography of a Yogi came over to the US in 1920 and gave lectures on spirituality, yoga and meditation in different cities of US. Mahatma Gandhi was greatly inspired by the writings of American thinkers Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. United States also supported India's fight for independence from the British rule.

After gaining its independence, India adopted an anti-American stance on matters including the Afghan Crisis, the Korean Crisis, the American-Vietnam War, and the recognition of China's communist government. On the contrary side, America supported Pakistan on the Bangladesh issue and on the Kashmir issue in the Security Council. It also backed Portugal during the Goa Crisis. The bilateral ties between the two democracies deteriorated as a result of these occurrences. India and the United States were not good friends during the Cold War due to former's policy of non-alignment (Raghavan,2018). Nehru's policy of non- alignment was regarded with distaste in Washington (Tharoor, 2013).

In 1959, Dwight D. Eisenhower became the first US President to travel to India. Two years later, Jackie Kennedy arrived for a nine day goodwill trip in 1962 and she travelled to Delhi, Agra, Udaipur, Jaipur and Benares (Ahamed, 2021). In the same year during the

Indo-China war, the US helped India by providing military aid. But in the 1965 Indo-Pak war it supported Pakistan whom it supplied with arms and weapons such as Panton tanks and Sabre Jets. India's first atomic power project at Tarapur was established with the help of US in 1969. The US also supplied a large quantity of food grains to India (wheat shipments under PL- 480) to ensure food security during the severe drought in 1966-67. On the other side, the US administration supported Pakistan during the Indo Pak war of 1971. Also, when India conducted its first nuclear test in 1974 it was disliked by the US and it responded by cutting off uranium supply to the Tarapur Atomic Plant.

In the 1990s after the disintegration of the USSR there was a change witnessed in Indian foreign policy and India began moving closer to the United States. In 1994, Prime Minister P.V. Narsimha Rao went to the US on the invitation of President Bill Clinton. Under the next Prime Minister Vajpayee, India's nuclear tests at Pokhran (1998) triggered a fresh round of US sanctions and all the American military and economic aids to the country were stopped (Tharoor, 2013). In 2000, President Clinton and Prime Minister Vajpayee met each other and in their joint statement said that India and the United States were "natural allies" (Ganguly, 2012).

With India, the Bush administration inked a defence deal in 2005 and a civil nuclear cooperation agreement in 2008 (Tharoor, 2013). Dr. Manmohan Singh and President Barack Obama met each other several times and tried to improve the bilateral ties even further. Their conversation at G20 conferences demonstrated the increasing priority Washington gave to New Delhi in the wake of the 2008 global recession (Ayres, 2018). In November 2010, President Obama addressed the joint session of the Indian parliament and backed India's bid for a permanent seat in the United nations Security Council.

Thereafter, in 2014 Prime Minister Narendra Modi was given a grand reception at Madison Square Garden in US. This event was followed by President Obama coming to India as the chief guest at the Republic Day celebrations in 2015. He became the first American president to do so. In 2016, India and the US signed the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA) and India was declared a Major Defence Partner of the US. In September 2019, a grand community event 'Howdy, Modi!' was organized at Houston where PM Modi addressed more than 50,000 Indian-Americans. This event was the largest-ever gathering with a foreign political leader in the United States (Kapur,

2019). In 2020, Namaste Trump tour event and grand rally was organized at Ahmedabad to welcome the then US President Donald Trump.

In the current times, the bilateral relations between the USA and India are at an all-time high, with the two countries enjoying unprecedented levels of cooperation in the economic, strategic and diplomatic spheres. Deeper ties with India have become increasingly important to the US foreign policy community. The opportunity to forge ties with Asia's largest democracy, a rapidly expanding market, a stable pillar in a region of turmoil and a large country that prefers a maintained balance of power in Asia to Chinese dominance has been recognised by successive U.S. administrations on a bipartisan basis as one of America's greatest strategic opportunities (Ayres, 2018).

