CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS & INTERPRETATION

This chapter presents the data analysis part. It also interprets the tables and graphs used in this study. This chapter has been divided into eight sections. The first section looks at the political image of India. The second and the third sections are about the social and economic image. The fourth section deals with cultural image while the fifth one talks about the scientific image. The next section is on the miscellaneous image of India. Total coverage given by the news portals of The New York Times (NYT) and The Guardian (TG) is the subject discussed in the next section. The eighth and the last section is about measuring the overall media agenda in the western media.

4.1 Political Image of India

	NYT		TG	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Defence	9	2.2	12	2.5
Governance	16	3.9	31	6.4
International Relations	165	40.2	145	30.0
Internal Security	90	22.0	104	21.4
Domestic Politics	119	29.0	156	32.1
Protests	11	2.7	38	7.8
TOTAL	410	100.0	486	100.0

Table 4.1: Frequency and percentage distribution of total number of Political news storiespublished between 2009 -2019 in NYT and TG.

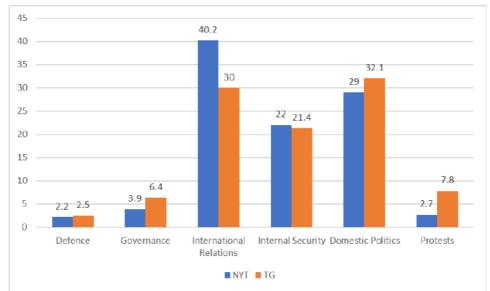


Figure 4.1: Frequency and percentage distribution of total number of Political news stories published between 2009 -2019 in NYT and TG.

During 2009-19, NYT gave highest coverage to news stories related to international relations (40.2%) followed by domestic politics (29.0%) and internal security issues (22.0%). In the same time period, TG gave highest coverage to news stories related to domestic politics (32.1%) followed by international relations (30.0%) and internal security issues (21.4%). In NYT least coverage was paid to issues related to defence (2.2%) and in TG too the same trend was visible (2.5%). Both of them gave high coverage to news related to international relations which clearly was a sign of how India's role in the international affairs was increasing significantly. In this time period, India has emerged as an important country in the international system. Domestic politics of India remains another important area of interest for the news websites as India is the world's biggest democracy and a lot of news were centered around political processes taking place in the country.

If we look at different sub categories, we find that defence stories were given more coverage in TG (2.5%) than in NYT (2.2%). Governance news was covered more by TG (6.4%) compared to NYT (3.9%). News related to international relations was covered more by NYT (40.2%) than TG (30.0%). News related to internal security was given almost similar coverage in both NYT (22.0%) and TG (21.4%). News related to domestic politics of India was covered more in TG (32.1%) compared to NYT (29.0%). The coverage of protests related news was more in TG (7.8%) than NYT (2.7%).

	U	JPA 2	NDA 1	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Defence	5	2.8	4	1.7
Governance	5	2.8	11	4.8
International Relations	68	38	97	42.0
Internal Security	47	26.3	43	18.6
Domestic Politics	51	28.5	68	29.4
Protests	3	1.7	8	3.5
Total	179	100.0	231	100.0

Table 4.2: Comparison of Political news stories published in the NYT during UPA2 andNDA1.

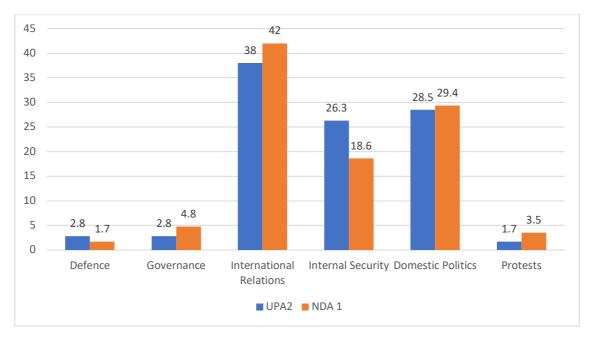


Figure 4.2: Comparison of Political news stories published in NYT during UPA2 and NDA1.

During UPA 2 (2009-14), among all the political news published on the news portal of The New York Times, the highest coverage was given to news related to international relations (38%) followed by domestic politics (28.5%) and internal security issues (26.3%). In the NDA1 time period, NYT gave highest coverage to news stories related to international relations (42%) followed by domestic politics (29.4%) and internal security (18.6%). During UPA2 least coverage by NYT was given to news related to protests (1.7%) while during NDA1 the least coverage was given to news related to defence sub category (1.7%).

Looking at different sub categories, it was observed that defence news was given more coverage during UPA2 (2.8%) than NDA1 (1.7%). Governance was covered more during NDA1 (4.8%) compared to UPA2 (2.8%). News related to international relations was covered more during NDA1 (42.0%) than in UPA 2 time period (38%). News related to internal security was covered more in UPA2 (26.3%) compared with NDA1 (18.6%). News related to domestic politics of India was covered more during NDA1 (29.4%) compared to UPA2 (28.5%). The coverage of protests related news was more during NDA1 (3.5%) than UPA2 (1.7%).

	UPA2		NDA1	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Defence	5	2.2	7	2.7
Governance	13	5.7	18	7.0
International Relations	57	24.8	88	34.3
Internal Security	59	25.7	45	17.6
Domestic Politics	78	34	78	30.5
Protests	18	7.8	20	7.8
TOTAL	230	100.0	256	100.0

Table 4.3: Comparison of Political news stories published in TG during UPA2 and NDA1.

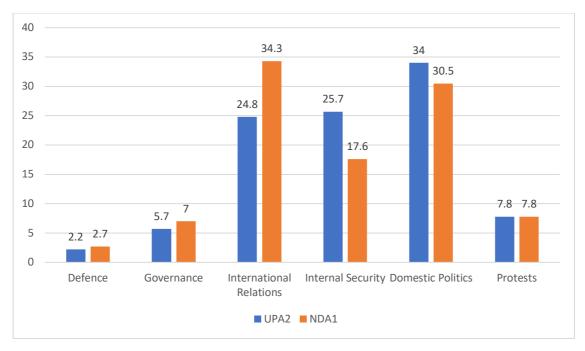


Fig.4.3: Comparison of Political news stories published in TG during UPA2 and NDA1.

During UPA 2 (2009-14), among all the political news published on the news portal of The Guardian, the highest coverage was given to news related to domestic politics (34.0%) followed by internal security (25.7%) and international relations (24.8%). In the NDA1 time period, TG gave highest coverage to news stories related to international relations (34.3%) followed by domestic politics (30.5%) and internal security (17.6%). During UPA2 least coverage by TG was given to news related to defence (2.2%) while during NDA1 the least coverage was given to news related to defence sub category (2.7%).

Looking at different sub categories, it was observed that defence news was given slightly more coverage during NDA1(2.7%) than UPA2 (2.2%). Governance was covered more during NDA1 (7.0%) compared to UPA2 (5.7%). News related to international relations was covered more during NDA1 (34.3%) than in UPA2 time period (24.8%). News related to internal security was covered more in UPA2 (25.7%) compared with NDA1 (17.6%). News related to domestic politics of India was covered more during UPA2 (34.0%) compared to NDA1 (30.5%). The coverage of protests related news was found to be almost equal in both the time periods (7.8% each).

	NYT		7	G
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Defence	5	2.8	5	2.2
Governance	5	2.8	13	5.7
International Relations	68	38.0	57	24.7
Internal Security	47	26.3	59	25.6
Domestic Politics	51	28.5	78	34
Protests	3	1.7	18	7.8
TOTAL	179	100.0	230	100.0

Table 4.4: Comparison of Political news stories published in NYT & TG during UPA2.

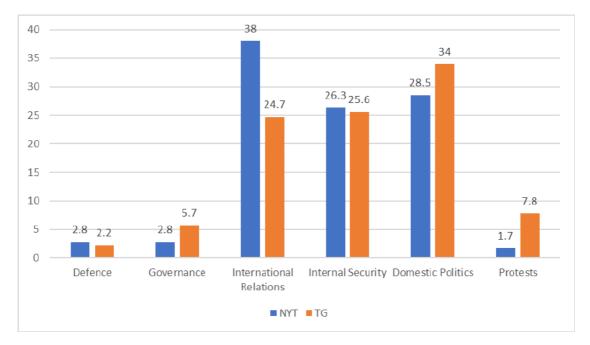


Figure 4.4: Comparison of Political news stories published in NYT & TG during UPA2.

On comparing the political news stories published in NYT & TG during UPA2 it was found that NYT gave highest coverage to news related to international relations (38.0%) followed by domestic politics (28.5%) and internal security (26.2%). Meanwhile in the same time period TG gave highest coverage to domestic politics (34.0%) followed by internal security (25.7%) and international relations (24.8%). In NYT least coverage was given to news related to defence and governance (2.8% each). In TG least coverage was given to news related to defence (2.2%).

Looking at the sub categories it was found that during UPA2 time period the Defence news saw almost similar coverage in NYT (2.8%) and TG (2.2%). Governance news was covered more in TG (5.7%) compared to NYT (2.8%). News related to International Relations was covered more in NYT (38.0%) than in TG (24.7%). Internal Security was given slightly more coverage in NYT (26.2% percent) than in TG (25.6%). Domestic Politics was covered more in TG (34.0%) than in NYT (28.5%). Protests were given more coverage in TG (7.8%) than in NYT (1.7%).

	NYT		TG	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Defence	4	1.7	7	2.7
Governance	11	4.8	18	7.0
International Relations	97	42.0	88	34.3
Internal Security	43	18.6	45	17.6
Domestic Politics	68	29.4	78	30.5
Protests	8	3.5	20	7.8
TOTAL	231	100.0	256	100.0

Table 4.5: Comparison of Political news stories published in NYT & TG during NDA1.

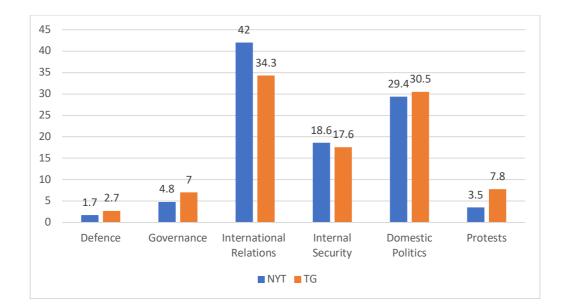


Figure 4.5: Comparison of Political news stories published in NYT & TG during NDA1. On comparing the Political news stories published in NYT & TG during NDA1 it was found that NYT gave highest coverage to news related to international relations (42.0%) followed by domestic politics (29.4%) and internal security (18.6%). Meanwhile in the same time period TG gave highest coverage to International Relations (34.3%) followed by domestic politics (30.5%) and internal security (17.6%). In NYT least coverage was given to news related to defence (1.7%). In TG too the least coverage was given to news related to Defence (2.7%). During NDA1 time period defence news saw more coverage in TG (2.7%) than in NYT (1.7%). Governance news was covered more in TG (7.0%) compared to NYT (4.8%). News related to international relations was covered more in NYT (42.0%) than in TG (34.3%). Internal security was covered slightly more in NYT (18.6%) than in TG (17.6%). Domestic politics was covered more in TG (30.5%) than in NYT (29.4%). Protests were given more coverage in TG (7.8%) than in NYT (3.5%).

	Favo	urable	Unfavourable		Neutral	
Sub	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Category						
Defence	3	33.3	4	44.4	2	22.2
Governance	8	50.0	4	25.0	4	25.0
International Relations	67	40.1	61	36.5	39	23.4
Internal Security	10	11.4	77	87.5	1	1.1
Domestic Politics	24	20.2	42	35.3	53	44.5
Protests	0	0	9	81.8	2	18.2

Table 4.6: Tone of political news stories published in NYT (Sub category wise).

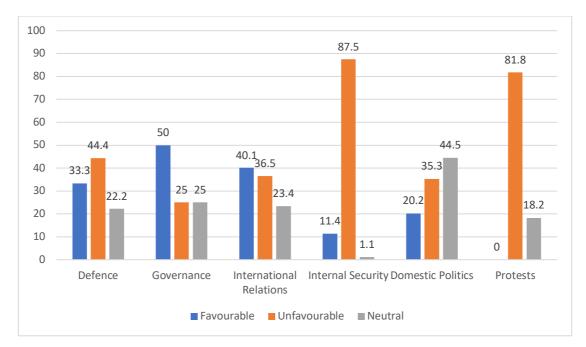


Figure 4.6: Tone of Political news stories published in NYT.

Defence

Highest coverage of defence news was found to be unfavourable in tone (44.4%) followed by favourable tone (33.3%) and neutral tone (22.2%). Launching of nuclear submarine, India's missile tests, signing of arms deals with France and Russia, catching of pirates by Indian navy, testing of nuclear missiles by India, military competition with China, buying of aircraft carriers, joint naval exercise by India and Australia, women being given combat roles in armed forces, India asking defence exporter companies to manufacture fighter jets in the country itself etc. were the subjects of favourable news stories. The unfavourable stories were on the report of rifts with military, resignation of naval chief after the accident of submarine, data leak suffered by French manufacturer building Indian submarines, India's shooting down satellite in space and destabilization of power caused due to it in Asian continent etc. While the neutral stories were on how India was going to buy Russian Missile System despite of the sanctions imposed by the U.S. and nuclear plans of emerging economies.

Governance

In the sub category of governance in NYT, most of the stories that were found were favourable in tone (50%) followed by unfavourable (25%) and neutral (25%). The favourable news stories talked about things such as how 11% average growth rate in Bihar was a sign that even India's most backward corners were witnessing transformation, Indian

government's efforts to empower poor people to fight corruption, role of webcams in improving transparency in governance in Kerala, India trying to provide Aadhaar card number to every citizen, role of Aadhaar card in the transfer of subsidies to poor, imposition of fine on 14 carmakers in antitrust cases, the granting of minority status to Jews by the state government of Maharashtra, India trying to provide free health care to half a Billion people etc.

On the other hand, the unfavourable news stories related to governance sub category were about Prime Minister Modi's struggle to fulfill his electoral promises and roadblocks in his plans to rejuvenate India; Indian state of Haryana giving license to cow protection groups to aid police, Indian government making it mandatory for its citizens to submit their fingerprint, eye and facial images for the Aadhar card and the issues related to privacy. The neutral stories were about the cabinet reshuffle by Manmohan Singh Government before the 2014 elections, Indian government taking back its proposal of encryption of social media data, India limiting the foreign involvement in its health system and the debate over privacy in India as government sought data of its citizens for the Aadhar card project.

International Relations

In NYT, in the sub category of international relations, 40.1% news stories were found to be Favourable in tone, 36.5% were Unfavourable and 23.4% were neutral.

• Indo-China relations

The favourable news stories were about the official visit of Prime Minister Wen Jiabao (2010) and Li Keqiang (2013) to boost trade ties between India and China, the signing of economic and cultural cooperation deals between the two countries, the agreement to cooperate on the border issue, the attempts by Chinese Smartphone companies to enter Indian market, the meeting of Narendra Modi and Xi Jinping in 2015, rising economic engagements with China, PM Narendra Modi's trip to China in May 2015, Modi's call to ease the ties between two nations, the meeting of Modi and Xi in 2018 prior to elections in India etc.

While the unfavourable news stories were about Sino- India border dispute near Tibet, restrictions on foreign media's coverage of on Dalai Lama's visit to Arunachal Pradesh, building of ports by China in South Asia, rise in border conflicts between India and China

even though the economic ties kept increasing, conflict in Doklam plateau region, rival claims over Tibetan medicine. India and China do not share a very cordial relation. In the recent past the friction and animosity between two nations has increased. Doklam military standoff (2017), Galwan Valley Conflict (2020) and the Tawang Clash (2022) are some of the examples of how the ties between two Asian giants exist as of now. These agendas were visible in the stories related to Indo- China relations. Majority of news stories related to China were focused on border conflicts or trade relations between the two countries. The neutral stories were about India asking its mobile firms to delay deals for Chinese telecom equipments.

• Indo-Pak relations

It was surprising to find the favourable news stories on Indo-Pak relations. Although such news stories are not always common due to historical tensions between the two countries. However, there have been instances where both countries have made efforts to improve relations and foster cooperation. Both India and Pakistan are members of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), which aims to promote regional cooperation and development in South Asia. Despite political tensions, there have been instances of cooperation within the framework of SAARC, particularly in areas such as health, education, and disaster management. Various people-to-people initiatives, such as cultural exchanges, sports diplomacy, and cross-border trade, have been undertaken to promote goodwill and understanding between the people of India and Pakistan. These initiatives often involve artists, academics, journalists, and other members of civil society who work towards building bridges and fostering dialogue between the two countries.

News such as Pakistan showing willingness to fight terror together with India, resumption of bilateral talks between two nations, role of cricket match to improve the ties between the two nations as these were awaited by millions in the subcontinent, ease in the bilateral strains, the demand of trading communities on both sides to re-establish trade ties, joint refinery venture, elections in Pakistan and the hopes of a fresh start in relations, the Dawoodi Bohra community's hosting their sect's leader for the first time in Pakistan were some of such subjects.

America pressurizing India to improve its ties with Pakistan; Indo-Pak negotiations failing to re-start; espionage; Pakistan's involvement in 26/11 terror attacks; resumption of talks in an environment of suspicion and distrust; failure to resolve the glacier dispute; exchange

of fire along LoC and border conflicts in Kashmir; Pakistan's support to militancy and death of civilians in Kashmir; its suspicious role in Mumbai Attacks; Pakistani diplomat's meeting with the separatists; Pak's criticism of India's inclusion in the Nuclear Suppliers Group; the cross border surgical strikes and the war of words following it; Bollywood becoming the battleground for Indo Pak rivalry; air strikes on Pak following the Pulwama terror attack (2019); Indian pilot Abhinandan getting caught and beaten by Pakistani mob; deadly shelling in Kashmir; the looming fear of nuclear war between the two nations were the some of the most common subjects related to India and Pakistan which were found to be unfavourable in tone. In NYT most of the stories related to Indo Pak talk about tension between the two nation. That is the major frame and agenda through which majority of stories have been presented.

11/25/2020 Deadly Shelling Erupts in Kashmir Between India and Pakistan After Pilot Is Freed - The New York Times

Deadly Shelling Erupts in Kashmir Between India and Pakistan After Pilot Is Freed

By Jeffrey Gettleman, Hari Kumar and Sameer Yasin March 2, 2019

NEW DELHI — Intense shelling erupted along the disputed border between India and Pakistan on Saturday, killing several civilians and making it clear that hostilities between the two nuclear-armed nations were hardly over — only a day after Pakistan handed over a captured Indian fighter pilot in what it called a "good-will gesture." At least five civilians and two soldiers were killed, according to officials on both sides.

At the same time, independent security analysts continue to question India's claims this past week that it had killed "a very large number" of terrorists at a major training camp in a cross-border airstrike. The bold strike set off an enormous mobilization of Indian and Pakistani forces and a cycle of military attacks, bringing South Asia to red alert.

Michael Sheldon, a researcher at the Atlantic Council, a think tank in Washington, said on Saturday that after studying satellite imagery of the area in Pakistan that India had bombed, he could see "no evidence any buildings were hit." He added, "It appears to me they didn't hit their targets."

Instead, he said, all publicly available evidence and accounts from witnesses on the ground indicated that the Indian bombs had landed in an unpopulated forest and had taken out some pine trees. He set out his argument in an online article titled "Surgical Strike in Pakistan a Botched Operation?"

The administration of India's prime minister, Narendra Modi, who faces an election in a few months, had presented the airstrike as a robust response against a terrorist group, Jaish-e-Mohammed, that claimed responsibility for a devastating suicide bombing in February that killed more than 40 Indian troops.

Source: nytimes.com, 2nd March 2019

• Indo-US relations

Indo US relations were given highest priority in the coverage by The New York Times. favourable stories related to Indo- US were on found on a variety of subjects such as the visit of secretary Hillary Clinton to India in 2009, her meeting with business community and the call for stronger US India ties; the meeting of President Obama and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh (2009), pledge by America and India to cooperate on economic issues; Vice President Biden's meeting with Indian leaders; John Kerry's visit to India; meeting between President Obama and Prime Minister Modi (2015); PM Modi's meeting with silicon valley executives (2015); India's security concerns addressed by US; agreement on nuclear energy; renewal of defence pact; joint military exercises; mutual concern over the rise of China; Narendra Modi's address to the American Congress (2016); Modi's meeting with Donald Trump in 2017; Indian companies like Tata, Mahindra, Infosys investing in US.

2/16/2020

At Madison Square Garden, Chants, Cheers and Roars for Modi - The New York Times

The New Hork Times https://nyti.ms/1nutAwF

At Madison Square Garden, Chants, Cheers and Roars for Modi

By Vivian Yee

Sept. 28, 2014

They wore his face on their chests, waved it on posters, chanted his name and quoted his slogans, 19,000 fans drawn to a single star. His image stared down from the big screen at Madison Square Garden and emerged on canvas in a live speed-painting onstage. And when the man himself emerged, the capacity crowd on Sunday in New York's most storied arena roared as one, as if all the Knicks, all the Rangers, Billy Joel and Bruce Springsteen had suddenly materialized.

"Modi! Modi! Modi!" the audience chanted, drowning out the announcer's attempt to introduce the man who needed no introduction: Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India, whom 19,000 people had traveled from around the country and Canada to see speak on his first trip to the United States since being elected in May. The American tour has showcased Mr. Modi as a diplomat and world leader — he has addressed the United Nations General Assembly and will meet President Obama on Monday — but on Sunday, he was all celebrity, embracing the adulation of a diaspora that maintains strong ties to the motherland.

Source: nytimes.com, 28th Sept. 2014

Favourable stories were also found on the life of Indian diaspora based in the United States e.g. Houston having one of the largest Indian populations, presence of Indian sweet shops and restaurants, the completion of Swaminarayan temple at Long Island for the Indian community; Indians winning spell bee competitions etc. The main agenda which was visible in all these stories was on improving Indo US bilateral relations, need to promote closer ties, greater cooperation and increasing engagements with India in different spheres. The deepening of Indo US ties and the role of China factor in it was highlighted in many of the news articles. The New York Times in one of its editorials *More Engagement With India* (Feb 13, 2014) called for greater cooperation between the two nations.

According to the editorial since 2008 when India and the United States completed a pathbreaking nuclear energy agreement, they have worked to develop closer commercial and strategic ties and now share almost \$100 billion in annual trade. In 2021-22, the US surpassed China to become India's top trading partner. According to the data of the commerce ministry, in 2021-22, the bilateral trade between the US and India stood at \$119.42 billion. According to a report published in Outlook magazine India-US bilateral trade in goods and services will reach USD 500-600 billion by 2030 as their relation continues to strengthen (PTI, 2022).

11/1/2020 President or Luxury Towers: Either Way, Trump Is the Rage In India - The New York Times

The New York Times

https://nyti.ms/2CSiue2

President or Luxury Towers: Either Way, Trump Is the Rage in India

By Maria Abi-Habib and Eric Lipton

Feb. 17, 2018

GURGAON, India — When the Trump family jet lands in India this week, the family member taking a tour of the world's largest democracy — with a Secret Service detail in tow — won't be the president on a diplomatic mission. It will be his eldest son, Donald Trump Jr., on a sales trip.

But Indians might be forgiven for not making much of the distinction.

The visit by the younger Mr. Trump, intended to help sell more than \$1 billion in luxury residential units being built by the Trumps and their local partners, has been promoted with newspaper advertisements that read: "Trump has arrived. Have you?"

The younger Mr. Trump's weeklong itinerary of cocktail parties, dinners and events with real estate brokers, business leaders and prospective buyers comes as President Trump is working to strengthen ties between the two countries.

The president, who enjoys widespread popularity in India, was greeted by Prime Minister Narendra Modi with a bear hug in Washington last June, and the two leaders have frequently discussed greater military cooperation and ramping up trade. Mr. Trump has also taken a harder line toward Pakistan and China, two of India's rivals. Two weeks ago, President Trump phoned Mr. Modi pledging "to strengthen security and economic cooperation" between India and the United States.



From left, Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India and President Trump during a bilateral meeting in Manila last year. Doug Mills/The New York Times

Source: nytimes.com, 17th Feb 2018

America pressurizing India to cut down oil purchases from Iran; anger in India over injustice in Bhopal gas tragedy case where the involved company (Union Carbide) was American; hate crimes against Indians; safety concerns in US over India made medicines; diplomatic crisis over the arrest of Devyani Khobragade; American criticism of India regarding government's crackdown on charities and activist groups, human rights, climate change, religious freedom; detention of Shahrukh Khan at US airport; violation of Indian laws by US based credit card companies; the death of John Allen Chau, an American missionary; Trump administration striping India of special trade status; escalation of trade tensions between the two nations were some of the important subjects which were given coverage by NYT and found to have a unfavourable tone. President Obama unable to visit the golden temple during his India visit; the replacement of India's ambassador to US; some Hindu nationalist groups becoming the fan of Donald Trump; condemnation of hate crimes against Indians in US; Donald Trump calling himself a big fan of Hindus; fashion diplomacy by Ivanka Trump and the grand welcome given to her in India; Trump's investments in India; Donald Trump Jr. on a business visit to India and Indian women finding their American dreams in jeopardy due to visa issues were themes of some neutral stories related to Indo-US relations.

• Relations with Other Nations

The favourable stories were found on subjects such as how India and Iran were trying to keep their energy link open despite immense American pressure; Indian and Afghan leaders trying to forge deeper ties; the meeting between Russian President Vladimir Putin and Prime Minister Narendra Modi; the strong bilateral relations between Russia and India and Modi's visit to Sri Lanka (He became the first Indian prime minister to visit Jaffna, Sri Lanka's war-torn Tamil heartland). The unfavourable stories were on the growing American pressure on Indian companies not to buy oil from Iran very similar to what happened in 2022 during Russia- Ukraine war when the Western nations pressurized India to stop buying cheap oil from Russia.

India-Nepal relations saw a lot of friction and growth in political crisis with India. People in Nepal started rationing fuel and food supplies due to this crisis. Huge unrest and protests were seen at India Nepal border and the ties between both nations worsened. The neutral stories were on how Putin was trying to win over India which was drifting apart from it; Justin Trudeau trying Indian Bollywood themed outfits during his India visit; India's demand to Britain to return the Kohinoor diamond; UK officials asking a 9-year-old Chess player to leave Britain etc. were stories of this kind.

• Internal Security

In the internal security sub category, 11.4% news stories were found to be of favourable tone, 87.5% of unfavourable tone and merely 1.1% were neutral. Majority of the news stories found under this sub category were related to Kashmir, Naxalism, insurgency in the North Eastern part of India, terror attacks etc. Maximum unfavourable coverage was

given to Kashmir and some sort of agenda setting was visible in the coverage. The coverage seemed to be very one sided.

• Kashmir

The favourable stories related to Kashmir were found on subjects such as Kashmiri Pandits trying to reconnect with their ancestral homes; calm and peaceful situation in the valley for a while; militants being offered a way back to join the main stream; BJP and PDP forming a coalition government and the hopes of a new start. The majority of news reports on Kashmir were negative in tone. Regular clashes between protesters and security forces; the imposition of curfews; ineffective governance; the tense situation along Pakistan's border; use of pellet guns on protesters, impact of social unrest on school education; army tying a Kashmiri man to jeep and parading him through villages; killing of militant Burhan Wani, massive protests in his support and the death of civilians and militants in clashes that followed; murder of Journalist Shujaat Bukhari; breaking of BJP-PDP coalition and the collapse of government; teenagers dying to protect militants; massive crowds in militants funeral; civilians living under fear; the call by militants to boycott elections were some other headlines which had an unfavourable tone.

11/28/2020 An Epidemic of 'Dead Eyes' in Kashmir as India Uses Pellet Guns on Protesters - The New York Times
Che New York Times
https://nyti.ms/2cliiMn

An Epidemic of 'Dead Eyes' in Kashmir as India Uses Pellet Guns on Protesters By Ellen Barry

Aug. 28, 2016

SRINAGAR, Kashmir — The street outside is patrolled by riot police officers in camouflage, bracing for the nightly spasm of violence, but it is quiet here inside the operating room. The surgeon's knife slides into an eyeball as if it were a soft fruit. The patient's eyelids have been stretched back with a metal clamp, so his eyeball bulges out of glistening pink tissue. The surgeon sits with his back very straight, cutting with tiny movements of his fingers. Every now and then, a thread of blood appears in the patient's eye socket. The patient is 8 years old.

"Very bad," murmurs the surgeon, Dr. S. Natarajan. But then, all 13 cases he will see today will be very bad.

Since mid-July, when the current wave of protests against the Indian military presence started, more than 570 patients have reported to Srinagar's main government hospital with eyes ruptured by lead pellets, sometimes known as birdshot, fired by security forces armed with pump-action shotguns to disperse crowds.

The patients have mutilated retinas, severed optic nerves, irises seeping out like puddles of ink. "Dead eyes," the ophthalmology department's chief calls them.

Every season of popular revolt in Kashmir has its marker.

This summer's protests in the part of Kashmir controlled by India, the most sustained and violent since 2010, caught the authorities in New Delhi unaware. The stone-throwing crowds have no political leaders, put forward no specific demands and metastasized with alarming speed. Around 60 civilians and two members of the security forces have been killed; on each side, thousands have been wounded.



Kashmiri doctors and paramedics, their eyes covered by patches, protested at a hospite in Srinagar on Aug. 10. They sought to evoke the plight of victims of pellet guns firred by inserved sourcelly forces to disperse crowds. Taused MustafAgence France-Presse — Centy Images

Source: nytimes.com, 28th August 2016

• Terrorism

India's increased preparedness to tackle terror attacks after 26/11 attacks; the arrest of suspects involved in 2008 Mumbai attack; execution of Yakub Menon in the Mumbai Bombings case (1993); justice in the Mumbai train bombings case (2006) were some of headlines of the news stories which reflected a favourable image of India as a nation which was very strict on terror related cases. But the bomb blasts in Bangalore, Varanasi, Bodhgaya and Mumbai; chances of possible terror attacks in Mumbai again and militant networks still in place; terrorists' linkages with Pakistan; deadly explosion at courthouse in New Delhi; the trend of young men joining ISIS to fight for Islam; terror attacks at Gurdaspur (Punjab), on Hindu pilgrims going for Amarnath yatra and on army base in 2016; suicide bomber linked to Jaish-e- Muhammad blowing up a military bus at Pulwama (Kashmir) in 2019 and Pakistan's role in Indian terror attacks were some of the news stories which gave an impression that India was a fertile breeding ground for the terrorists.

• Other Internal Security Challenges

News stories related to Naxalism and armed insurgencies portrayed an unfavourable image of India as an unsafe nation. The killing of Indian police officers by Maoist rebels at Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra; government imposing sedition charges against the Maoist sympathisers; imposition of AFPSA in parts of North East; killing of Indian soldiers in militant ambush in Nagaland; death of civilians in separatist attacks were the theme of such news stories.

Domestic Politics

In the sub category of Domestic Politics 20.2% news stories were found to be of favourable tone; 35.3% of unfavourable tone and 44.5% were found to be neutral. The favourable stories were on subjects such as how Right to Know bill proved to be a boon for India's poor; the passing of nuclear deal in India; passing of bills dealing with foreign investment, GST and crimes against women in the Lok Sabha; creation of a new state Telangana by the parliament; ban imposed by the Supreme Court of India on the campaigns based on identity politics; condemnation of vigilante cow protection groups by PM Narendra Modi; the successful conduct of the 2014 and 2019 general elections; swearing in of Ram Nath Kovind, a person from marginalized caste background as the President of India etc.

There were many stories on Indian domestic politics which were found to be unfavourable in tone. Controversy over book written on the life of Mahatma Gandhi; firing of a Muslim seminary chief for his pro Hindu interview; charges of corruption on Karnataka and Tamil Nadu chief ministers; the resurfacing of Kaveri River dispute; violence during Lok Sabha election campaign in UP; politics over the issue of Gharwapsi (reconversion); rising religious intolerance; the crackdown on NGOs like Greenpeace; sedition charges against students and teachers from reputed universities and the crackdown on the activists; the restrictions on Christian charity organizations; the ban on buffalo meat industry; Congress Party accusing PM Modi of corruption in the purchase of Rafale fighter jets. Some other unfavourable news were related to subjects such as riots following the Sabarimala temple judgement; the charges on government of hiding the unemployment data; polarization of elections on the name of religion; the burning of a village by opposition parties due to political rivalry etc.

10/20/2020 Mob in India Kills Muslim Man Over Rumors of Cow Slaughter - The New York Times The X-tu Hark Times The New Hork Times Mob Attack, Fueled by Rumors of Cow Slaughter, Has Political Overtones in India Mob in India Kills Muslim Man Over Rumors of Cow Slaughter BISADA, India - The visik By Suhasini Rai Sept. 30, 2015 notheless, the men proceeder inq, one of the few Muslims I NEW DELHI - A 52-year-old Muslim man died this week after he was beaten with bricks and sticks by a mob in a and his wife, Brraman, were on their second-floor patio, dooing after dinner and pri ing with men. Mrs. Ikhlaq beard someone shout, "Kill them." She, her husband and village outside New Delhi in response to rumors that he had slaughtered a cow and eaten beef. "What's the matter?" Mrs. Ikhlaq cried out. An incredulous voice replied from the dark, "After sla Murder charges have been filed against at least 10 people in connection with the attack on the man, Mohammad Ikhlaq, o paw at Mrs. Bibliag, so she bit said in an interview. Upstairs, ith a brick. Then they dragged and his son Danish. The two were dragged out of their home in the village, Bisada, shortly after 11 p.m. on Monday, the police superintendent for the region, Sanjay Singh, said. The son, 20, was in critical condition. The mob "dragged my father and brother out, pulling them by the hair," said Shaista Ikhlaq, Mr. Ikhlaq's daughter, who denied that the family had slaughtered a cow or had been eating beel. "My father's head was smashed. His lips tore and his teeth were broken as they beat him with bricks and sticks." Hindus consider cows to be sacred, and it is illegal to slaughter the animals in Uttar Pradesh, the state where the attack took place. At least two other Indian states have adopted or tightened bans on the slaughter and consumption of beef since Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party won parliamentary elections last year. A court in Jammu and Kashmir, where Muslims are a majority, recently ordered the authorities to strictly enforce a law that had been in place since the 1930s.

Source: nytimes.com, 30 Sept. 2015 & 4th Oct. 2015

There were many stories with neutral tone as well. Cabinet shuffle by PM Manmohan Singh before elections; resignation of ministers; attempts to build coalition and alliances before the general elections; the political launch of Aam Aadmi Party; the political aspirations of yoga guru Baba Ramdev; the rise of Arvind Kejriwal; Congress releasing its performance report card before the elections (2013); prediction of Manmohan Singh led UPA government losing power in 2014; Akhilesh Yadav given permission by election commission to use Bicycle as the election symbol; Narendra Modi's participation in climate change conference at Paris; Haryana government giving backward caste status to Jats; Assam government making Sanskrit mandatory for students in the upper grades of all public high schools; rise in the popularity of Modi after the air strikes (2019) etc. presented a neutral image of India.

Protests

In the sub category of protests, 81.8% stories were found to be unfavourable in tone and 18.2% were neutral. The 11-year-old hunger strike by Irom Sharmila against AFSPA law followed by her arrest; Dalits protesting for their rights; protests in Tamilnadu over the ban imposed on Jallikattu by the Supreme Court; attempt by women activists to enter the Sabarimala temple and protests following it etc. were some of the subjects that were touched upon by the NYT in its coverage. Tone of the headlines and the news stories was mostly unfavourable thus giving a general impression that Indian state was apathetic and indifferent towards the protestors and would use sometimes use the police force to deal with it. Neutral stories talked about the end or resolution of these strikes.

	Favo	urable	Unfavourable		Neutral	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Defence	6	50.0	3	25.0	3	25.0
Governance	17	54.8	10	32.3	4	13.0
International Relations	55	38.0	39	26.9	51	35.2
Internal Security	14	13.5	88	84.6	2	1.9
Domestic Politics	31	19.9	52	33.3	73	46.8
Protests	2	5.3	33	86.8	3	7.9

Table 4.7: Tone of Political news stories published in TG.

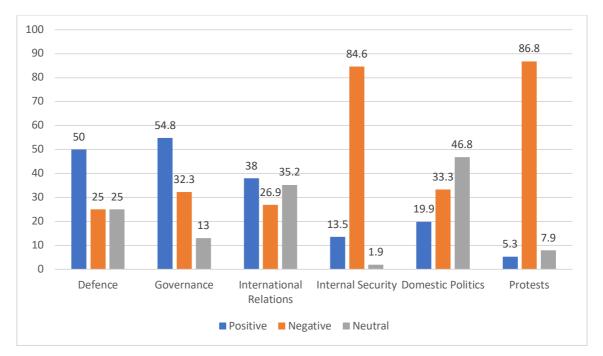


Figure 4.7: Tone of Political news stories published in TG.

Defence

In Defence sub category, 50% news stories had a favourable tone, 25% unfavourable and 25% were neutral. India signing arms deals with France and Russia; Indian Navy catching sea pirates; India ready to test fire nuclear capable missile with range up to Beijing; buying of third aircraft carrier by India; joint navy exercise conducted by Australian and Indian navy; the decision by Indian armed forces to allow women in combat roles were some important subjects which depicted a favourable image of India. There were some news stories which presented a unfavourable picture as well. Mumbai submarine accident; resignation of navy chief; army chief trying to defend the soldier who tied man to vehicle and used him as a human shield; possibility of simultaneous two front war with China and Pakistan etc. were some of such stories. US approving the sale of eight F-16 fighter jets to Pakistan were some of the neutral stories.

Governance

In the sub-category of governance, 54.8% stories were favourable, 32.3% unfavourable and 13% were neutral. India's plans to give biometric ID card to all its citizens, publishing of natural wealth count for identification of the natural resources; plans to create central foreign aid agency; curbs on mobile marketing by putting 100-word text limit; government agreeing to the demand of land reform protesters; launch of biometric data project; ban

on alcohol in Kerala; launch of Swachh Bharat Abhiyan; government's plan to repeal hundreds of pre independence laws; the beginning of bullet train project with help of Japan; Ministers prohibited from using red lights on government cars; starting of Delhi-Agra train service; ban on alcohol by Bihar government; biometric ID database project to compile data of citizens; achievement of 100% electrification in the country were some of the themes covered with a Favourable tone.

Red tapism and skills gap preventing the growth of India; the beef ban controversy and five year jail for possessing it in the state of Uttar Pradesh; impact of beef ban on jobs and economy; fear of losing social benefits due to lack of biometric ID cards; the risk of Taj Mahal falling in private hands under heritage adoption scheme of government; tax raids on the office of Amnesty International and other such organizations which were critical of the government etc. projected an unfavourable image of India. Extension of visa for the British nun; uncertainty over the future business operations of mobile phone company Black Berry and mining company Vedanta in India; implementation of net neutrality by Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) were some of the subjects with a neutral tone.

International Relations

• Indo China

News stories on subjects like meeting of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and President Xi Jinping; China and India asking rich nations to increase their contribution towards preventing climate change; signing of business deal between India and China worth more than 22 billion pounds reflected Favourable and cordial relations between India and China. On the other hand, news stories such as cyber spies in China targeting Indian government and Dalai Lama; the derailing of border talks between the two nations; ban on PUBG and other Chinese apps; ban on Xiaomi from selling their mobile phones in India; border dispute at Doklam (2017) were some of the subjects covered by the news portal which reflected friction in the bilateral ties between the dragon and the elephant.