Raghavan (2018) believes that in recent times, what brings India and the United States closer is their common concern about the rise of China. India is the only continental-sized nation in Asia, according to the US, that can oppose Chinese hegemony and hostile behaviour (Pant & Joshi,2016). As a result, the two countries have become more friendly in recent years. Bipartisan support has been shown for India in the US, and the growing relationship between the two democracies is seen as one of the key partnerships of the twenty-first century.

The improvement of relations between the two countries has benefited greatly from the contribution of the Indo American diaspora. The Indian diaspora emphasised the significance of India as a reliable democracy and a valuable ally in the US-led 'war on terror' in the aftermath of 9/11 (Thussu, 2013). Indian Americans are the wealthiest, most organised, and most educated group in the US and regarded as a 'model minority'. They work as highly competent professionals, doctors, engineers, scientists. The community has been sensitive towards the needs and concerns of India. A sizable proportion of them travel to India frequently, and many send money home as remittances.

With a bilateral trade volume of $119.42 billion in 2021–2022 compared to $80.51 billion in 2020–2021, the US replaced China as India's largest trading partner. Petroleum, raw diamonds, liquified natural gas, gold, coal, almonds, jewellery, pharmaceuticals, jewellery, light oils, and petroleum are among the top exports from India to the US. Significant imports from the US are petroleum, rough diamonds, liquified natural gas,

gold, coal, and almonds. In 2021–22, exports to the US rose from $51.62 billion to $76.11 billion, while imports increased from $29 billion to $43.31 billion compared to the previous fiscal year.

However, there are a few areas where the two countries do not find themselves on a similar page. India's choice to purchase S-400 missile defence system from Russia, its decision to purchase oil and natural gas from Iran, and its position on the Russia-Ukraine situation were not liked by the US. Similarly, American military and economic aids to Pakistan are not liked by India. Despite these differences, the bilateral relations between India and the US are moving in the positive direction.

2.7 Indo-UK Relationship

India and Britain share a long historical association. British landed in India in Surat on August 24, 1608 for the purpose of trade. In 1613, Mughal emperor Jahangir granted a farman to Captain William Hawkins permitting the English to erect a factory at Surat. In 1615, Thomas Roe, the Ambassador to James I, got an imperial farman to trade and establish factories all across the Mughal empire. In a short span of time the attention and purpose of East India Company shifted from trade to acquisition of territories. Wars, conquests, treaties, subsidiary alliance, doctrine of lapse and deceitful tactics were used by the colonisers to expand the British Empire. After the sepoy mutiny of 1857 (also known as the First War of Indian Independence) the British Crown stepped in and took India under its direct control. From a small trading outpost, India became the jewel in the British crown.

The establishment of British rule in India, according to famous historian Chandra (1989), was a prolonged process of piecemeal conquest and consolidation as well as the colonisation of the economy and society. At every point, this process generated discontent, resentment and resistance. Indian intellectuals of the first half of the 19th century initially had a positive attitude towards British rulers. They had expected that Britain, the most advanced nation of the time, would help modernize India. Many upper class Indians, Maharajas, Nawabs, political leaders including Gandhi, Nehru, Patel, Tagore and Ambedkar were educated at elite British universities. But the British rule proved to be exploitative in its character.

For the British Empire, India was a cherished possession. It was a country that gave Britain the ability to compensate for its size, population, and dearth of natural resources (Pande, 2017). Without India, Britain would only have been a little European island state with a population too small to effectively protect and run a vast empire. In tropical climates where British labour was either scarce, unwilling, or unable to survive, Indian labour was required to exploit the resources. The destruction of India's thriving industries served as the foundation for Britain's Industrial Revolution and wealth (Tharoor, 2016).