Indo Pak

Marriage of Indian tennis player Sania Mirza and Pakistani cricketer Shoaib Malik; resumption of talks between both nations (which were halted due to Mumbai attacks); Pakistan's foreign minister Hina Rabbani Khar and President Asif Ali Zardari's visit to India; release of 300 Indian fishermen by Pakistan as a goodwill gesture; plans of Prime Minister Narendra Modi to visit Pakistan; Pakistan returning Wing commander Abhinandan Varthaman as a peace gesture were some of the news stories which seemed to give a Favourable view of Indo Pak relations. These news stories offered some hope and progress in bilateral relations.

Cancellation of peace talks with Pakistan after bomb attack on India; no progress in Indo Pak peace talks; arrest of Indian diplomat on charges of espionage and for passing state secrets to Pakistan; tension and exchange of gun fire across the border followed with heavy shelling in Kashmir; death of Pakistani prisoner in Indian jail; Pakistani diplomat's meeting with Kashmiri separatists and cancellation of talks by India; protests against pro Pakistani Bollywood stars and ban over Pakistani actors; Pakistani diplomat held at Delhi zoo for being a spy; controversy over Indian film Ai Dil Hai Mushkil for having Pakistani actors; Pakistan's worries over hydro projects in Kashmir; PM Modi calling Pakistan as the mother of terrorism; airstrikes on Pakistan; rise of nationalistic sentiments on both sides; the military standoff in Kashmir following the Pulwama attack; death of civilians in violence between India and Pak as well as news related to military conflict between India and Pak reflected sad state of affairs between two nations.

A lot of focus on unfavourable coverage of Indo Pak relations reflects the agenda of The Guardian. There were some stories which had a neutral tone too. The popularity of Japanese robot cat Doraemon in the subcontinent; a blue-eyed tea seller becoming social media sensation; the UN court asking Pakistan not to execute Kulbhushan Jadhav; Bollywood filmmaker eager to make movie on Wing Commander Abhinandan Varthaman etc were some of such types of news stories.

• Indo-US

The visit of Sarah Palin; American president Barack Obama hosting his first official state dinner for the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh at the White House; Nancy Powell, the US ambassador to India, meeting the then Gujarat CM Narendra Modi and US trying to restore ties with him; as the possibility of him becoming the next PM increased; joint action on climate change by both nations; Obama seeking the help of Indian diaspora in US to bolster stronger economic ties between the two countries; grand welcome given to Obama in Delhi; reports on India US ties growing closer; meeting

between Obama and Modi in 2015; Obama on his three day visit to India to attend the Republic day parade; energy and climate deals to be done in Indo US premiers meet, US Secretary of State John Kerry call to expand economic co-operation with India; Narendra Modi to be the guest of honour in US reversing its visa ban policy; Narendra Modi's visit to US and grand welcome received by him; Donald Trump trying to seek support of Indian American community for presidential elections; Ivanka Trump's visit to India etc. were some of the news stories which reflected a Favourable image as they were mostly about the improvement in Indo US relations.

The double standard of Americans over BP oil spill and Bhopal Gas Tragedy and the anger caused in India; phone scam in India targeting Americans; Hyderabad police rounding up homeless people before the visit of Ivanka Trump; the US plan to end preferential trade treatment for India (which allowed duty-free entry for \$5.6bn worth of the country's exports to the United States) etc stories had an unfavourable tone. Mourning for Sikh temple shooting victims; dismissal of genocide lawsuit against PM Modi; limiting the US liability in case of nuclear disaster; preparation for the visit of Ivanka Trump to Hyderabad; Donald Trump Jr declining to speak on foreign policy matters; Donald Trump's Republican party trying to reach out to Hindu community based in US were examples of some news stories which had neutral tone.

• Indo-UK

The reporting of news related to Indo UK was more in The Guardian in comparison to the New York Times. UK government ending the boycott of Narendra Modi; inauguration of Gandhi's statue at London's Parliament Square; rock star reception given to PM Narendra Modi at Wembley stadium (where almost 60000 people gathered to listen to him); the meeting and joint press conference by David Cameron and Narendra Modi; the plans of Duke and Duchess of Cambridge to visit India and see Taj Mahal; Tata Steel agreeing to save 4400 jobs in UK; PM Theresa May's three day visit to India; Indian descendant businessman Sanjiv Mehta buying the East India Company; Britain and India trying for a possible post-Brexit bilateral free trade deal were stories which reflected a favourable tone.

Commonwealth summit

Patrick Wintour Diplomatic editor

• This article is more than 4 years old

May woos Modi as UK pursues freetrade deal with India

Countries sign bilateral agreement before Thursday's Commonwealth summit in London



D Theresa May and Narendra Modi visit the Francis Crick Institute in London. Photograph: Reuters

Source: theguardian.com, 18th April 2018

Indian PM confronted by angry protesters in Downing Street during his UK visit in 2015, the anger and protests of Hindu activists over the release of movie Padmavati in UK; the study blaming Churchill's policies for the 1943 Bengal famine etc. reflected an unfavourable tone. While news stories such as British PM David Cameron persuading India to buy Typhoon fighter planes from UK; Indian PM's praise for opposition MP Shashi Tharoor's Oxford Union speech; fashion diplomacy by Kate Middleton; India's demand for Kohinoor diamond; UK business secretary Sajid Javid's meeting with Tata chairman Cyrus Mistry over steel industry crisis; the departure of Cyrus Mistry and the fate of Tata Steel's UK plant; study over Rudyard Kipling's work for British intelligence the first Labour leader during world war; Jeremy Corbyn promising independent inquiry into Britain's alleged role in Indian army's 1984 raid on Golden Temple; opening of Amritsar massacre files by British government; recognition to the 1.5 million Indian soldiers fought with the British were stories having neutral tone.

• Other External Affairs

There were many news stories related to other affairs related with international relations. Afghan president's talks with Indian PM Manmohan Singh; trade talks and monetary help by India to African nations to counter the growing Chinese influence and help them fulfil the Millennium Developmental Goals; Hamid Karzai asking for military aid from India; India's deals with Sri Lanka amidst the growing Chinese influence; Australia's uranium deal with India; the meeting of Putin and Modi etc. reflected a Favourable tone and image of India. One news article in The Guardian said that it was time to update the old and tired image of the country.

Blames on India for exporting fake medicines to Africa; bad working conditions and deaths of Indian migrants in Qatar; Saudi diplomat posted in India accused of rape charges; blockades at Indo Nepal border and humanitarian crisis; Indo-Italy relations under strain over the trial of marines; removal of the statue of Mahatma Gandhi from the campus of Ghana university were some news stories reflected an unfavourable tone and image. Whereas, Dalai Lama wanting to retire from the political life; India wanting to solve the crisis in Maldives; ban on Italian diplomat; India's boycott of Commonwealth summit; Italy's warning to India against invoking anti-piracy law against its marines; Italy recalling its ambassador to India; Modi calling Australian counterpart Malcolm Turnbull over death of bus driver of Indian descent in Brisbane; controversy over Justin Trudeau's India visit over the official dinner invitation given to Jaspal Atwal etc were stories with a neutral tone.

Internal Security

News stories related to internal security were 13.5% favourable, 84.6% unfavourable and 1.9% neutral in tone.

• Kashmir

Kashmiri militants trying to join the mainstream; the meeting of Indian and Pakistani PM at New York and mutual agreement to stop Kashmir attacks; BJP and PDP forming new government in Kashmir and Mehbooba Mufti becoming the first female chief minister; the Hindu party coming to power for the first time in Kashmir in coalition; hope of a new start in the valley; return of cinema halls in Kashmir valley were some news stories with a favourable tone.

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Shabir Ahmed Dar with one of his children and his father in Degoom village, Shopian, Kashmir. Photograph: Jason Burke for the Observer

Source: theguardian.com, 21st July 2013

Headlines during this period were dominated by various subjects including street riots, violence, curfews, protests, militant attacks, deaths, stone pelting, anti-India demonstrations, sedition charges, clashes between civilians and security forces, and border conflicts with Pakistan. Flash floods in Ladakh, the arrest of writer Arundhati Roy, incidents of young Kashmiri brides being sold to older strangers, and the arrest of a lecturer for controversial questions also made news. Additionally, a fire broke out at the shrine of Abdul Qadir al-Jilani, tourism numbers drastically declined, and there was a militant attack on an Indian military convoy.

Low public participation in elections, Al Qaeda's call for jihad against India, accusations between India and Pakistan regarding Kashmir killings, and people leaving their homes due to fear of escalating cross-border clashes were also reported. Furthermore, civilians were killed by militants, security forces were accused of human rights violations, militants fought for the establishment of an Islamic state, Hindu pilgrims were attacked, Indian soldiers were mutilated, and editor Shujaat Bukhari was murdered. The government also fell due to the breaking of a coalition, and there was a grenade attack in Jammu, all contributing to an unfavourable image of India portrayed in the news. The Observer Kashmir

Jason Burke in Srinagar Sun 21 Feb 2010 00.06 GMT

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• This article is more than **12 years old**

Street riots greet Kashmir peace talks

India and Pakistan are holding their first high-level talks since the Mumbai terrorist attacks in 2008



■ A Kashmiri protester runs away from a shell filled with tear gas fired by the Indian police in Srinagar on 20 February. Photograph: Fayaz Kabli/Reuters

Source: theguardian.com, 21st Feb. 2010

• Terrorism

Majority of news stories related to terrorism gave an impression of India as an unsafe country and prone to terror attacks, a nation which could be targeted easily by terror groups. India stepping up its security after the 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks; the re-opening of the Jewish center targeted in 26/11 terror attack; execution of culprits by the judiciary were some of the favourable news stories. The trial of Ajmal Kasab (accused in 26/11 Mumbai terror attack); Hafiz Saeed (the Pakistan based militant leader) denying his involvement in 26/11 attacks; targeting of Indians at Kabul; terror alert in India on anniversary of 26/11 attacks; failure of Indian intelligence; bomb blasts at Mumbai (2011), Delhi High Court complex, Pune, Punjab police station, Madhya Pradesh; killing of civilians by Bodoland tribal separatists in Assam; mass killings in the tea-growing areas ; killing of security personnel by Maoists during ambush etc. were some of such unfavourable news stories.

Domestic Politics

News stories related to domestic politics were found to be 19.9% favourable, 33.3% unfavourable and 46.8% neutral in tone. Passing of the disabilities bill, introduction of

GST to ease the tax structure; high participation of people specially the growing participation of women in the democratic electoral process; austerity drive launched by Congress president Sonia Gandhi; the promise of universal basic income for the poor by Congress Party prior to elections; Supreme court's observation on politicians with criminal background; PM Narendra Modi asking Indian diaspora to become a part of Indian foreign policy were some positive news stories.

Modi's attempt to build India as the HR capital of the world; his visit to Silicon Valley (2015) and meeting with CEO's of world's biggest technology companies; election of Ram Nath Kovind (a person from lowest caste) as the President of India; inauguration of Sardar Sarovar Dam; five-rupee meals for the poor started by Jayalalitha, the CM of Tamilnadu; recognition of transgenders as the third gender; record turnout in the elections; supreme court putting a ban on the identity politics by banning the use of religion and caste in election campaigns; Indian sex workers demanding for better healthcare, pensions and welfare from political representatives; the incredible story of a person tea seller to Prime Minister etc. were other news stories which reflected a favourable tone.

Politics over the deaths of 112 people in Gujarat due to alcohol poisoning; cancellation of the visa of foreign journalists over Dalai Lama's tour to Arunachal; the nexus of money, power and politics in Mumbai's slums; ban over the controversial books on Gandhi and Hindus; ministers caught watching porn in Karnataka assembly; detention of Baba Ramdev (the Yoga guru) by the police; ruckus in parliament over the creation of new state of Telangana; the arrest of students for defaming Narendra Modi; border dispute between Assam and Nagaland and the displacement of 10000 people due to the violence which followed; the controversy over Prime Minister's claim of genetic science existing in ancient India; Perumal Murugan offering to give up writing after the protests against his book; removal of Gandhi's statue from the campus of Ghana university etc. reflected an unfavourable tone.

Violence caused by cow vigilantes; firebrand Hindu priest Yogi Adityanath becoming the chief minister of UP; life sentence for cow slaughter in Gujarat; ban on Shiv Sena MP by airlines for assaulting the steward; tightening of meat industry laws followed by protests; Narendra Modi following the Twitter account of people celebrating the murder of journalist Gauri Lankesh; MJ Akbar, junior foreign minister accused in # Me Too campaign; changing the Islamic names of cities by BJP government; tension in Kerala

following the Supreme court judgement to allow the entry of women in the Sabarimala Temple; Greenpeace and Amnesty accusing the government of running a smear campaign against them, PM criticised for not doing press conference and giving manufactured interview to ANI etc were news stories with unfavourable tone.



Source: theguardian.com, 27th Oct. 2016 & 19th Feb 2019

Some agenda setting is visible in the way Narendra Modi has been addressed as the 'Gujarat's divisive leader' again and again by The Guardian in its reports e.g. Gujarat's divisive leader poised to win third term in crucial elections, Gujarat's divisive leader scores resounding victory in state elections. Electoral results of 2019 were said to be the victory for anti- Muslim bigotry and bad for India's soul. The other Unfavourable stories were on how hundreds of men who were accused of sexual violence were contesting for general elections; one fifth of the candidates facing criminal charges against them; concern over women safety not becoming an electoral issue; Muslim woman election campaigner in Jharkhand getting rape threats; attack on election officials by Maoist rebels; violence during the elections; the fear among Muslim minorities after the re-election of Narendra Modi etc. were news stories that reflected a unfavourable tone.

There were news stories with neutral tone such as the report submitted by Liberhaan commission on Babri mosque demolition; controversy over the book The Red Sari, biography of Sonia Gandhi; speculations of transfer of power from Sonia to Rahul Gandhi; entry of Priyanka Gandhi into the political spectrum; opening of Sikh Golden Temple memorial, fear of imposition of Hindi under the Narendra Modi government; Narendra Modi wearing a suit with his name written on it during his meeting with President Obama

in 2015; pigeon taken into custody for carrying note threating Narendra Modi; tributes paid to ex-Tamil Nadu CM Jayalalithaa; Shivraj Singh Chouhan, the Madhya Pradesh CM ridiculed for being carried through floods had neutral tone.

Rahul Gandhi calling for investigation on bribery charges against PM Modi; publication of NRC list in Assam and the fear of deportation amongst 'foreigners' in Assam; Hindus wanting to build Ram Mandir on the disputed Ayodhya site; the entry of Priyanka Gandhi into general elections; biopic on Modi; Rahul Gandhi losing his seat at Amethi; possibility of a tough hardliner foreign policy under PM Modi; pledge in BJP manifesto to implement Uniform Civil Code; possibility of Congress party and Rahul Gandhi losing power; gathering of huge crowd at Varanasi to listen to Modi; electoral victories and defeats; Cow and Happiness ministers losing in MP elections; election commission calling for a calm debate amongst political parties; story on the anti-fraud ink mark etc. were some news stories with neutral tone.

Protests

In the sub category of protests, 5.3% stories were favourable, 86.8% stories were unfavourable and 7.9% were neutral in tone. Protests against Coca Cola plant for using too much of water at Varanasi; transport strike in Kolkata; protests at Niyamgiri in Odisha against Vedanta by tribal forest villagers to stop clearance of land for mining; people from Dongria Kondh tribe appealing to Hollywood movie Avatar's director James Cameron to help them stop controversial mining company Vedanta from opening a bauxite mine on their sacred land; protest march by peasants and landless poor; 16-year hunger strike by activist Irom Sharmila against AFSPA; protests against Salman Rushdie at Jaipur Literary Fest; withdrawal of book "The Hindus" by Weindy Doniger and the international outcry over it etc. were some news stories.

The return of award by Aundhanti Roy in protest against rising religious intolerance in India; protesters blocking Indo Nepal border checkpoint; student protests at JNU; Kanhaiya Kumar the student leader accused of sedition beaten by lawyers in the court premises; anti-nuclear protests in India at Kudankulam nuclear power plant in Tamil Nadu; farmers protest in Maharashtra; protests in Tamil Nadu against the ban imposed on Jallikattu; strike of doctors in Mumbai over assault on hospital staff; strike of tea workers in Assam for increase in wages; protests at Sabarimala temple against the women who wanted to enter it; protests at the site of Statue of Unity before its inauguration etc. were some other unfavourable news stories.

	NYT		TG	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Corruption	30	10.3	23	4.1
Crime	99	34.0	224	40.1
Education	15	5.2	22	4.0
Human Interest	68	23.3	93	16.7
Human Rights	54	18.6	111	19.9
Law	20	6.9	65	11.6
Urban Issues	5	1.7	20	3.6
TOTAL	291	100.0	558	100.0

4.2 Social Image of India

Table 4.8: Comparison between NYT and TG. Total number of social news stories

 published between 2009-19.

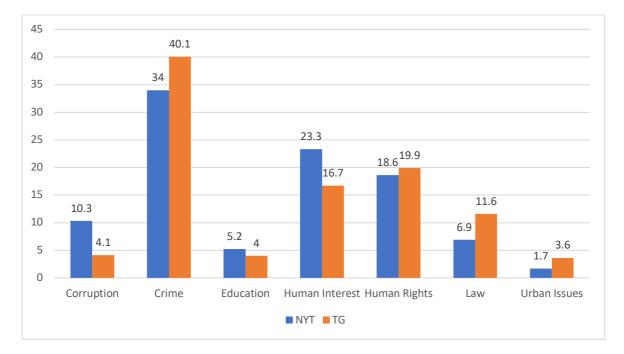


Figure 4.8: Comparison between NYT and TG. Total number of Social news stories published between 2009-19.

On comparing the social news published on the news portal of The New York Times and The Guardian between 2009-19 it was found that NYT gave highest coverage to news related to Crime (34.0%) followed by Human Interest (23.3%) and Human Rights (18.6%). Least coverage was given to Urban Issues (1.7%). On the other hand, TG gave highest

coverage to news related to Crime (40.1%) followed by Human Rights (19.9%) and Human Interest (16.7%). Least coverage was given to Urban Issues (3.6%). NYT gave more coverage to news related to Corruption (10.3%) than TG (4.1%). Crime was covered more in TG (40.1%) than in NYT (34.0%). News related to Education was found more in NYT (5.2%) than in TG (4.0%). Human Interest stories were more in NYT (23.3%) than in TG (16.7%). News related to human rights was covered more by TG (19.9%) than NYT (18.6%). Law related news were more in TG (11.6%) than in NYT (6.9%). Urban issues were covered more in TG (3.6%) than in NYT (1.7%).

	UP	PA 2	NDA 1	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Corruption	23	17.0	7	4.5
Crime	44	32.4	55	35.5
Education	13	9.6	2	1.3
Human Interest	21	15.4	47	30.3
Human Rights	23	17.0	31	20.0
Law	9	6.6	11	7.1
Urban Issues	3	2.2	2	1.3
TOTAL	136	100.0	155	100.0

Table 4.9: Comparison of Social news stories published in The New York Times duringUPA2 and NDA1.

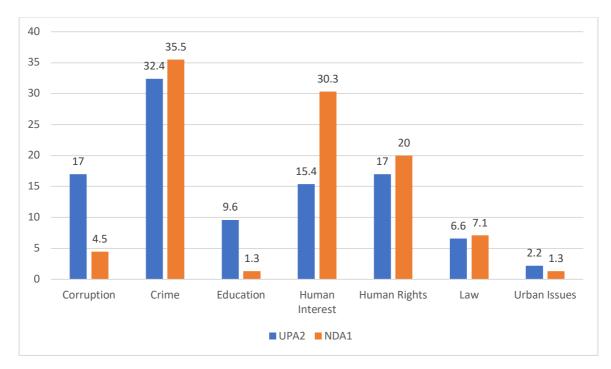


Figure 4.9: Comparison of Social news stories published in New York Times during UPA2 and NDA1.