British left India in 1947 with a bloody partition and creation of a new nation state called Pakistan. The mass migration caused by partition led to outbreak of sectarian violence and genocide on unprecedented scale. Millions of Muslims trekked to West and East Pakistan while millions of Hindus and Sikhs headed in the opposite direction. Massacres, arson, forced conversions, mass kidnappings, and horrific sexual violence, in which around 75,000 women were raped and many of them afterwards mutilated or dismembered, occurred in Bengal and Punjab provinces, where the carnage was particularly severe (Dalrymple, 2015). The bitter legacies of colonial exploitation, Jallianwala Bagh massacre, horrible partition etc. continue to haunt the Indo-UK relations even till date.

During the Indo-Pak War of 1965 the then British Prime Minister Harold Wilson held India as an aggressor. Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the Iron Lady of British politics, was an admirer of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. She visited India many times including the funeral ceremony of Mrs. Gandhi in 1984. She re-visited India in 1985 and 1995. Even Queen Elizabeth II came on state visits to India in 1963,1990 and 1997.

British PM Tony Blair travelled to India in 2002 and 2005. Indian PM Dr. Manmohan Singh visited the UK in 2006. David Cameron who served as the Prime Minister of the UK from 2010 to 2016 visited India three times and was keen on improving the bilateral ties between the two nations. Thereafter, Prime Minister Modi visited the UK in 2015 and became the first Indian PM to address the British Parliament. He also addressed a large gathering of almost 60,000 people at Wembley Stadium in UK during this visit. Prime Minister Theresa May visited India in November 2016. It was her first bilateral visit to a non- European country since becoming Prime Minister. She wanted to sign a free trade agreement with India. British PM Boris Johnson was supposed to be the chief guest on

India's Republic Day celebrations in 2021 but he couldn't attend it due to the spread of Covid-19 pandemic.

Britain supports India's proposal for permanent membership of the UNSC. It has served as India's key interlocutor in the EU, G8, G20, and international forums. Ready-made clothing and textiles, jewels, jewellery, engineering products, petroleum and petrochemical products, transportation equipment and components, spices, metal, machinery, and instrument manufacturing, medicines, and marine products are among India's top exports to the UK. The biggest imports from the UK to India are precious and semi-precious stones, ores and metal scraps, engineering items, professional instruments other than electronics, non-ferrous metals, chemicals and machinery. It remains one of the largest markets in Europe for Indian IT services.

After the Second World War, Britain was compelled to look for migrant workers for its factories and mines due to severe labour shortage. Suffering the agony of partition and poverty, hundreds of millions of Indians were willing to leave their nation in quest of peace and prosperity in Britain (Thussu, 2013). Similarly, the second wave of immigration to Britain was sparked by the expulsion of Indians from East Africa in the 1970s, primarily from Uganda and Kenya; these groups frequently operated small businesses and "corner shops." Doctors and engineers were among the highly educated and professional migrants from India who came to Britain in the third wave.

The British-Indian diaspora is the largest minority community in Britain (Thussu, 2013). It is well educated and one of the highest earning groups with strong political stature (Duckworth et al, 2021). Lord Meghnad Desai, Lord Nagendra Patel, Baroness Usha Parashar, Alok Sharma etc. have been some big names of Indian origin in the British political arena. In 2020, Priti Patel became the first woman of Indian descent to be appointed as Home Secretary. Britain's current prime minister, Rishi Sunak, is the country's first person of Indian origin.

The Indian community has made valuable contributions in Britain in all walks of life. Indian curry houses provide employment to more people than the iron and steel, coal and shipbuilding industries combined together (Tharoor, 2012). Indian cuisine has changed the UK's eating habits. Chicken Tikka Masala, which is actually a British creation,

consistently ranks high in polls of the UK's favourite meals. There are now thousands of Indian restaurants across the UK. Indian students are the second largest group in Britain to get enrolled in the topmost British universities.

India is the second largest investor in the UK. Indian-origin business tycoons such as Hinduja Group, Vedanta Group, Biocon, Arcelor Mittal etc. have added greatly to the British economy. According to eighth edition of the Grant Thornton India meets Britain Tracker report (2021) there are around 850 Indian companies working in UK providing employment to 116,046 people. UK and India collaborated on the supply of the Oxford-AstraZeneca vaccine. The vaccine which was developed in Britain was manufactured in large quantities by Serum Institute of India (SII) at Pune and later supplied to different parts of world.

India has enjoyed a roller coaster relationship with its former colonial master with more downs than ups (Chengappa, 2012). While India's relations with countries such as US and France have improved in recent years but the ties with Britain have lagged behind. Anti-colonial feelings against Britain continue to exist in the Indian collective psyche. There exists a widespread belief that partition and the violence which followed was the direct result of flawed British policies. There remains a huge resentment against the policy of divide and rule followed by the colonial rulers which created severe divisions in the Indian society. Britain's stand on Kashmir and its tilt towards Pakistan have also been the irritants in Indo-UK bilateral ties.

2.8 Studies on National Image

Talpade (2005) investigated the portrayal of India in French print media between 1995 and 1998. Following a content examination of two newspapers, Le Monde and Le Figaro, as well as two weekly magazines, L'Express and Le Nouvel Observateur, it was discovered that the French print media only covered events in India when they had some bearing on France. The 1996 Indian general elections, the 50th anniversary of India's independence, Mr. Jacques Chirac's visit, and the May 1998 nuclear tests were four of the period's major events. Edmund (2016) studied the coverage of Nigeria by British Press from 2007 to 2010 in four newspapers Daily Mirror, Daily Telegraph, The Sun & The Guardian and found that there was an increase

in the amount of news coverage on Nigeria from 2007 to 2010 but the coverage was sporadic, negative and centred on crisis events.

Farina & Arslan (2016) conducted content analysis of the online sites of four UK newspapers to understand depiction of the image of Turkey. The study found that most of the news related to Turkey that which were published in British media were negative. Okocha (2018) studied the representation of Nigeria by Ghanaian print media (Daily Graphic, Daily Guide, The Ghanaian Time and The Chronicle). The results reflected that most of the stories on Nigeria covered by all the selected Ghanaian newspapers were framed negatively (62.88%).

Poornananda (1998) examined how South Asia was covered by two major American newspapers, The Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times between 1992 and 1996. It was discovered that South Asia received relatively little coverage in either of the two papers that were chosen. The US media gave very little attention to developing nations, particularly those in South Asia. As a result, the US media painted a picture of India as being overpopulated with ignorant and backward people who suffered poverty, disease, and starvation. The Western media painted an inaccurate picture of the developments occurring in developing countries by reporting foreign news from the perspective of their countries' foreign policy concerns.

In his study of how the US media portrays foreign nations, Saleem (2021) discovered that the US media significantly favoured those nations where its political, economic, and military interests were at stake. It promoted its own national foreign policy and framed foreign nations' perceptions in line with the objectives of its government. The American media painted the country in an unfavourable light if ties between the two countries were strained. From 2011 to 2015, Alam (2021) examined how Bangladesh was framed in The New York Times and The Washington Post. The analysis discovered that the primary frames used to depict Bangladesh in the chosen American media were dangerous Islamic extremists, a terrible country, and human rights violations. The American media chose and prioritised topics that portrayed a poor view of Bangladesh and left out topics that were more positive.

In their study of Newsweek and Time, two influential American news publications, Shabir et al. (2011) discovered that they portrayed Afghanistan as the base of the Taliban and

extremism, a prison for women, a haven for drug traffickers, a hub for Islamization, and a safe haven for Al-Qaida and Osama Bin Laden. For Afghanistan, the percentage of negative coverage (57.08%) was higher than the percentage of positive coverage (6.08%).

In the two years following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Shahwar (2014) examined how the Islamic nations of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq were portrayed in The New York Times and The Daily Telegraph editorial pages. The results showed that these countries received more negative (71.63%) than positive coverage in the chosen newspapers. The New York Times had 66.39 per cent negative editorials while for The Telegraph it was 33.60 per cent. Siraj & Ramaprasad (2007) examined the portrayal of Pakistan in The New York Times and The Washington Post for one year prior to 9/11 and one year following the attack, and they discovered that the coverage captured the evolution of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship following the 9/11 attack, during which Pakistan joined the United States as an ally in the fight against terrorism. The article concluded with observation that US media's framing of other country's image depended upon the degree of US interest in that country as well as US foreign policy.