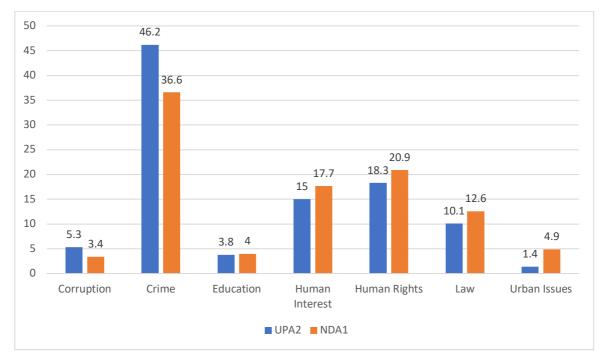
During UPA2 among all the social news stories published in The New York Times the highest percentage of coverage was devoted to crime (32.4%) followed by corruption and human rights (17% each). Urban issues were covered the least (2.2%). While the same news website in the NDA1 time period also gave highest coverage to news related to crime (35.5%) followed by news related to human interest (30.3%) and Human Rights (20.0%). Education and Urban Issues were the least covered sub categories (1.3% each).

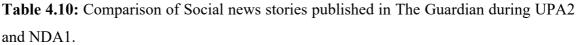
Corruption related news was found to be more in UPA2 regime (17.0%) compared with (4.5%) during NDA1. Crime news was covered more in NDA1 period (35.5%) compared to 32.4% during UPA2. Education was covered more during UPA2 (9.6%) than NDA1 (1.3%). News related to Human Interest was found more during NDA1 (30.3%) than UPA2(15.4%). News related to Human Rights were given more coverage during NDA1(20.0%) in comparison to UPA2 (17.0%). Law related news were found more during NDA1 (7.1%) than UPA2 (6.6%). News related to Urban Issues were more during UPA2 (2.2%) than NDA1 (1.3%).

	UF	PA 2	NDA 1	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Corruption	11	5.3	12	3.4
Crime	96	46.2	128	36.6
Education	8	3.8	14	4.0
Human Interest	31	15.0	62	17.7
Human Rights	38	18.3	73	20.9
Law	21	10.1	44	12.6
Urban Issues	3	1.4	17	4.9
TOTAL	208	100.0	350	100.0

Table 4.10: Comparison of Social news stories published in The Guardian during UPA2

 and NDA1.





On comparing social news stories published in The Guardian, it was found that during UPA2 time period highest coverage was given to news related to Crime (46.2%) followed by Human Rights (18.3%) and Human Interest (15.0%). Least coverage was given to Urban Issues (1.4%). During NDA1 time period highest coverage was given to news

related to Crime (36.6%) followed by Human Rights (20.9%) and Human Interest (17.7%). Least coverage was given to Corruption (3.4%).

If we look at the coverage given to different sub categories it was found that Corruption related news were published more (5.3%) during UPA2 in comparison to NDA1 (3.4%). News related to Crime were given more coverage in UPA2 (46.2%) than in NDA1 (36.6%). Education was given almost similar coverage in both time periods i.e. (3.8%) in UPA2 and (4.0%) in NDA1. Human interest stories were covered more during NDA1 (17.7%) as compared to UPA2 (15.0%). Human Rights news was covered more during NDA1 (20.9%) than UPA2 (18.3%). Law related news was covered more during NDA1 (12.6%) compared to UPA2 (10.1%). Urban Issues were paid more attention during NDA1 (4.9%) than UPA2 (1.4%).

	NYT		TG	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Corruption	23	16.9	11	5.3
Crime	44	32.4	96	46.2
Education	13	9.6	8	3.8
Human Interest	21	15.4	31	14.9
Human Rights	23	16.9	38	18.3
Law	9	6.6	21	10.1
Urban Issues	3	2.2	3	1.4
Total	136	100.0	208	100.0

Table 4.11: Comparison of Social news stories published between The New York Times& The Guardian during UPA2.

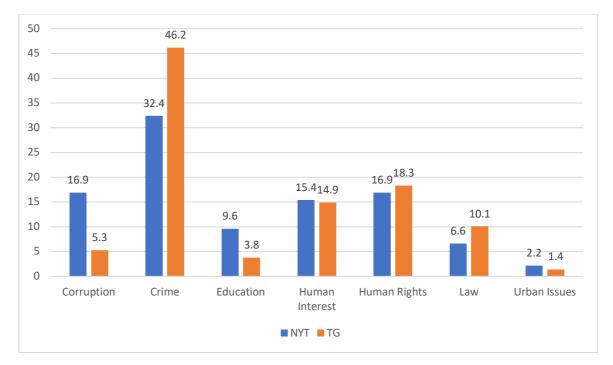


Figure 4.11: Comparison of Social news stories published between The New York Times & The Guardian during UPA2.

On comparing the Social news stories published during UPA2, it was found that NYT gave highest coverage to news related to Crime (32.4%) followed by Corruption and Human Rights (16.9% each). Minimum coverage was given to Urban Issues (2.2%). During the same time period TG gave highest coverage to Crime (46.2%) followed by Human Rights (18.3%) and Human Interest (14.9%). Least coverage was assigned to Urban Issues (1.4%).

Corruption was covered more by NYT (16.9%) than TG (5.3%). Crime news was covered more in TG (46.2%) than in NYT (32.4%). Education news was covered more in NYT (9.6%) compared to TG (3.8%). Human Interest news was covered more in NYT (15.4%) than in TG (14.9%). Human rights news was covered more in TG (18.3%) than NYT (16.9%). Law related news was found to be present more in TG (10.1%) than in NYT (6.6%). Urban Issues were covered slightly more by NYT (2.2%) than by TG (1.4%).

	NYT			TG
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Corruption	7	4.5	12	3.4
Crime	55	35.5	128	36.6
Education	2	1.3	14	4.0
Human Interest	47	30.3	62	17.7
Human Rights	31	20.0	73	20.9
Law	11	7.1	44	12.6
Urban Issues	2	1.3	17	4.9
TOTAL	155	100.0	350	100.0

Table 4.12: Comparison of Social news stories between NYT & TG during NDA1.

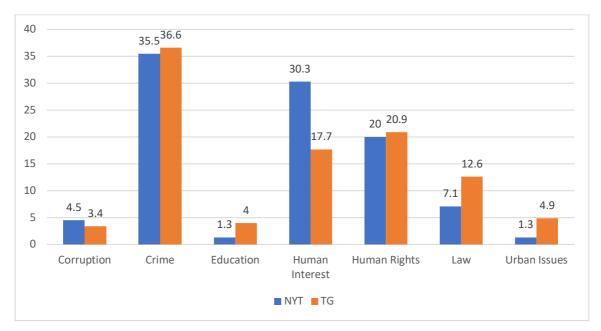


Fig. 4.12: Comparison of Social news stories between NYT & TG during NDA1.

During NDA1 among all the Social news stories NYT gave highest coverage to news related to Crime (35.5%) followed by Human Interest (30.3%) and Human Rights (20.0%). Least coverage was given to Education and Urban Issues (1.3% each). For the same time period, TG gave the highest coverage to Crime news (36.6%) followed by Human Rights (20.9%) and Human Interest (17.7%). Least coverage was given to corruption (3.4%).

News related to corruption were covered more in NYT (4.5%) compared to TG (3.4%). News related to Crime was more in TG (36.6%) than NYT (35.5%). Education news were covered more in TG (4.0%) than in NYT (1.3%). Human Interest news was more in NYT (30.3%) than in TG (17.7%). Human Rights related news were almost similar in both news portals NYT (20.0%) and TG (20.9%). Law related news was found to be more in TG (12.6%) than in NYT (7.1%). Urban Issues were covered more in TG (4.9%) than in NYT (1.3%).

	Favo	urable	Unfav	Unfavourable		utral
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Corruption	2	6.6	27	90.0	1	3.3
Crime	5	4.9	94	92.2	3	2.9
Education	9	60.0	4	26.7	2	13.3
Human Interest	30	46.2	8	12.3	27	41.5
Human Rights	20	38.5	28	53.8	4	7.7
Law	17	85.0	0	0	3	15.0
Urban Issues	5	71.4	2	28.6	0	0
TOTAL	88	30.2	163	56.0	40	13.7

Table 4.13: Tone analysis of news related to Social image in NYT (sub category wise).

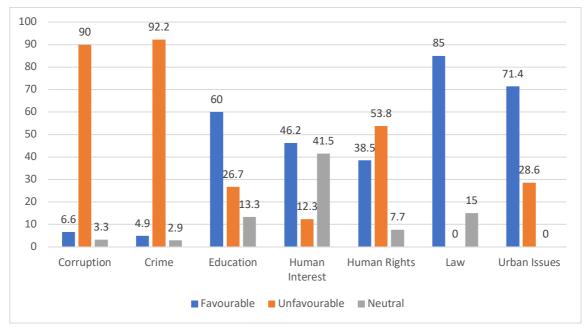


Fig. 4.13: Tone analysis of news related to Social image in NYT (sub category wise).

Corruption

In corruption subcategory, in NYT, 6.6% stories had favourable tone, 90.0% stories had unfavourable and 3.3% stories had neutral tone. Favourable stories were on inquiry and investigations in corruption related cases. Unfavourable stories were on corruption in defence deals, health department, commonwealth games, food procurement and distribution, coal block allocation, vyapam case, IPL, mining sector (iron ore, coal), telecom department (2 G spectrum allocation), \$1.8 Billion bank fraud. There were also stories on how Vijay Mallya, Nirav Modi and Mehul Choksi fled away from India after committing huge bank fraud; CBI taking over the case of Satyam scam.

Crime

Crime related news stories were 4.9% favourable, 92.2% unfavourable and 2.9% neutral in tone. Favourable stories were on how culprits were held guilty in Bhopal Gas Tragedy by the court; police successful in arresting the suspects of Govind Pansare murder; the arrest of fugitive Nirav Modi in London who committed bank fraud and escaped out of India. A lot of focus and unfavourable coverage was given by the NYT to communal issues taking place in India. News stories such as mob lynching of Muslim men over cow theft and slaughter; killing of Mohammad Akhlaq a 52-year-old Muslim man beaten with bricks and sticks by a mob in a village outside New Delhi in response to rumours that he had slaughtered a cow and eaten beef; similar incident at remote village of Uchekon Moiba Thongkhong in Manipur in northeast India few weeks later; row over celebrating Tipu Jayanti in Karnataka etc. were such news stories.

Many crime related news stories were related to rape, murder, loot, smuggling etc. Murder of RTI activists; teenager killing his own mother; rise in cow thefts by smugglers; mob lynching of rape accused at Kohima; call centre fraud to cheat American taxpayers; attack on a Swiss couple at Fatehpur Sikri (once the capital of the Mughal Empire); the murder of journalist Gauri Lankesh, a critic of Hindu-nationalist ideology; fake doctor suspected of spreading dozens of people with HIV etc. were covered by the news website. A lot of crime related news stories were found on rape of women. Rape of a Danish woman in 2014; New Year's Eve Attack case in Bangalore; rape charges on an American priest serving in India; Nirbhaya gang rape case (2012) and the outpouring of national outrage, grief and anger; famous editor Tarun Tejpal accused of rape charges; the #Me Too Movement and accusations on high profile people; Uber car driver in Delhi accused for rape; rape and killing of 8 year old at Kathua district of Jammu & Kashmir; silence of PM over crimes against women etc. were such news stories. Rape of nuns, tourists, school girls, middle and old age women gave the impression that India was a very unsafe country for women.

10/42020 Denish Tourist Says She Was Gang Raped in India - The New York Times	10/18/2020 Woman in Punjab is Killed After Being Molected on Bus - The New York Teres
The New York Times and A second se	The New Hork Cimes https://nyti.ms/lab25j4
Danish Tourist Says She Was Gang-Raped in India Briterikumenat Dies Berry	Woman in Punjab Is Killed After Being Molested on Bus
in: 15, 2014	By Hari Kumar and Nida Najar
NEW DELHI — A 5L-year-old Danish woman said she was gang-raped at knile point by seven or eight men in cent New Delhi after she approached them to ask for directions to her hotel, the Delhi police reported on Wednesday.	
Late Wednesday night, the police announced the arrest of two men they described as "vagabonds" living at the cap railway station, and said they had property stolen from the tourist, including a glasses case, an iPod and earplugs.	she and her mother were molested and thrown from a private rus by a group of men, the
The woman, who was staying at a hotel in an area popular with backpackers, told the police that the men had take a secluded spot near the railway station on Tuesday and raped her repeatedly, said Rajan Bhagat, a spokesman for Defini police.	n her to
The woman arrived in Delhi on Monday from Agra, the site of the Taj Mahal, and was planning to leave India on Wednesday morning, said a manager at the botel where she was staying.	police in the Moga district with murder, attempted murder, molestation and conspiracy, as well as violating a law relating to crimes committed against members of India's lower
The manager, who refused to give his name for fear of harming the hotel's reputation, said she returned to the hote	
around 8:30 pm and asked the reception desk to call the police. After consultations with the police and staff memi from the Danish Embassy that lasted until the early morning hours, she caught her morning flight out of India, the employee said.	The volued woman sustained a head injury and died immediately according to a notice
NDTV, an Indian news channel, reported that the woman was held by the men from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m., after which sh her way back to ber hotel.	e made speak to the news media. The constable said the mother was taken to a hospital for treatment.

Source: nytimes.com, 15th Jan. 2014 & 30th April 2015

India's image was badly spoiled and affected by the crimes against women. Bagri & Timmons (2013) found that visits to India by female tourists dropped by 35 percent in the first three months of year 2013 due to Nirbhaya rape case (gang rape of a 23 year old student in New Delhi in December 2012). They believe that many crimes against women often go unreported and the actual number was very high. Tourism made an essential contribution to the country's economy and provided employment to a large number of people in the country. It also helped to bring in much needed foreign currency. But India's maligned image among women could prove detrimental for the Indian tourism industry.

The New York Times

India Scrambles to Reassure Tourists Shaken by Recent Attacks on Women



Tourists in New Delhi. Visits to India by foreign women have fallen sharply this year, after several rape cases were reported. Manish Swarup/Associated Press

By Neha Thirani Bagri and <u>Heather Timmons</u> June 10, 2013

Source: nytimes.com, 10th June 2013

Education

In education sub category, in NYT, 60% stories were favourable; 26.7% were unfavourable and 13.3% were found to be neutral in tone. Favourable stories focused on the need for modern schooling for Muslim children; the growing popularity of MBA programme in India; survey for colleges and universities; increasing number of Indian students migrating to Canada for higher education; the setting up of joint study programmes by Indian and western colleges; private education being welcomed in India etc. Unfavourable stories focused on engineering graduates not being able to secure good jobs even after having degree; teachers' absence from government primary schools in

Bihar; the low position of Indian universities in world rankings; suspension of students from university for spreading hatred towards PM Modi etc.

Human Interest

Human interest news stories were found to be 46.2 % favourable; 12.3% unfavourable and 41.5% neutral in tone. The dominance of Indian Sikh immigrants in the field of dairy production in the Italian province of Cremona; the rebuilding of Hotel Taj which was damaged badly in 26/11 attacks; the outsourcing of Western lawyers being to India; volunteers at the Golden Temple serving tens of thousands of free meals each day; the discovery of huge amount of treasure under the Padmanabhaswamy Temple of Kerala; police playing the role of relationship counsellor in Bangalore; Darjeeling tea growers getting GI tag protection from European Union; hopes for revival of Sanskrit after the victory of PM Modi; huge human congregation at Kumbh Mela at Prayagraj on the banks of Ganges River etc. were some news stories with a favourable tone.

The reopening of Jewish centre in Mumbai which was damaged in terror attacks of 2008; a private legal aid group, operating on a shoestring budget trying to help the poor people in rural India; Indians across the different spectrums paying their homage to President Abdul Kalam on his sudden demise; Indian rapper Sofia Ashraf borrowing the tune of Nicki Minaj's song "Anaconda" to highlight the mercury contamination by multinational corporation Unilever; the shortage of curry chefs in Britain; Activist Irom Chanu Sharmila ending her 16 year hunger strike; rising popularity of Golf in India; Ronnie Screwvala the owner of UTV Group aiming to lift one million villagers in Maharashtra State out of poverty within six years, the annual elephant rejuvenation camp at Tamil Nadu were other such stories found with a favourable tone.

The co-existence of 27 story Ambani's house and slums with poor living conditions in Mumbai depicting huge inequality in India; children from India's richer families gaining school seats meant for children from economically and socially marginalised backgrounds; people committing suicide after the demise of popular Tamil Nadu chief minister Jayalalithaa Jayaram due to cardiac arrest; the quarrel between madams and the maids at luxury gated community at Noida; a person falsely declared as martyr in religious clashes etc. were news stories with a unfavourable tone. The risks involved in coconut plucking and the threat to India's coconut industry; the famous Padmini taxis of Mumbai becoming a part of history; the church run by Afghan refugees in New Delhi; the festival of Dahi Handi witnessing huge crowds as well as protests; the petitions addressed to supernatural beings and pinned to the wall of a 14th-century castle at Firoz Shah Kotla; the impact of beef ban on Lions and Tigers of India with change in their diet; soldier found alive even after five days under massive ice boulder on Himalayan glacier; the shifting of man eating lion to zoo were some news stories with a neutral tone.

Similarly, fans of the actor Rajinikanth bathing his cut outs and pictures with milk as a sign of devotion; Indian Elephant carried downstream due to torrential rains and floods to Bangladesh; the delivery of holy water from river Ganga by India post; Phone Romeos calling on random numbers looking for women in the hope of striking up a romantic attachment; jail punishment given to donkeys for eating plants in Uttar Pradesh; vegetarian food menu on Air India causing a controversy over food choices; compensation claims by relatives of villagers for being killed by tigers; chicken and mutton meat given to Lions instead of buffalo meat due to crackdown on illegal slaughterhouses at Uttar Pradesh were the other examples of news stories with a neutral tone.

Human Rights

News stories related to human rights were found to be 38.5% Favourable; 53.8% Unfavourable and 7.7% neutral in tone. The overturning of Gay Sex Ban by Indian court; equal rights for transgenders; gay rights being given in India; movies based on themes related to Gay gaining audience; happiness of Gay Rights activists over supreme court ruling; India setting a model for Singapore to end gay sex ban; Indian athlete Dutee Chand's declaration of being a gay etc. were some news stories related to LGBTQ community which reflected a favourable and progressive image of India.

Other favourable news stories were on challenging the instant divorce (triple talaq) law by Muslim women; Haji Ali Tomb ordered by the court to give full access to women; female sterilization policy as primary mode of contraception to be changed in India; attempts being made to save baby girls; large number of women getting elected in local village councils in Goa setting an example in women empowerment; quota for women proving a great tool in their political empowerment (as more than a million women have come to power as village chiefs since a constitutional amendment was passed in 1993); the introduction of eight new commuter trains exclusively for women in four Indian cities of New Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai and Calcutta.

High number of child mortality during birth; issues of child labour and child marriage still existing in pockets; death of a 13-year-old girl caused due to cardiac arrest after completing a 68-day religious fast; silencing of authors who are critical of the government in India; return of awards by authors against on the grounds of rising intolerance in the country; abuse of power by the military under the AFSPA act in Kashmir and northeast India; drug marketing representative committing suicide, unable to cope up with the work pressure; the custodial violence and deaths in India; the double pressure on gay women in India; Indian health minister calling homosexuality unnatural; lack of social recognition to India's third gender; appeal over the restoration of ban over gay sex; arrest of husband under colonial era sex law; Indian state's plan to help gay youth to get over same sex feelings etc. reflected an unfavourable image of India.

Honour killing of a 16-year-old girl for meeting her boyfriend; women needing men's blessings to win elections and go high in political career; Telugu actress Sri Reddy's topless protest against sexual harassment in the Indian film industry; rising cases of sexual assault against women; the clash between religion and women rights as women fight for rights to enter the temple premises at Sabarimala; politician blaming the western dress worn by women to be responsible for the sexual harassment case on New Year's eve in Bangalore; Indian culture minister Mahesh Sharma asking foreigner women tourists not to wear skirts for their safety; large number of pregnant women facing anaemia and underweight condition in India; lack of public toilets for women; campaign to develop more indoor toilets in Mumbai for women for their better health, sanitation and safety; abuse of women at public places and streets etc. portrayed an unfavourable image of India.

High coverage of news stories on this front reflects the agenda of news website where it has tried to project and frame India as a highly unsafe country for the women. The debate over menstrual leave that whether women should have a legal right to leave during their periods; marriage continuing to define the major life event of most Indian women etc. were news stories reflecting a neutral tone.

Law

Law related news stories were found to be 85% favourable and 15% neutral in their tone. Conviction in Gujarat Riots case; Manipur court ordering the release of activist Irom Sharmila, Indian court's ruling over illegal allotment of 200 coal leases to private companies; Supreme Court striking down Section 66A which made posting offensive comments online punishable by jail; Salman Khan getting 5 years imprisonment in hit and run case; conviction of people involved in 2002 train fire at Godhra and killing of Muslims during Gujarat riots (2002); Supreme Court's verdict on 'Love Jihad' case related to Kerala (in which the girl Hadiya was given the freedom to choose her spouse); Supreme Court allowing women entry inside Sabarimala temple; arrest order against the principal in death of school children due to contaminated mid-day meal in Bihar; restriction imposed on tobacco advertising by the Supreme Court; Muslim Women's fight for gender equality in marriage, divorce and the property rights etc. projected a favourable image of India. While the news stories such as Blackberry getting a window of 60 days to give security officials "lawful access" to encrypted data; British court's verdict to extradite Vijay Mallya to India where he has been facing fraud charges due to collapse of his defunct Kingfisher Airlines etc. were neutral in their tone.

Urban Issues

News related to urban issues were 71.4% favourable and 28.6% unfavourable in their tone. Research on reduction of traffic jams in Bangalore; the call for more open spaces in Mumbai by its citizens; the development of modern hill station Lavasa, a 40- square-mile planned hill city in the Western Ghats mountain range to escape the problem of overcrowding in Mumbai, the attempts to make Mumbai slum free, housing revolution led by the women of Ahmedabad etc. were some news stories which were in a Favourable tone. The unfavourable stories were on the adverse impact of 26/11 attacks on the lives of Mumbai citizens who lost their near and dear ones in the attack in which more than 160 people were killed; the collapse of overbridge in Kolkata; the chaotic transport system of Kolkata; the rise in fatal accidents in attempt to take selfies in Mumbai etc. were news stories having an unfavourable tone.

	Favourable		Unfav	Unfavourable		Neutral	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Corruption	4	17.4	18	78.3	1	4.3	
Crime	9	4.0	215	96.0	0	0	
Education	10	45.5	8	36.4	4	18.2	
Human Interest	33	35.5	9	9.7	51	54.8	
Human Rights	31	27.9	69	62.2	11	9.9	
Law	17	26.2	25	38.5	23	35.4	
Urban Issues	9	45.0	4	20.0	7	35.0	
TOTAL	113	20.3	348	62.4	97	17.4	

Table 4.14: Tone analysis of news related to Social image in The Guardian.

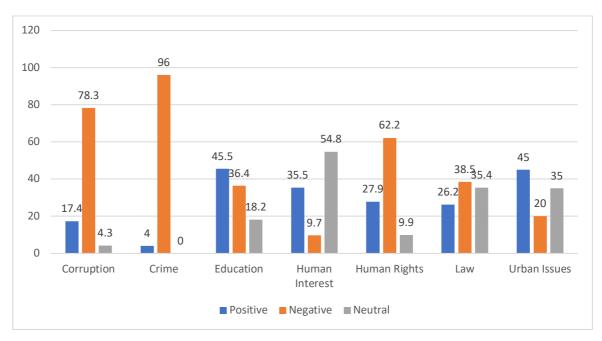


Figure 4.14: Tone analysis of news related to social image in The Guardian.

Corruption

In corruption sub category, 17.4% new stories were favourable, 78.3% unfavourable and 4.3% were neutral in tone. Tamil Nadu's politician Jayalalithaa Jayaram being cleared of corruption charges; online platforms helping to tackle the problem of bribery in developing countries; India's strict action against the fugitives and economic offenders; India asking

Britain to extradite Christian Michel James who was involved in the Augusta Westland bribe case etc. were news stories with a favourable tone.

Financial irregularities and money-laundering in IPL and the corruption charges on Lalit Modi; large scale corruption in Delhi Commonwealth games; wave of scams resurfacing one after the another; accusations of corruption on high profile people like former minister A. Raja (2G spectrum allocation scandal); Suresh Kalmadi (Commonwealth Games), Ashok Chavan(war widows building scam) and Lalit Modi (Indian Premier League scam); accusations of corruption on mining barons Reddy brothers in Karnataka for running an illegal iron ore extraction empire; corruption in mid-day meal scheme in Bihar where 20 children died and dozens hospitalised after eating school meals contaminated with pesticides; Vyapam scandal in Madhya Pradesh and suspicious deaths taking place during the investigations; Vijay Mallya escaping to UK to evade corruption charges in India; the collapse of Kolkata flyover due to corrupt officials; jewellery tycoon Nirav Modi cheating banks of \$1.8 billion and escaping from India; Adani facing claims of fraud of \$600m in India; the expansion of cheating mafia during exam season in India etc. were some of the examples of news stories with a unfavourable tone. The news stories presented an image of India as a highly corrupt nation.

• This article is more than **7 years old**

Scores of Indian children in hospital after eating school meal

Ninety-seven pupils treated for suspected food poisoning after free lunch at government-run school near Mumbai



📫 Indian schoolchildren eat a free midday meal. Photograph: Channi Anand/AP

Source: theguardian.com, 25th Feb. 2016

<u>Crime</u>

Crime related news stories were found to be mostly unfavourable (96%) in their tone. The favourable news stories (4%) were on subjects such as Love Commandos saving couples from getting killed due to inter caste marriage in the name of honour killings; the recovery of bronze idol worth \$1m looted from Indian temple; social evils such as female foeticide, honour killings, dowry system being highlighted by Bollywood superstar Aamir Khan in his programme Satyamev Jayate; creation of a female superhero by Indian comic who fights against crimes against women; the introduction of female only rows by Air India to curb harassment; passing of new law to award death penalty to child rapists etc.

The example of news stories which presented an unfavourable image of India were like the panic and fear amongst north eastern Indians in Bangalore over becoming the target of violent attacks; the growth in religious tensions in Uttar Pradesh after the rise of Yogi Adityanath as Chief Minister; warrant issued for the arrest of former CEO of Union Carbide in gas leak case; the shoddy investigation by police and huge corruption of officials in the Scarlett Keeling beach murder case (2008) and her mother's endless fight for justice; the state of Goa gaining a reputation as a drug haven and as an unsafe tourist destination especially for foreign women; the rising number of honour killings in India etc. were some of the themes of news stories which depicted an unfavourable image of India.

Murder of a RTI activists; mob attacks; kidnapping of children; murder of journalists; torture and cruel treatment to 13-year-old maid in Delhi by the doctor couple; murder of an aspiring Bollywood actress by her fellow actors; the attempt to kill Lt. General K.S. Brar who led Operation Bluestar; attack on tea estate manager and his wife by the workers in Assam; rape allegations on spiritual guru Aasaram Bapu; the murder case of Sunanda Pushkar; landowner killing his daughter and her fiancé at Rohtak district in Haryana; award of life sentence to dentist couple Rajesh and Nupur Talwar in the double murder case; the recovery of the dead body of British tourist; lynching of a Dalit boy in Bihar by men of higher caste were some negative news stories that were found.

Hindu mob killing Muslim man on the rumours of eating beef; the high profile Sheena Bora murder case gaining limelight and the arrest of Indrani and Peter Mukerjea in the case; examination cheating scandal in Bihar; a woman BJP leader in West Bengal accused of being involved in child trafficking; the death of 245 foreign tourists in Goa in 12 years in the districts of Anjuna, Pernem, Mapusa and Canacona; the abduction of children from railway stations and they being pushed into slavery or the sex trade; the rise in female drug addiction in India; honour killing of Ankit Saxena in Delhi in inter religious love affair; murder accusations on God Man Ram Rahim Singh for killing of journalist Ram Chander Chhatrapati; honour killing of a 16-year-old girl at Gaya in Bihar by her family for eloping with her boyfriend were also some negative news stories found.

News stories such as rape accusations on Godman Asaram Bapu (spiritual Guru), Shiney Ahuja (Bollywood star), Tarun Tejpal (the chief editor of Tehelka),MJ Akbar (Junior minister in MEA); the horrific Nirbhaya bus gang rape in Delhi and the death of the victim during the treatment; huge protests in India following this case; rise in demand for guns in Delhi after the Nirbhaya incident; gang rape in northern Punjab; the rape and murder of three sisters in an Indian village; the rape of Swiss cyclist in Madhya Pradesh; police gangraping the woman who failed to pay bribe at Hamirpur district in Uttar Pradesh inside the police station; Uber taxi driver raping the passenger in Delhi; quick rise in number of rape cases in Delhi; gang-rape of Japanese woman at Bodhgaya and an American tourist at Dharamsala in Himachal Pradesh reflected India in a negative light.



Source: theguardian.com, 17th Sept. 2015 & 2nd Jan. 2015

Gang rape incidents with British, Danish and American tourists; rape of an elderly nun at a Christian missionary school in West Bengal's Nadia district; controversy over the documentary "India's Daughter" based on Nirbhaya rape case; mob lynching of rape suspect at Dimapur in Nagaland; tailor sexually assaulting hundreds of schoolgirls in Delhi; police accused of raping women in Chhattisgarh; mass molestation of women on the eve of New Year at Bangalore; the rape and murder of eight year-old girl Asifa Bano at Kathua district of Jammu and Kashmir and the incident taking communal colour with tensions among Hindu- Muslim communities over the issue; allegations of sexual abuse in Delhi's women shelters etc. were some of such news stories related to rape incidents which had taken place in the time period 2009-19.

Rape related news were given very high coverage in The Guardian thus sending out a message to its readers that India as a nation was not safe for women. The excessive coverage of crimes like rape have severe socio-economic consequences. It can affect the tourism industry badly. It can tarnish the image of the nation and affect its citizens in multiple ways. For example, in 2015 a German professor of biochemistry at Leipzig University refused to give an Indian student an internship, citing India's "rape problem".



Louise Osborne in Berlin Mon 9 Mar 2015 14.56 GMT

• This article is more than **7 years old**

German professor rebuked for rejecting intern over 'India's rape problem'

German ambassador to Delhi writes open letter criticising Leipzig University academic for excluding male Indian applicants over sexual violence in country



An Indian student at a demonstration after four men were convicted of rape and murder of a student on a Delhi bus. The ambassador wrote: 'Let's be clear: India is not a country of rapists.'

Source: theguardian.com, 9th March 2015

After this incident, the Germany's ambassador to India Michael Steiner on 9th march 2015 made clarifications to the Professor saying 'India is not a country of rapists'. In his letter he further said that such a 'simplistic image' was unsuitable for her and it was 'an offense to millions of law abiding, tolerant, open minded and hardworking Indians'.

Response by German ambassador to India Mr. Michael Steiner:



Source: twitter.com, 9th March 2015

Education

In education sub category, 45.5% news stories reflected a favourable image of India while 36.4% were unfavourable and 18.2% were neutral. The growing popularity of self-improvement and personality development courses; returning Indian diaspora adding worldly experiences to Indian education system; the high effectiveness of India's mid-day meal programme; crackdown on teachers with fake degrees in Bihar to improve the education system; the plans to start India's first railway university to improve the service

in railways; Delhi schools offering lessons to children to speak up about sexual abuse; basic school education for elderly women at a village in Maharashtra; the attempt to modernise the madrasas in Uttar Pradesh by making English, Maths and Science subjects compulsory at secondary-school level; the training of headteachers to improve the work culture in government schools were some of the news stories that gave an impression that there were many positive changes taking place in the Indian education system.

Children's death caused due to contaminated mid-day meals; young kids facing difficulty in securing admission at private schools in Delhi; the continuation of corporal punishments in India's some schools; student protests against the government in the premiere universities; question paper leaks and cancellation of exams in Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar; Dalit students facing ridicule and abuse at university campuses were some of the unfavourable news stories. London Metropolitan University shutting down its recruitment offices Delhi Chennai; at and Britain's attempts to restrain immigration hurting the student recruitments from India; the global rise of private education; rewriting of school syllabus in Rajasthan where Western writers and perspective was being replaced by Indian writers and perspectives; Indian law school offering course on Harry Potter universe were some of the news stories with a neutral tone.

Human Interest

In human interest sub category, 35.5% stories were found to be favourable, 9.7% unfavourable and 54.8% neutral in tone. News stories that presented a favourable image of India were on subjects like launching of Master Chef's Indian edition; Mukesh Ambani building the world's first billion dollar home; Azim Premji's donating 1.27 billion pounds for children's education; the reopening of Hotel Taj two years after 26/11; Dalits learning English to upgrade themselves; introduction of monthly magazine "Meter Down" targeting autorickshaw passengers in Mumbai; Kumbh Mela (2019), the world's largest human gathering organised successfully in India where around 220 million people visited the place in 50 days; plans to convert birthplace of George Orwell into museum by Bihar government; Indian boss giving cars, apartments and diamonds to employees as Diwali bonus; introduction of sliding doors on suburban rail line by Mumbai railway to increase safety for the commuters etc.

The other favourable news stories were like: brides shown fighting back in anti-dowry ads; environment friendly electric rickshaws gaining popularity in India; schoolgirls from Mumbai's Dharavi slum learning to code mobile apps; superheroine in comic book fighting acid attacks; organic revolution taking place in Sikkim; the facelift given to Taj Mahal; tea ads giving the message of gender equality; peace message by members of Caravan of Love to families affected by hate crimes; beautification of houses located in Mumbai slum by painting them in beautiful colours; gathering of people of different faiths during Ramadan; Ikea opening its store in India; T Series on the verge of becoming the largest You Tube channel across the world; the growing popularity of Jashn-e-Rekhta, a three-day Urdu cultural festival etc. were such favourable news stories.

Beggars and poor people being displaced from Delhi streets to clean them for the upcoming Commonwealth Games; removal of gold worth 9500 pounds from the small intestines of a businessman who swallowed gold nuggets to avoid customs duties; train robbery in Tamil Nadu in which cash worth £575,000 was looted; the supply of fish reared on sewage in Kolkata; attacks on doctors in Delhi's hospitals; viral photo of the health minister for Rajasthan urinating on wall; extinction of ancient tribal language, Bo, after the death of its last speaker in the Andaman Islands; CPWD engineer on leave for 24 years were some news stories which presented an unfavourable image of India. The news story in The Guardian on 9th January 2015 said that 'India's civil servants have long been notorious for arriving late, taking long lunches or spending parts of their day on the golf course'.

Role of Google Doc in saving lives during 26/11 attacks; the discovery of treasure worth 12 billion pounds in Kerala temple; the blockage of drains due to excess use of condoms at Delhi Commonwealth Games; population census taking place in India and the revelation that 17% of the world was Indian; protesters against corruption leaving snakes in the tax office; Punjabi farmers trying to settle in Georgia; hiring of female only cabin crew by Go Air; gold hunt after the claims of an Indian swami seeing them in his dream; Parliament's hiring of monkey impersonators; bride refusing to marry groom for not able to solve simple maths problem; jail sentence to pigeon accused of spying; India's plans to open gold mines across the country; court's summon to Lord Hanuman in land encroachment case in Bihar etc. were themes of some news stories which had a neutral tone.

India

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Agence France-Presse Thu 18 Feb 2016 11.04 GMT

9 🖂

• This article is more than **7 years old**

Hindu god issued with court summons in east Indian state

Summons 'erroneously addressed' to Hanuman after case filed against temple in Bihar for encroaching on government land



A man dressed as the Hindu monkey god, Hanuman, during a meeting of the World Hindu Council. Hanuman is worshipped for his courage and strength. Photograph: Manish Swarup/AP

A court has served a Hindu god with a summons for illegally encroaching on government land in eastern India after a roadside temple was built in his honour, officials have said.

Source: theguardian.com, 18th Feb. 2016

92

The miracle of soldier staying alive even after six days of burial under avalanche; couple faking the photo of climbing Mount Everest; Indian man swallowing knives; Pierce Brosnan apologising for his pan masala ad; Delhi mascots preventing public defecation; India surveying the height of Mount Everest; Indian gem once used as a child's toy fetching £80,000; tallest flag in India (360feet high) getting damaged due to strong winds; rescue team trying to obtain the dead body of Mount Everest climber; brides being given wooden paddles in Madhya Pradesh to beat their potential husbands if they are drunk; Indian app playing devotional songs to do away with porn addiction were also the subjects found with a neutral tone.

India

• This article is more than **5 years old**

Indian app fights porn addiction with devotional songs and political speeches

Developer says software will also contain prayers so it can be used by 'members of all religions'

Michael Safi in Delhi Y@safimichael Fri 17 Nov 2017 05.59 GMT





Indians make up its third largest user base behind Americans and Brits. Photograph: Alamy Stock Photo

Indian neurologists have developed an app to address porn addiction that will play Hindu devotional songs, chant "Allahu Akbar" or recite speeches by Nelson Mandela when a user tries to access adult videos.

Source: theguardian.com, 17th Nov. 2017

The trademark over the blue rimmed white cotton sari of Saint Teresa; villagers protesting against urbanization; train without engine carrying 1000 passengers on it; rats chewing up cash worth £13,300 in Assam; maid turning into comedian; Indian MP attending the parliament in the costume inspired from Hitler; Beyonce and Hillary Clinton attending the high profile wedding of Isha Ambani; sisters pretending to be boys running the barber shop in Uttar Pradesh; largest human congregation at Kumbh mela; fans stealing milk to pour over the posters of their favourite film star Rajnikant; newspaper advising to eat mutton to give birth to boys; detention of teenagers for playing banned Chinese video game etc. were some other news stories with a neutral tone.

'Eat mutton': Indian newspaper's 'scientific' tips for conceiving boys

Advice in Keralan paper Mangalam includes sleeping while facing to the left and never skipping breakfast



The column suggested that women looking to conceive boys should never miss breakfast. Photograph: Jonas Gratzer/Getty Images

A south Indian newspaper has offered its readers "scientifically proven" advice on how to conceive a boy, including eating plenty of mutton, never skipping breakfast and always sleeping with your face turned leftwards.

Source: theguardian.com, 14th Dec. 2016

Human Rights

Michael Safi in Delhi

♥@safimichael Wed 14 Dec 2016 13.20 GMT

News stories related to human rights were found to be 27.9% favourable; 62.2% unfavourable and 9.9% neutral in tone. The favourable news stories were focused on works being done in the areas of child rights, women rights, LGBTQ rights etc. The efforts of women's rights activists who were working to stop child marriage and helping the young brides fight back the legal battle; India's plans to make mica mining legal to tackle child labour problem (as almost 20,000 children were engaged in this activity); Indian government scrapping its plan to blacklist journalists engaged in spreading fake news; ending the practice of human safari at Andaman Islands; the decriminalization of homosexuality in Delhi; election of transgender woman as district mayor in Chhattisgarh; matrimonial advertisements for gay persons; the award of third gender status to trans community etc. presented a favourable image of India.