The New York Times used a variety of frames to report on Chinese President Xi Jinping, according to Zhang's (2016) study of this topic. The two frames with the largest media visibility were domestic campaigns and China-United States ties rather than human rights. Nagannawar (2007) studied the image of India reflected in the writings of Shashi Tharoor and found that in his novels Tharoor presents the image of India as a multi-cultural and multi religious society. According to Brandt's (2016) study of German perceptions of India, the three most prevalent German perceptions of India were as a country with boundless economic opportunities, a romantic place with peace and harmony, and an appalling place with cruel customs like widow-burning, human sacrifices, extreme poverty, slavery, and an unjust caste system.

Raju (2008) studied the image of India in the novels of Rudyard Kipling and found that in his novels, Kipling emphasised the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race and portrayed colonised peoples such as Indians as being unable to survive without the assistance of Europeans. Gangadharrao (2018) investigated how V S Naipaul's works portrayed India and discovered that Naipaul depicted a variety of social divisions that existed in India,

including caste and religious divisions, poverty, inequality, Naxalite movements, and the misery of Dalits and untouchables.

Bansal (2003) examined the worldwide news coverage in four Indian newspapers (The Times of India, The Hindu, Dainik Jagran, and Punjab Kesari), and discovered that while development news received less attention, Britney Spears, Madonna, Michael Jackson, and Nicole Kidman were often reported. Compared to the past, there were more stories on science and technology, but the most notable figures in politics, the monarchy, the film and entertainment sectors received the most media attention. Arif (2011) analysed how Pakistan was portrayed in US news magazines before and after the 9/11 attacks and observed that it was not given a favourable representation in the selected time period. In the years before 9/11, it was never found on the cover page of either publication. While in the post 9/11 period Pakistan's extremism, terrorism, and nuclear capabilities were the subjects of the cover page stories.

In order to comprehend how the New York Times covered Pakistan during Donald Trump's first year in office, Moretti (2020) employed the content analysis method. The study discovered that negative coverage of South Asian nations and the region as a whole remained the norm in the media. This analysis found that 60% of all stories from and about Pakistan in the New York Times dealt with issues including international terrorism, public health issues, political upheaval, and corruption, all of which signalled turbulence, insecurity, danger, and dissent. Ji et al. (2016) investigated the portrayal of India in the Chinese media and discovered that the most frequently covered subjects were China-India territorial disputes, China-India relations, India's military build-up, and peculiarities in Indian society. The majority of the internet news articles about India were unfavourable (47%), followed by neutral (30%) and positive (23%).

From 1985 and 1993, Hanson (1995) looked at how the world news was presented in The Times of India. The study discovered that South Asia received significantly more coverage than any other region, whereas the US received far greater coverage than any other country (more than twice that of the Russia). To examine how India was reported by the New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, TIME, and The Guardian over the past ten years, Parth (2021) carried out a content analysis study. It found that the language used by these publications in context of India was mostly negative, divisive, outrageous, full of

contempt and ridicule. The words which were most frequently used in the headlines were- fear, hate, violence, riot, Hindu, Muslim, Kashmir, cow, mob, and protest.

In order to understand how India was portrayed in western films made in the US or UK between 1930 and 2000, Ramasubramanian (2005) conducted content analyses on a number of randomly chosen films. It was discovered that India was frequently depicted as being traditional, primitive, backward, and uncivilised country. The results further showed that common scenes used to represent India in these movies included depictions of hot, polluted, mostly rural settings (such as bazaars, palaces, huts, jungles, caves, and temples filled with animals), traditional modes of transportation (such as hand-rickshaws and elephant rides), religious practises (such as nature worship and sorcery), abuse of women and children (such as sati and dowry), and people engaging in stereotypical leisure activities (such as snake-charming, fire-walking).

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