The zero-tolerance policy of Indian government over violence against women; PM's assurance to bring parliamentary laws for women protection; the introduction of female

bus drivers in DTC buses to stop the harassment of women; supreme court asking temples to allow women's entry; role of bicycles in the empowerment of young girls in Bihar; Khabar Lahariya, a newspaper run by women in Bundelkhand region going digital; pink sweets to challenge gender prejudice; mobile internet scheme helping to improve digital literacy in rural India thus benefitting almost 1.2 million rural women; female biker clubs reclaiming Delhi's public space; the fight for equality by Muslim women; obsession with lighter skin and the campaign against skin colour bias by women; gender classes for Delhi rickshaw drivers to fight against sexual violence; plantation of trees to celebrate the birth of girls at Piplantri village of Rajsamand district in Rajasthan; toilet revolution in a village of Uttar Pradesh brought by a new bride Komal Hadala etc. also were some favourable news stories.



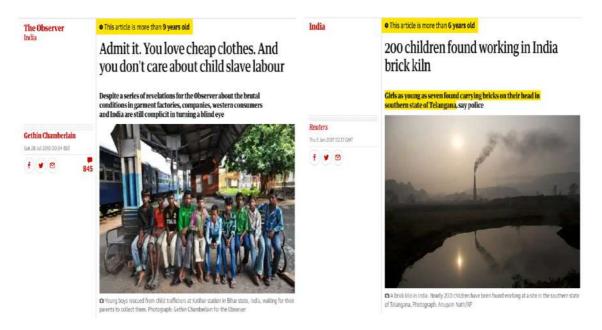
🗅 Staff pore over an edition of Khabar Lahariya (News Waves), which is edited entirely by women. All photographs courtesy of Khabar Lahariya

Source: theguardian.com, 10th Aug. 2016

On the other hand, majority (62.2%) of news stories related to human rights were unfavourable in their tone thus giving an idea that in India human rights violations were taking place on the large scale. Rampal (2021) in theprint.in reported that India's rank in Annual Human Freedom Index was 119th out of 165 nations. 'India has performed worse than average in providing social and economic rights to its citizens when compared with its South Asian peers', a report published on thewire.in (on 27th June 2022) reads. According to the same report in 2019, India ranked 102nd out of 117 countries on the Global Hunger Index, behind its neighbours Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Organizations like Amnesty International have been deeply critical about the human rights violations taking place in India.

Child trafficking and child labour continued to exist in India. According to a report published in theguardian.com up to 200,000 children a year fall into the hands of slave traders in India, many sold by their poverty-stricken parents for as little as £11 (Chamberlain, 2012). The report said that these children were stolen, tricked or sold by their parents for as little as 1,000 rupees. Another news story talked about the child slave labour employed in garment factories where the companies serving western consumers would use children to produce cheaper clothes. A similar report published in theguardian.com on 5th January 2017 depicted how 200 children (most of them under 14) were found working in the brick kiln in Telangana. In this particular case, girls as young as seven were found carrying bricks on their head.



Source: theguardian.com, 28th July 2013 & 5th Jan. 2017

Child sexual exploitation being a norm at a village(Sagar Gram) in Madhya Pradesh due to poverty and caste discrimination; writer Taslima Nasrin criticising growing demands of censorship in Indian society; the murder of journalist Gauri Lankesh who was deeply critical of Hindu extremists; death of a political reporter covering political unrest in India's north-east; Indian newspapers running blanks pages in order to show solidarity and protest the killing of fellow journalist Sudip Datta Bhowmick who was allegedly shot dead on orders of an army official while he was covering news; internet shutdowns in North east and Kashmir; labelling of French journalists as spies for their coverage of Indian mining investigation were some unfavourable news stories related to human rights.

Other unfavourable stories were on mining company Vedanta which was accused of being involved in the human rights abuse; clothing brands Gap, Next and M&S being a part of sweatshop scandal; the controversy over the inhuman practise of human safari in the tribal areas of Andamans; human rights abuse in the mining industry; Jarawa tribe facing sexual abuse; custodial torturing and deaths in India; worse living conditions of slums in Mumbai; the low amount of payments given to Uber drivers; mistreatments with maids and domestic workers in India; India's health minister Ghulam Nabi Azad calling homosexuality as an "unnatural disease" which had come from the west (5th July,2011); Gay rights activists protesting against discrimination; sports and youth affairs minister of Goa declaring his plan to make gay people 'normal' and the Devadasis facing a wretched life in the name of religion.

Women walking long distances to carry water for the family; women being barred from using mobile phones in Suderbari village of Bihar with the fear that it would encourage elopements; rising attacks over women in Delhi; young girls missing out from the school education; patriarchal bias still existing in the country with child marriage and early marriage practices still common in some regions; India Art Fair installation depicting India's missing women (due to sex-selective abortion, infanticide and the death of girls through neglect); the skin-whitening creams promoting colour bias; trafficking of women for marriage; lack of toilets in rural areas putting the health and safety of rural women at risk; increasing cases of acid attacks and violence against women; rise in women trafficking from earthquake-hit areas of Nepal; high number of female child abortions continuing in India with up to 6 million females aborted over past decade (Boseley, 2011) etc. were the news stories that presented a negative image of India.

24 May 2011

Families in India increasingly aborting girl babies, study shows

Up to 6 million females aborted over past decade, often when child was family's second and they already had a daughter



A sign advertising abortions in a Kolkata street. Photograph: Janet Wishnetsky/Corbis

21 Aug. 2020

Selective abortion in India could lead to 6.8m fewer girls being born by 2030

New study shows preference for a son is highest in north of country with Uttar Pradesh having highest deficit in female births



Children from Anvi village in the Jalna district of Maharashtria, where the ratio of girls to boys has worsened since the 2001 census. Photograph: Sattish Bate/Hindustan Times

Source: theguardian.com, 24th May 2011 & 21st Aug. 2020

27 Dec. 2021

'Families want a son at any cost': the women forced to abort female foetuses in India

Laali and Meenakshi's unborn daughters are among the country's 46 million 'missing' women and girls over the past 50 vears



D The dowry and cost of raising girls is often considered an unwelcome obligation sex-selective abortion is common. Photograph: Nicky Loh/Getty

9 Jan. 2006 10 million girl foetuses aborted in India

The births of up to 10 million girls in India may have been prevented by selective abortion in the past 20 years, researchers say today. Half a million babies are aborted every year because they are girls, even though termination on the grounds of gender was outlawed in India in 1994, according to a study published online by the Lancet medical journal.

Prabhat Jha from the University of Toronto and Rajesh Kumar at the Postgraduate Institute of Medical Education and Research, Chandigarh, India, and colleagues studied data from 1.1m households and found that the likelihood of having a baby girl as a second or third child were significantly lower in households where there was no boy. "We conservatively estimate that prenatal sex determination and selective abortion accounts for 0.5 million missing girls yearly," Professor Jha said.

Source: theguardian.com, 27th Dec. 2021 & 9th Jan. 2006

Mass sterilisation programmes for women as permanent contraceptive solution; outsourcing of pregnancy to poor economically deprived women at India's surrogacy clinics; sex selection drugs given to pregnant women in hope of male child leading to stillbirths; Delhi women not going out in the festival of Holi due to fear of sexual harassment; Muslim women's struggle against the practise of triple talaq (instant divorce); husband divorcing the netball player for giving birth to girl; India being declared the

world's most dangerous country for women in a poll conducted by a Thomson Reuters Foundation; the #MeToo movement gaining momentum in India etc. were the news stories that reflected how women were still miles away from the notion of gender equality. Safety continued to be a big concern for them.

India's home ministry stepping back from the controversy over gay sex; athlete Dutee Chand's appeal against ban for failing the 'gender test'; gay rights organisations demonstrating ahead of a supreme court ruling to decriminalise homosexuality; the matrilineal structure of Khasi community in Meghalaya; the exploitative structure of global hair trade business; the questions over the effectiveness of safety apps in stopping the sexual assault against women; introduction of 'menstrual leave' for female employees by Indian firms; Indian chess champion Soumya Swaminathan quitting the competition in Iran over the rule which required her to wear headscarf etc. were news stories with a neutral tone.

Law

In news sub category related to law, 26.2% news stories presented a favourable image of India; 38.5% were unfavourable and 35.4% were neutral in their tone. The law to ban triple talaq or instant divorce; ban over bike stunts in Tamil Nadu; the legal victory of rickshaw pullers in Delhi; convictions in Bhopal gas tragedy case; court asking Vedanta company to stop its activities in the Niyamgiri hills considered to be sacred by the Dongria-Kondh tribe; the reopening of Bhopal Gas tragedy case to deliver justice to the victims; court asking police to release Irom Sharmila; striking down of internet censorship law; the execution of Yakub Menon, accused in the 1993 Mumbai blasts; awarding of legal rights to river Ganga and Yamuna just like human beings; five year sentence to Salman Khan for killing antelopes; Vijay Mallya asked by the court to pay the due salaries to the crew members of his superyacht etc. were some of the favourable news stories.

Court denying late abortion to fourteen year old girl raped by doctor in Gujarat; no legal status to the displaced citizens affected by Maoist insurgency in Naxal affected districts; the violation of labour laws and the exploitation of Indian workers working in Qatar for World Cup 2022; Sportswear brand Puma breaking laws in India to spray-paint and deface 17th century old heritage Indian buildings to promote their advertisements and shoe commercials; Russian tennis player Maria Sharapova facing investigation for cheating

Indian real estate customers; retired judge accused in corruption case presented an unfavourable image of India.

High court awarding five years of jail sentence and the actor instead of serving his fiveyear prison sentence in the blackbuck antelope poaching case was busy making and promoting his movies. This incident gave a clear impression that laws existed only for the poor. For the high and mighty, Indian laws could be moulded as per their whims and fancies. These news stories presented an unfavourable image of India. People like Nirav Modi and Vijay Mallya who evaded the legal process in this time period further strengthen this opinion.

The pending verdict over Bhopal gas disaster; inheritance of property worth £2bn to Maharajah's daughters after the court's ruling in Punjab; the commutation of death sentence to the people involved in killing of Rajiv Gandhi; the final appeal for mercy by two women who were accused of murdering five children; the legal battle between Indian conservation group and Adani industries; the legal battle over royal house of Mysore; grandchildren of princess Gayatri Devi of Jaipur winning the legal battle of inheritance; supreme court asking Crematorium near Taj Mahal to be relocated; India set to review the ruling on gay sex; Trump Towers project in Pune under legal investigation were some of the news stories with a neutral tone.

<u>Urban Issues</u>

News stories related to urban issues were found to be 45.0% favourable; 20.0% unfavourable and 35.0% neutral in tone. Mumbai's new airport terminal; smart city project taking shape in India; walking culture re-gaining foothold in Bangalore; the construction of private cities in India such as the Lavasa project near Mumbai which was India's first entirely private city; housing revolution in Ahmedabad led by women to make it slum free; volunteers cleaning the beaches of Mumbai and getting rid of mountains of waste; Mumbai changing the names of railway stations from British to Indian; modern creche for toddlers to provide day care whose mothers are working at construction sites; declaration of no selfie zones in Goa and Mumbai after few deaths caused due to it were some of the news stories depicting a favourable image of India.

Unfavourable stories were found on the subjects such as the frequent traffic jams in Delhi; Ajmer waiting for its makeover as smart city; people in Mumbai living in old dangerous buildings which could collapse anytime; the housing blocks breeding TB in Mumbai; the chaotic transport system of Kolkata etc. These news stories depicted that although the Indian government was talking about smart cities but the Indian cities were struggling with basic issues of drainage, pollution, traffic jams, slums, poor living conditions, infrastructural problems, wealth and income inequality etc. The neutral stories were on subjects such as Singapore based companies building new capital city in Andhra Pradesh; the smart cities project and fear of rising social apartheid; need to create better lifestyle for rural Indians who migrate to cities in search of jobs; new kind of jobs being created in Mumbai to serve the everyday needs of a new class of affluent urban Indians; Mumbai's Rhythm House store closing down due to decline in sales due to rise in online shopping etc.

	NYT			TG
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Banking	10	6.7	3	2.7
Business	67	46.9	66	60.0
Domestic Economy	61	42.7	32	29.1
Poverty	5	3.5	9	8.2
Total	143	100	110	100

4.3 Economic Image of India

Table 4.15: Comparison between NYT and TG. Total number of Economic news storiespublished between 2009-19.

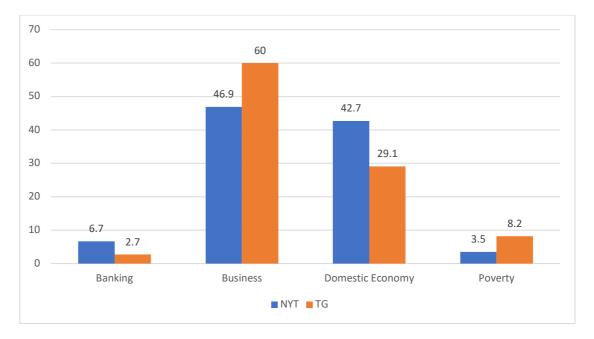


Fig. 4.15: Comparison between NYT and TG. Total number of Economic news stories published between 2009-19.

Between 2009-19, among the economic news, NYT gave highest coverage to Business news (46.9%) followed by news related to the Domestic Economy (42.7%) and Banking (6.7%). Least coverage was given to poverty (3.5%). In the same time period, TG gave highest coverage to Business news (60.0%) followed by Domestic Economy (29.1%) and Poverty (8.2%). Least coverage was given to news related to Banking (2.7%). News related to Banking was covered more in NYT (6.7%) compared with TG (2.7%). Business news was more in TG (60.0%) than in NYT (46.9%). NYT gave more coverage to Domestic Economy (42.7%) compared to TG (29.1%). Coverage of Poverty was more vivid in TG (8.2%) than in NYT (3.5%).

	UPA 2		NI	DA 1
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Banking	7	6.9	3	7.1
Business	45	44.6	22	52.4
Domestic Economy	44	43.6	17	40.5
Poverty	5	5.0	0	0
TOTAL	101	100.0	42	100.0

Table 4.16: Comparison of Economic news stories published in New York Times duringUPA2 and NDA1.

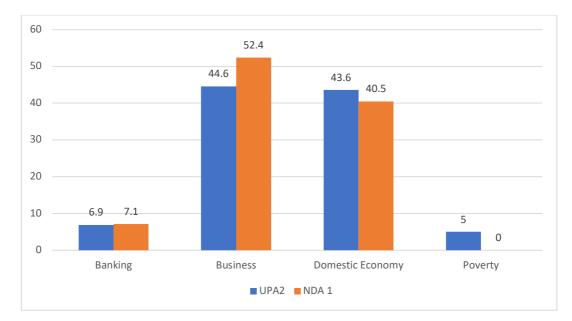


Fig. 4.16: Comparison of Economic news stories published in New York Times during UPA2 (2009-14) and NDA1(2014-19)

Of all the economic news stories published in NYT during UPA2 the highest coverage was given to news related to business (44.6%) followed by domestic economy (43.6%) and banking (6.9%). Least coverage was given to poverty (5.0%). During NDA1 the same news website gave highest coverage to business (52.4%) followed by domestic economy (40.5%) and banking (7.1%). No news stories were found on poverty during this time period. Banking related news was found more during NDA1 (7.1%) than UPA2 (6.9%). Business news was found more during NDA1 (52.4%) than UPA2 (44.6%). News related to domestic economy was found more during UPA2 (43.6%) than NDA1 (40.5%). Poverty related news was found more during UPA2 (5.0%) than NDA1 when it was not found at all.

	U	UPA2 NI		DA1	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Banking	0	0	3	5.4	
Business	38	70.4	28	50.0	
Domestic Economy	12	22.2	20	35.7	
Poverty	4	7.4	5	8.9	
TOTAL	54	100.0	56	100.0	

Table 4.17: Comparison of Economic news stories published in The Guardian duringUPA2 and NDA1.

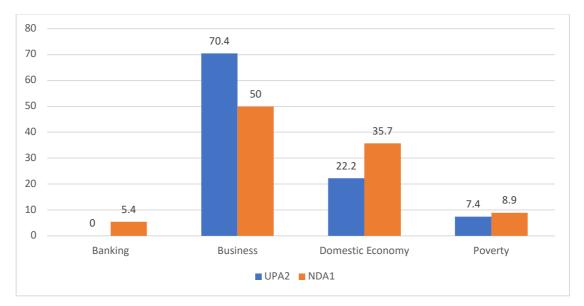


Fig.4.17: Comparison of Economic news stories published in The Guardian during UPA2 and NDA1.

If we look at the stories published in The Guardian, we find that during UPA2 the highest coverage was given to stories related to Business (70.4%) followed by Domestic Economy (22.2%) and Poverty (7.4%). Banking was not given any coverage during this period. During NDA1, highest coverage was given to Business (50.0%) followed by Domestic Economy (35.7%) and Poverty (8.9%). Least coverage was given to Banking (5.4%). Within Banking sub category during NDA1 (5.4%) the coverage was more compared to UPA2 when it was nil. In Business sub-category coverage was more during UPA2 (70.4%) compared to NDA1 (50.0%). In Domestic Economy sub-category coverage was more during NDA1 (35.7%) compared to UPA2 (22.2%). In Poverty sub-category the coverage was more during NDA1 (8.9%) compared to UPA2 (7.4%).

	Ν	IYT	TG	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Banking	7	6.9	0	0
Business	45	44.6	38	70.4
Domestic Economy	44	43.6	12	22.2
Poverty	5	5.0	4	7.4
TOTAL	101	100.0	54	100.0

Table 4.18: Comparison of Economic news stories published in NYT & TG during UPA2.

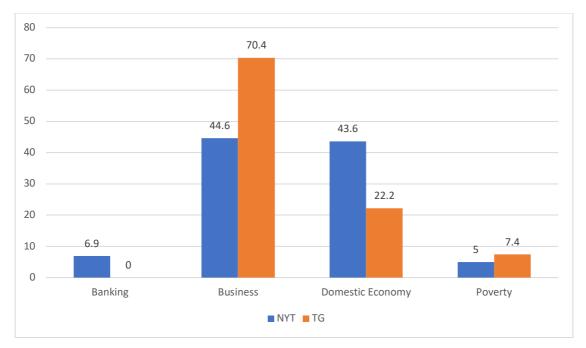
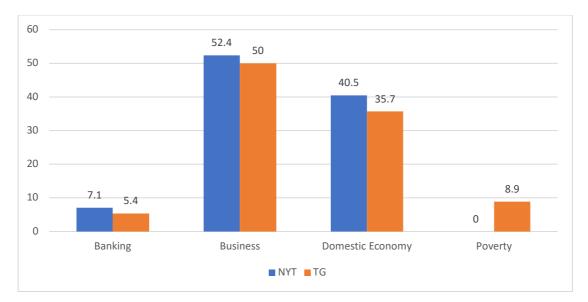


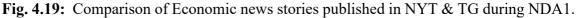
Fig.4.18: Comparison of Economic news stories published in NYT & TG during UPA2.

During UPA2 time period, NYT gave highest coverage to Business related news stories (44.6%) followed by Domestic Economy (43.6%) and Banking (6.9%). Least coverage was given to Poverty (5.0%). While in the same time period, TG gave highest coverage to Business news (70.4%) followed by Economy (22.2%) and Poverty (7.4%). Banking was not given any coverage. In Banking sub category, coverage given by NYT (6.9%) was more compared to TG which gave nil. In Business sub category the coverage given by TG (70.4%) was more compared to NYT (44.6%). In Domestic Economy sub category, the coverage given by NYT (43.6%) was more compared to TG (22.2%). In Poverty sub category the coverage given by TG (7.4%) was more than NYT (5.0%).

	Ν	WYT	TG		
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Banking	3	7.1	3	5.4	
Business	22	52.4	28	50.0	
Domestic Economy	17	40.5	20	35.7	
Poverty	0	0	5	8.9	
TOTAL	42	100.0	56	100.0	

Table 4.19: Comparison of Economic news stories published in NYT & TG during NDA1





During NDA1 time period, NYT gave highest coverage to Business news (52.4%) followed by Domestic Economy (40.5%) and Banking (7.1%). News related to Poverty was not found in this time period. On the other hand, TG gave highest coverage to Business news (50.0%) followed by Economy (35.7%) and Poverty (8.9%). News related to banking was given the least coverage (5.4%) by TG. Coverage of Banking news was found to be more in NYT (7.1%) than in TG (5.4%). Business news was given greater coverage by NYT (52.4%) in comparison to TG (50.0%). Domestic Economy news was given more coverage in NYT (40.5%) than in TG (35.7%). Poverty related news was covered more in TG (8.9%) in comparison to NYT where no such coverage was found.

	Favourable		Unfavourable		Neutral	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Banking	3	30.0	4	40.0	3	30.0
Business	23	33.8	13	19.1	32	47.1
Domestic Economy	23	38.3	18	30.0	19	31.7
Poverty	0	0	4	80.0	1	20.0
TOTAL	49	34.3	39	27.3	55	38.5

Table 4.20 Tone of the stories in NYT (sub-category wise)

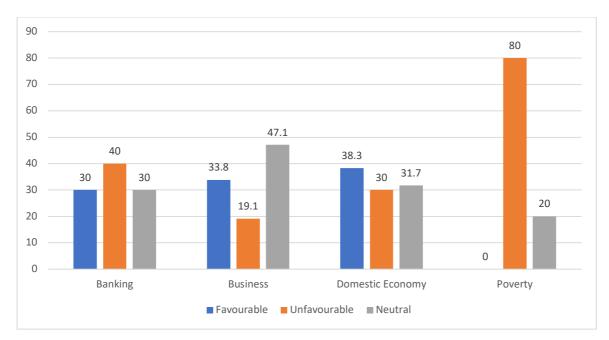


Fig. 4.20 Tone of the stories in NYT (sub-category wise)

Banking

In Banking sub category, 30% stories were found to have a favourable tone; 40% stories were unfavourable and almost 30% news stories were neutral. Favourable stories were on the subjects how banking services were being taken to rural India; connecting millions of poor people through Jan Dhan Yojana; foreign banks interested in investing in Indian market; bank collectors helping the rural poor save their money with help of a bank account.

Most of the favourable news stories related to banking were about how the underprivileged people were being provided the basic banking facilities. Under the Pradhan Mantri Jan-Dhan Yojana (PMJDY) scheme, world's largest financial inclusion programme, 472 million accounts were opened until October 2022. This was very crucial for government's mission of promoting financial inclusion as well as for ensuring transparency in social security programmes through Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT) scheme (Jayaswal, 2022). It helped in financial empowerment of women as over 55.5% PMJDY of these newly opened accounts belonged to this group.

The unfavourable stories related to banking in India were related to businessmen like Vijay Mallya, Nirav Modi, Mehul Choksi who had taken large amount of loans from banks and did not repay back it on time. In fact they fled out of the country to escape investigation thus putting the banks in a huge crisis. Many microfinance companies also faced similar

scandals for example: Vikram Akula, the executive chairman of SKS Microfinance had quit his job for this very reason. SKS microfinance becoming first microfinance company to sell stock to the public; RBI governor Raghuram Rajan choosing a balanced path in managing the interest rates and high inflation rate etc. were some of the neutral stories which were found.

Business

In business sub category, 34.3% news stories were favourable; 19.4% were unfavourable and 46.3% were neutral in tone. Ford company planning to invest \$1 billion in Gujarat to increase its plant capacity in India; British reaching a deal package with India, Starbucks, the American coffee chain brand, exploring the possibility of opening outlets in the country; the successful acquisition of Jaguar Land Rover by Tata Motors for \$2.3 billion; the new tech start-ups in India being financially supported by big investors; Apple planning to open its retail stores in India; Indian start-ups making a place for themselves; Amazon recruiting Indian merchants to lower the prices of products etc. gave an impression that India was a bright spot for the global investors.

The unfavourable stories were on the subjects such as the shifting away of call centre jobs from India to Phillipines; German energy company, Enercon, facing problems in India; investigation over tax evasion on Kraft Foods in its \$19 billion takeover of Cadbury; debt-ridden Indian carrier Kingfisher Airlines cutting down the number of flights due to labour unrest over unpaid wages; Posco, the Korean steel maker company dropping its plan to invest \$5.3 Billion in Karnataka to set up its plant due to local opposition and difficulty in land acquisition; Nokia company facing tax dispute in India before its deal with Microsoft; global investors pulling their money from emerging markets; India's private sector unhappy with the existing labour laws etc.

Reports of widespread spying in the Indian Corporate world (where moles were being planted in other companies, usually as receptionists, photo-copiers and other low-end jobs); anti-trust inquiries over Google in various countries including India; Facebook losing its case for the launch of Free Basics Program in India; Priyanka Chopra making investments in technology based start-ups; new selling rules for Amazon and its impact on end users etc. were some of the news stories found with a neutral tone.

Domestic Economy

In Domestic Economy sub category, 38.3% news stories were favourable, 30% unfavourable and 31.7% were neutral in tone. India's increasing focus on sectors like education and health with greater budget allocations in these areas; growth forecasts by global rating agencies and rapid growth predictions for the Indian economy; foreign investors showing their interest in India; government looking to curb debt; innovations taking place in economy; rising number of Billionaires in India; high-value products like industrial machinery, automobiles and car parts helping India to increase its exports in world market; renowned economist Raghuram G. Rajan being invited by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to lead the Indian economy by joining as Governor of RBI; India easing the norms to attract more of foreign investments under PM Modi etc. The rapid growth seen in Indian economy was the common theme which could identified in all the news stories.

The New York Times

Do I Hear Eight Percent? How About Seven? By Vikus Bajaj Pebruary 8, 2012 12:11 am

A year ago this month, Indian officials offered a pleasant-sounding forecast of 9 percent growth for the country's economy in the coming fiscal year. On Tuesday, with less than two months to go in the fiscal year that ends in March, the government offered another, lower estimate: 6.9 percent.

Economic forecasting is always an uncertain business. And it's particularly unreliable when the estimates come from public officials who have an incentive to see the world through rose-colored lenses. The 9 percent estimate, for instance, came in the budget presented by Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee, who had hoped that a fast-growing economy would help him trim the fiscal deficit by increasing tax revenue. (The more recent number comes from the Central Statistical Office.) <text><section-header><section-header><section-header><section-header><section-header>

Source: nytimes.com, 8th Feb. 2012 & 11th Feb. 2015

News stories such as the slow pace of reforms in Indian railways causing hindrance in India's development; US asking Germany to stop Indian payments to Iran for oil; slow growth in economy and the weakening of rupee; global rating agency S.&P giving negative rating to India; Indian economy facing chronic problems such as antiquated infrastructure, a sclerotic job market, exorbitant real estate costs and bloated state-owned enterprises; food and fuel prices pushing Indian inflation higher; lack of jobs and educational opportunities in rural parts of India despite its rising economy; India's growth data facing trust issues etc. presented an unfavourable image of India. India's plans to

raise spending and cut Taxes; the country exploring economic opportunities in Iran; India adjusting its interest rates to counter inflation; Increasing global demand helping Indian economy to recover etc. were the subjects of some of the news stories which had a neutral tone.

Poverty

Among all the news related to poverty sub category, 80% had an unfavourable tone and 20% were found to be neutral. The need for food security bill which will cover 75 percent of the rural population and 50 percent of the urban population who will be given five kilograms of grains each; huge number of maternal and infant mortality rates in Mumbai's Dharavi slum area despite the efforts made by community volunteers and doctors; widespread corruption and faulty government administration responsible for failure of anti-poverty programmes in India etc. were some of the unfavourable news stories which presented a very dismal picture of India.

	Favourable		Unfavourable		Neutral	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Banking	3	100.0	0	0	0	0
Business	13	19.7	6	9.1	47	71.2
Domestic Economy	9	28.1	14	43.8	9	28.1
Poverty	1	11.0	8	89.0	0	0
TOTAL	26	23.6	28	25.5	56	50.9

Table 4.21: Tone of the Economic news stories in The Guardian (sub category wise)

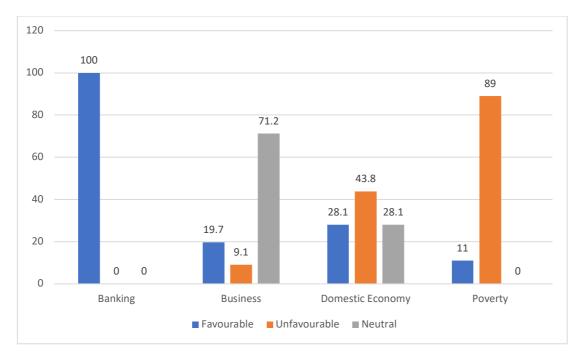


Fig. 4.21: Tone of the Economic news stories in The Guardian (sub category wise)

Banking

In Banking sub category, all the news stories were favourable in tone. RBI wanting payment banks to target India's migrant labourers, low-income households and small businesses; the launching of unique and innovative service of payments via Twitter by ICICI Bank which allows customers to transfer money using Twitter using "icicibankpay"; economically marginalised people in poorer countries getting benefitted from the micro insurance etc. were some of the news stories related with banking.

Business

In Business sub category, in TG 19.7% news stories were favourable; 9.1% unfavourable and 71.2% were found to be neutral in tone. News stories such as General Motors planning to produce "affordable" electric cars in India; TATA owned Jaguar Land Rover witnessing a profit of £1bn with rise of sales in China and India; India allowing supermarkets to open their stores; Virgin airlines launching new route to Mumbai and attempting to add more Indian destinations; Starbucks, the world's largest coffee-shop chain, opening its first branch in India at Mumbai and the branches witnessing long queues due to high demands etc. had a positive tone. Indian real estate developer buying Canadian high commission building for £306m; Indians ruling the technology world of Silicon Valley; the fight for net neutrality led by ordinary people for a free internet; Indian Railways spending \$2.6bn to buy 1000 new trains; Swedish company Ikea opening its first India based store at Hyderabad; Hamleys, the world's oldest toy shop founded in 1760 and based in London bought by Reliance Industries in £70 million; new CSR law in India making it mandatory for corporates to spend 2% of their net profit on social development etc. were also some of the news stories that presented a favourable image of India as a country filled with immense business opportunities.

Retail industry

Zoe Wood *@zoewoodguardian Thu 9 May 2019 19.24 BST f * May

• This article is more than **3 years old**

Hamleys sold to India's richest man in £70m deal

World's oldest toy retailer bought by the Mukesh Ambani-owned Reliance Industries



Successive owners have tried to turn Hamleys, whose flagship store is on Regent Street, in London, into a global brand, with limited success. Photograph: Luke Macgregor/Reuters

Source: theguardian.com, 9th May 2019

On the other hand, news stories such as, Price Waterhouse Coopers (PWC) facing scrutiny over its audit of Satyam (the IT company) whose founder was accused of fabricating cash and other non-existent assets of more than £1bn; cement company Lafarge's India-Bangladesh cement project backed by World Bank and Asian Development Bank seeing no progress over the questions of its impact on indigenous community; British banking company Santander planning to close all of its Indian call

centres and shift them back to Britain to improve customer service; Kingfisher Airlines owned by Vijay Mallya witnessing fall in share prices and loss of £62million; the exploitation of workers engaged in cashew trade who had to face low wages and poor working conditions in Africa and India etc. presented an unfavourable business image of India.

News stories such as INM reducing its stakes in Jagran Prakashan; decline in the profits of Vedanta, Essar planning to float its shares in Indian market; India warning smartphone company BlackBerry to satisfy its security related concerns; Vedanta's bauxite mining project in Orissa stalled by government after the protest by members of Dongria-Kondh community; the launching of Sharia law share index by Bombay Stock Exchange(BSE); BlackBerry facing the risk of ban in India; mining company Vedanta Resources making acquisition of Cairn India for \$8.5billion; Vodafone asked to pay £12billion as Indian mobile phone bill; Novartis fighting the patent case on generic drugs; Kingfisher Airlines going through bad phase; Swedish company Ikea's entry in India complicated over the issue of sale of food products in its stores etc. had a neutral tone.

Ford India apologising for advertisements which were demeaning to women; India blocking the trade deal in WTO; new safety regulations by Uber to get the ban lifted on it in Delhi; Tata changing the name of its new car Zica after the spread of Zika virus; Facebook losing the right to offer free mobile internet service after the country's telecoms regulator ruled in favour of net neutrality; questions over effective implementation of new law on CSR; the tussle between Ratan Tata and Cyrus Mistry over the succession; Amazon being asked by External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj to remove doormats depicting the Indian flag from its Canadian store etc. too had a neutral tone.

Domestic Economy

In this sub category 28.1% stories were favourable in tone, 43.8% unfavourable and 28.1% neutral in tone. Favourable news stories were on number of Indian billionaires doubling despite of recession; India's impressive 8.8% growth rate; social enterprise company called Sabras helping the small scale salt producers of Rann of Kutch to increase their profits; India proving to be jewel in the crown for investors in 2014; introduction of Goods and Services Tax(GST) by government at national level; Indo- Myanmar highway project taking shape; annual budget with special emphasis on the agriculture sector and

infrastructure projects; government allowing 100% foreign ownership in defence and civil aviation sectors; demonetization induced currency note ban leading to 'dramatic fall' in sex trafficking etc.

Marginalised families getting trapped in spiral of microfinance debt; criminal world thriving on new economic boom taking place in India; Small traders planning to hold demonstrations over Indian government's decision to give western supermarket companies access to the Indian market; the worse working conditions of cashew nut workers due to declining global profits; construction projects getting stalled in midway due to weak rupee; economic slowdown and rising living costs in India; farmers in fear of losing their land in the proposed Delhi Mumbai Corridor (the world's largest infrastructure project) etc. were some of the unfavourable news stories.

Many news stories were found on the hardships faced by ordinary citizens due to demonetization policy of Modi government. Banning the country's most widely used notes hit the women from marginalised communities the most. They had to suffer a lot due to it as most of them didn't have bank accounts or access to financial services and their savings until now became useless. Similarly, the demonetisation led to a tough time for small businesses and firms with cash running out every now and then and there was a great challenge to make all salary payments digital; problems faced by fish markets in Goa due to cash crisis and as a testing bed for India's drive to boost cashless digital payments; the 50-day deadline given to citizens to declare or deposit 500- and 1,000-rupee old banknotes amidst the severe cash crisis; and the disruptions caused in the life of ordinary people due to demonetization policy;World Bank downgrading India's growth forecast after the demonetisation etc. depicted an unfavourable image of India.

Demonetization



Source: theguardian.com, 22nd Dec. 2016 & 30th Aug. 2018

Rise in gold prices as India buys IMF reserves; annual budget presented by Indian government with increase in spending on welfare schemes; growing momentum in India to link finance policy and sustainability; India committed to target growing inflation; tomato shortage in the country due to drought and curry crisis caused due to it hurting farmers and forcing consumers to use substitutes for tomato-based dishes; prime minister's framing of demonetisation as a strike against corrupt elites; Tata Steel completing the sale of £100 million steel business to Liberty House thus safeguarding 1700 jobs and creating 300 more in UK etc. were news stories found with a neutral tone.

Poverty

In Poverty sub category, 11.0% news stories had a favourable tone and 89.0% had unfavourable tone. A Rajasthan-based NGO helping Dalit people, to escape a life of abuse and class prejudice and lead a better life was the theme of the favourable news story related to poverty. The death of father of Slumdog Millionaire star; an exhibition depicting the life and problems of large number of homeless people who continue to exist in Mumbai; slum residents in Delhi fearing housing minister's plan for satellite mapping as it could lead to expulsions and forced evictions for them; study which claimed that one in every six urban Indian lived in slum housing which was cramped, poorly ventilated, unclean and "unfit for human habitation"; death of children due to malnutrition after years of drought and the withdrawal of state nutrition schemes in Maharashtra; men and women scraping a living scouring the dust and even the drains for specks of gold at Zaveri bazaar in Mumbai which was one of India's largest bullion markets etc. were some of the news stories which presented an unfavourable image of India.



Source: theguardian.com, 9th Jan. 2017 & 19th April 2018

	N	NYT		TG
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Fine Arts	26	19.4	7	4.1
Cinema	14	10.4	67	39.0
Food	7	5.2	2	1.2
Fashion	12	9.0	9	5.2
Literature	6	4.5	8	4.7
Performing Arts	6	4.5	9	5.2
Sports	48	35.8	58	33.7
Tourism	9	6.7	5	2.9
Spirituality	6	4.5	7	4.1
TOTAL	134	100.0	172	100.0

4.4 Cultural Image of India

Table 4.22: Comparison between The New York Times and The Guardian. Total numberof Cultural news stories published between 2009-19.

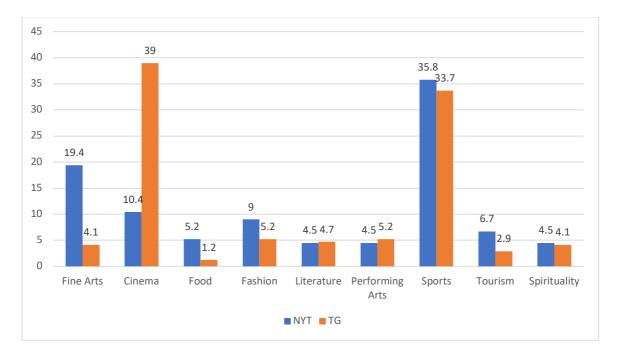
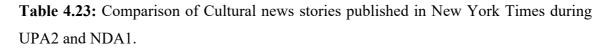
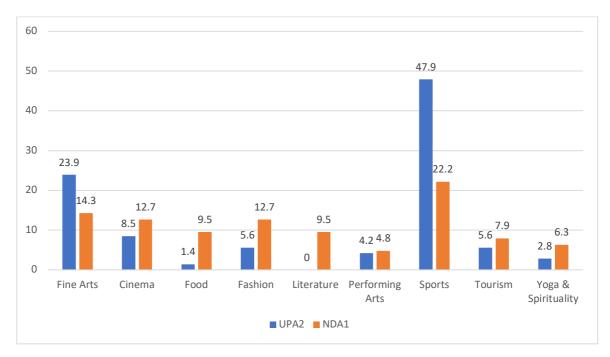


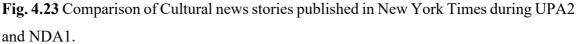
Fig.4.22: Comparison between The New York Times and The Guardian. Total number of Cultural news stories published between 2009-19.

Among all the Cultural news stories published between 2009-19, we find that NYT gave highest amount of coverage to Sports (35.8%) followed by Fine Arts (19.4%) and Cinema (10.4%). In the same time period, TG gave highest coverage to Cinema (39.0%) followed by Sports (33.7%), Fashion and Performing Arts (5.2% each). Minimum coverage in TG was given to news stories related to Food (1.2%). Within Fine Arts sub category, coverage given by NYT (19.4%) was more than that of TG (4.1%). Cinema related news was covered more in TG (39.0%) than in NYT (10.4%). In Food sub category, the coverage given by NYT (5.2%) was more than TG (1.2%). Fashion related news was covered more by NYT (5.2%) was more than TG (1.2%). Fashion related news was covered more by NYT (9.0%) than in TG (5.2%). In Literature sub category, the coverage given by TG (5.2%) was more than NYT (4.5%). In Sports sub category, the coverage given by TG (5.2%) was more than TG (33.7%). In Sports sub category, the coverage given by NYT (35.8%) was more than TG (2.9%). Yoga and spirituality related coverage was slightly more in NYT (4.5%) than in TG (4.1%).

	UPA2		NDA1	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Fine Arts	17	23.9	9	14.3
Cinema	6	8.5	8	12.7
Food	1	1.4	6	9.5
Fashion	4	5.6	8	12.7
Literature	0	0	6	9.5
Performing Arts	3	4.2	3	4.8
Sports	34	47.9	14	22.2
Tourism	4	5.6	5	7.9
Yoga & Spirituality	2	2.8	4	6.3
TOTAL	71	100.0	63	100.0







In NYT, during UPA 2 the highest amount of coverage was given to news stories related to Sports (47.9%) followed by Fine Arts (23.9%) and Cinema (8.5%). Nil coverage was given to Literature. During NDA1, the highest amount of coverage was given to Sports

(22.2%) followed by Fine Arts (14.3%) and Cinema & Fashion (12.7% each). Least coverage was given to Yoga & Spirituality (6.3%). In Fine Arts sub category, more coverage was given during UPA2 (23.9%) as compared to NDA1 (14.3%). In Cinema sub category, more coverage was given during NDA1 (12.7%) compared to UPA2 (8.5%). Food and cuisines related news was covered more during NDA1 (9.5%) compared to UPA2 (1.4%). In Fashion sub category, more coverage was given during NDA1 (12.7%) as compared to UPA2 (5.6%). In Literature sub category, more coverage was given during NDA1 (9.5%) as compared to UPA2 when it was nil. In Performing Arts sub category slightly more coverage was given during NDA1 (4.8%) compared to UPA2 (4.2%). In Sports sub category, more coverage was given during UPA2 (47.9%) compared to NDA1 (22.2%). In Tourism sub category, more coverage was given during NDA1 (7.9%) when compared to UPA2 (5.6%). In Yoga & Spirituality more coverage was given during NDA1 (6.3%) compared to UPA2 (2.8%).

	UPA2		NDA1	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Fine Arts	2	2.7	5	5.1
Cinema	22	29.7	45	45.9
Cuisines	0	0	2	2.0
Fashion	3	4.1	6	6.1
Literature	4	5.4	4	4.1
Performing Arts	2	2.7	7	7.1
Sports	39	52.7	19	19.4
Tourism	1	1.4	4	4.1
Yoga & Spirituality	1	1.4	6	6.1
TOTAL	74	100.0	98	100.0

Table 4.24: Comparison of Cultural news stories published in The Guardian during UPA2and NDA1.

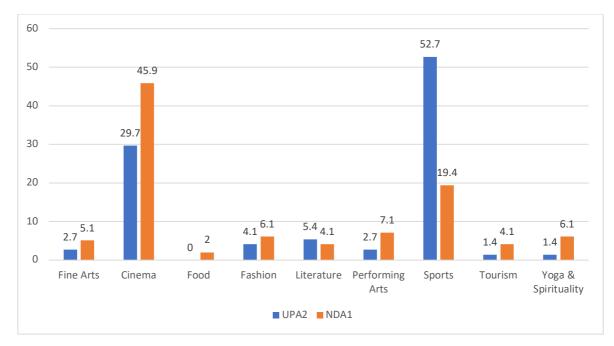


Fig.4.24: Comparison of Cultural news stories published in The Guardian during UPA2 and NDA1.

In The Guardian, during UPA2 time period the highest coverage was given to Sports (52.7%) followed by Cinema (29.7%) and Literature (5.4%). No coverage was given to cuisines or culinary news. During NDA1 time period, the highest coverage was given to Cinema (45.9%) followed by Sports (19.4%) and Performing Arts (7.1%). In Fine Arts sub category, the coverage was more during NDA1 (5.1%) compared to UPA2 (2.7%). In Cinema sub category, the coverage was more during NDA1 (45.9%) compared to UPA2 (29.7%). In Cuisines sub category, coverage was found to be more during NDA1 (2.0%) compared to UPA2 when it was nil.

In Fashion sub category coverage was more during NDA1 (6.1%) compared to UPA2 (4.1%). In Literature sub category, coverage was more during UPA2 (5.4%) compared to NDA1 (4.1%). In Performing Arts sub category, the coverage was more during NDA1 (7.1%) when compared to UPA2 (2.7%). In Sports sub category, the coverage was much more in UPA2 (52.7%) compared to NDA1 (19.4%). In Tourism sub category, the coverage was more during NDA1 (4.1%) compared to UPA2 (1.4%). In Yoga & spirituality sub category, coverage was found to be more during NDA1 (6.1%) compared to UPA2 (1.4%).

	NYT		TG	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Fine Arts	17	23.9	2	2.7
Cinema	6	8.5	22	29.7
Food	1	1.4	0	0
Fashion	4	5.6	3	4.1
Literature	0	0	4	5.4
Performing Arts	3	4.2	2	2.7
Sports	34	47.9	39	52.7
Tourism	4	5.6	1	1.4
Spirituality	2	2.8	1	1.4
TOTAL	71	100	74	100

Table 4.25: Comparison of Cultural news stories published between The New York Times& The Guardian during UPA2.

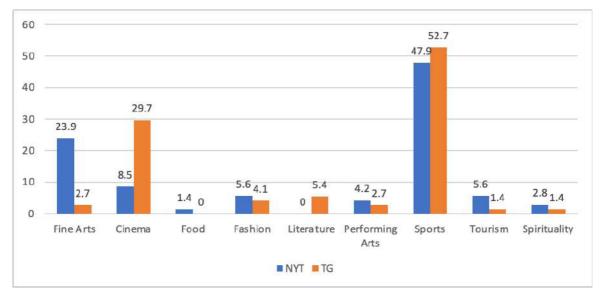


Fig.4.25: Comparison of Cultural news stories published between The New York Times & The Guardian during UPA2.

During UPA2 time period, NYT gave highest coverage to Sports (47.9%). It was followed by news related to Fine Arts (23.9%) and Cinema (8.5%). While in the same time period TG gave highest coverage to news related to Sports (52.7%) followed by Cinema (29.7%) and Literature (5.4%). In Fine Arts sub category, coverage given by NYT (23.9%) was found to be much more that of The Guardian (2.7%). In Cinema sub category, coverage

given by TG (29.7%) was much more when compared to NYT (8.5%). In Food sub category, NYT (1.4%) gave more coverage compared to TG where it was nil. In Fashion sub category, coverage given by NYT (5.6%) was more than that of TG (4.1%). Literature related coverage was found to be more in TG (5.4%) than in NYT where it was found to be nil. In Performing Arts sub category coverage by NYT (4.2%) was more than TG (2.7%). In Sports sub category, the coverage by TG (52.7%) was more than NYT (47.9%). In Tourism sub category, the coverage given by NYT (5.6%) was more than TG (1.4%). In Spirituality sub category, the coverage given by NYT (2.8%) was more than TG (1.4%).

	NYT		1	ſG
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Fine Arts	9	14.3	5	5.1
Cinema	8	12.7	45	45.9
Food	6	9.5	2	2.0
Fashion	8	12.7	6	6.1
Literature	6	9.5	4	4.1
Performing Arts	3	4.8	7	7.1
Sports	14	22.2	19	19.4
Tourism	5	7.9	4	4.1
Spirituality	4	6.3	6	6.1
TOTAL	63	100.0	98	100.0

Table 4.26: Comparison of Cultural news stories between The New York Times & TheGuardian during NDA1.

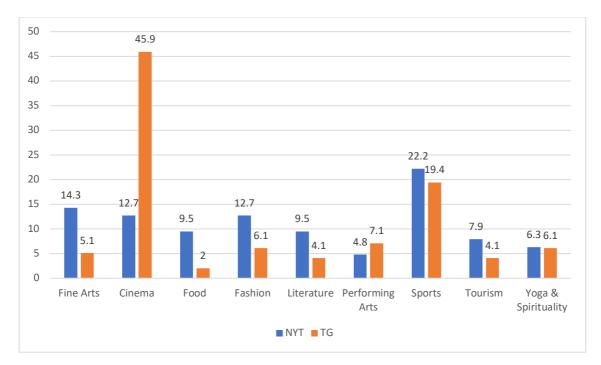


Fig.4.26: Comparison of Cultural news stories between The New York Times & The Guardian during NDA1.

During NDA1 time period, out of all the cultural news stories, NYT gave the highest coverage to news related to Sports (22.2%); this was followed by news related to Fine Arts (14.3%) and Cinema & Fashion (12.7% each). Least coverage was given to news related to Performing Arts (4.8%). In the same time period, TG gave highest coverage to Cinema (45.9%) which was followed by Sports (19.4%) and Performing Arts (7.1%). Least coverage was given to Food related news (2.0%). In Fine Arts subcategory, the coverage given by NYT (14.3%) was more than TG (5.1%).

In Cinema sub category, coverage given by TG (45.9%) was more than NYT (12.7%). Coverage given to Food was more in NYT (9.5%) compared to TG (2.0%). Coverage given to Fashion was more in NYT (12.7%) compared to TG (6.1%). Coverage given to Literature was more in NYT (9.5%) compared to TG (4.1%). Coverage given to Performing Arts was more in TG (7.1%) compared to NYT (4.8%). Coverage given to Sports was more in NYT (22.2%) compared to TG (19.4%). Coverage given to Tourism was almost double (7.9%) in NYT compared to TG (4.1%). The coverage given to Yoga & Spirituality was almost similar in both news portals i.e. NYT (6.3%) and TG (6.1%).

	Favourable		Unfav	Unfavourable		utral
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Fine Arts	22	88.0	1	4.0	2	8.0
Cinema	3	21.4	3	21.4	8	57.1
Food	4	57.1	0	0	3	42.9
Fashion	12	100.0	0	0	0	0
Literature	2	33.3	1	16.7	3	50.0
Performing Arts	6	85.7	0	0	1	14.3
Sports	23	50.0	7	15.2	16	34.7
Tourism	6	66.7	0	0	3	33.3
Yoga & Spirituality	5	62.5	1	12.5	2	25.0
TOTAL	83	61.9	13	9.7	38	28.4

Table 4.27: Tone of Cultural news stories in New York Times between 2009-2019.

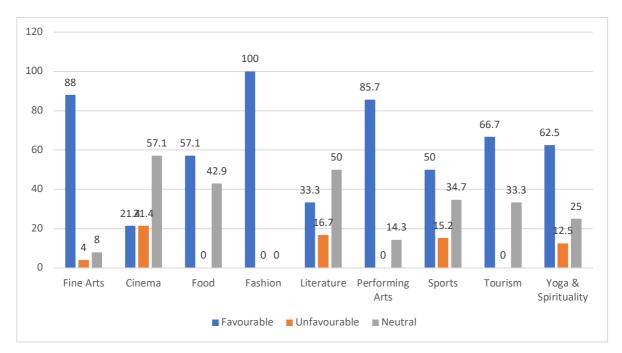


Fig.4.27: Tone of Cultural news stories in New York Times between 2009-2019.

Fine Arts

In fine arts sub category in NYT, 88% news stories were found favourable; 4% unfavourable and 8% were in neutral tone. Growth of global interest in Indian art; India's art exhibitions in China, US, UK and in other nations; India and Britain were deepening

their artistic links; evolution in Indian fine arts etc. were the subjects of favourable news stories. These news stories reflected that there was a growing global interest in Indian fine arts. Whereas, some of the news stories talked about Indian artists, their works and had a neutral tone.

<u>Cinema</u>

In this sub category, 21.4% news stories were favourable; 21.4% unfavourable and 57.1% were found neutral in tone. Global expansion of Indian cinema; role of Indian diaspora in popularizing Indian cinema; biopic on the life of famous Indian mathematician Srinivas Ramanujan etc. were some of the news stories which had a favourable tone.

 11/26/2020
 A Math Biopic, With Dev Patel, Applies a Different Calculus - The New York Times

 Che New York Times
 https://nyti.ms/1phZVrN

A Math Biopic, With Dev Patel, Applies a Different Calculus

By Kathryn Shattuck April 20, 2016

As mathematicians go, Srinivasa Ramanujan isn't exactly a household name. But his genius — the ability to divine formulas seemingly from thin air that, a century later, are informing computer development, economics and the study of black holes — has long captivated academics and artists alike.

For Matthew Brown, the writer-director behind "The Man Who Knew Infinity," opening Friday, April 29, mathematics was merely the canvas for a tale of two beautiful minds: Mr. Ramanujan, a South Indian autodidact who believed that an equation held no meaning unless it expressed a thought of God, and G. H. Hardy, a Cambridge professor and atheist who refused to believe in what he could not prove.

Their collaboration — recreated here by Dev Patel and Jeremy Irons — was "the one romantic incident in my life," Mr. Hardy would later recall.

In 1913, Mr. Ramanujan (pronounced rah-MAH-new-jin), an impoverished shipping clerk with little formal education, wrote to Mr. Hardy, a lecturer at Trinity College, in the hope of having his work published. The nine-page letter, filled with astonishing formulas that, as Mr. Hardy wrote, "seemed scarcely possible to believe," prompted him to wonder if Mr. Ramanujan were a fraud. But after discussions with his colleague J. E. Littlewood, Mr. Hardy declared the young man's brilliance on par with that of the renowned mathematicians Leonhard Euler and Carl Jacobi, and invited Mr. Ramanujan to Cambridge in the hope of seeing proof of his assertions.

Source: nytimes.com, 20th April 2016

Imposition of censorship and government's interference in cinema making; film stars like Salman Khan and Sanjay Dutt remaining out on bail despite the jail sentence just because of their clout etc. presented an unfavourable image. Veteran actor Anupam Kher who was supposed to play Hitler in movie "Dear Friend Hitler" withdrawing his name from the project because of intense criticism; production of Bollywood films on subjects such as infamous murder of Aarushi Talwar, Kashmir etc. had neutral tone.

Food

In this sub category, NYT had 57.1% news stories with a favourable tone and 42.9% with neutral tone. Favourable stories focused on how Indian food and restaurants were opening

their retail outlet chains in cities like London, New York, Mexico City and how these restaurants were providing high quality home like Indian meals. Indian food writers and bloggers writing about the India's culinary traditions; the spread of Indian spices and flavour in other parts of the world were some of the neutral stories.

Fashion

In this sub category, all the news stories published in NYT were favourable in tone. Indian fashion brands and designers gaining popularity across the world specially in the western countries; growing popularity of Mysore Silk sarees; the long history of Indian jewellery; famous textile varieties such as Chintz returning in use again etc. were some of such news stories.

 11/28/2020
 Silk Ties a Royal Past to a Vibrant Sari Trade in Mysore, India - The New York Times

 Che Xew York Eimes
 https://nyti.ms/2nC8EYC

Silk Ties a Royal Past to a Vibrant Sari Trade in Mysore, India

By Mike Ives March 30, 2017

MYSORE, India — In and around the pale yellow buildings of Mysore's central market, the smells of jasmine, spices and incense mingle with the bright colors of dyes, candies, fruits and fabrics. The sensory overload can leave even seasoned travelers awe-struck, and torn about what to take home as a souvenir.

Along with sandalwood oil and Mysore pak — a yellow dessert made from ghee, sugar and chickpea flour — a popular choice is a silk version of the sari, the traditional Indian garment commonly made from cotton.

The countryside around Mysore, a city of about 900,000 in the south-central state of Karnataka, was once a hub for silk farming. And though Chinese silk now dominates the local supply chain, companies and artisans from the greater Mysore area still weave saris from raw silk, just as they did more than a century ago.



The entrance to the Devaraja Market in Mysore. The city has long been a center of silk making operations in India. Samyukta Lakshmi for The New York Times

Source: nytimes.com, 30th March 2017

Literature

In the Literature sub category in NYT, 33.3% news stories were favourable; 16.7% were unfavourable and 50% were neutral in tone. Important works of Indian classical literature getting published in a series; increase in the number of literary festivals in India were some

news stories which had a favourable tone. Ban on books and imposition of censorship on authors etc. presented an unfavourable image of India.

Performing Arts

In this sub category, 85.7% news stories were favourable and 14.3% neutral in their tone. Favourable news stories were related to the beauty, richness and diversity of Indian dance, drama, folk traditions, music etc. The elegance of Indian dance forms (Kathak, Bharatnatyam, Odissi etc.) and their performance at several iconic places abroad; popularity of Ramayana in many East Asian countries and its performance by various theatre troupes and music groups across the world etc. were some of the news stories which presented a positive image of India as a land with rich culture.

<u>Sports</u>

In this sub category, 50% news stories were favourable; 15.2% were unfavourable and 34.7% were neutral in tone. India's stellar performance at international events; sporting culture picking up in India; Formula One Grand Prix gaining popularity in the country; the age-old sport Kabaddi attracting wide audience in its new avatar which was very much like Indian Premiere League (IPL) etc. were the themes of favourable news stories related to sports in India. The unfavourable stories included India's poor performance at top international events such as Olympics, tennis opens etc.

<u>Tourism</u>

In this sub category, in NYT 66.7% stories were favourable and 33.3% neutral in tone. Projection of India as a prospective tourism destination; the beauty of Himalayas; beaches of Goa and Kerala; life in the urban cities like Mumbai and Bangalore etc. were the themes of some of the news stories.

Yoga & Spirituality

In the sub category of Yoga and spirituality, NYT had 62.5% favourable, 12.5% unfavourable and 25% neutral news stories. Patanjali led by Yog Guru Baba Ramdev had becoming a phenomenal success in field of yoga and ayurveda; Russian President Putin showing his interest to learn yoga; spiritual gurus like Mata Amritanandmayi, Sri Sri

Ravishankar gaining a global following; India exporting yoga to the world were the themes of these news stories.

 10/20/2020
 It's a Stretch, but Putin Will Add Yoga to His Repertoire - The New York Times

 The New York Times
 https://nyti.ms/11KbZcG

It's a Stretch, but Putin Will Add Yoga to His Repertoire

By Neil MacFarquhar

July 8, 2015

MOSCOW — Maybe somebody told President Vladimir V. Putin that yoga was all about the warrior poses. Or maybe it was just part of his Asian charm offensive.

But whatever the inspiration, Mr. Putin avowed on Wednesday that he was ready to add yoga, the ancient discipline of mindfulness and gentle stretching, to his repertoire of strictly macho sports.

"I have tried many things, but never yoga, but it cannot fail to attract," Mr. Putin told Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India during a meeting in the southern Russian city of Ufa, according to a transcript on the presidential website.

Mr. Putin expressed admiration for yoga after Mr. Modi thanked him for the enthusiasm with which International Yoga Day — which Mr. Modi helped inaugurate on June 21 — was greeted in Russia.

	Favourable		Unfavourable		Neutral	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Fine Arts	6	85.7	0	0	1	14.3
Cinema	19	28.4	15	22.4	33	49.3
Food	0	0	0	0	2	100.0
Fashion	7	77.8	0	0	2	22.2
Literature	3	37.5	2	25.0	3	37.5
Performing Arts	3	33.3	1	11.1	5	55.6
Sports	25	43.1	11	19.0	22	37.9
Tourism	2	40.0	3	60.0	0	0
Yoga & Spirituality	4	57.1	0	0	3	42.9
TOTAL	69	40.1	32	18.6	71	41.3

Source: nytimes.com, 8th June 2015

Table 4.28: Tone of Cultural news stories in The Guardian between 2009-2019.

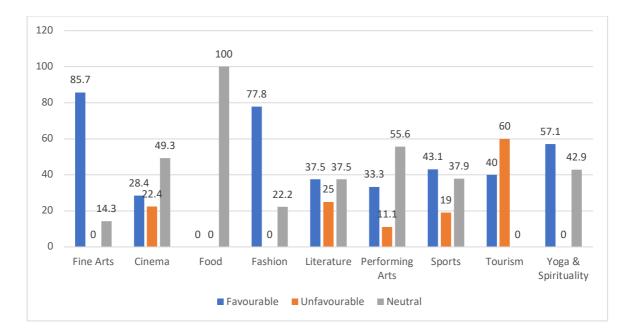


Fig.4.28: Tone of Cultural news stories in The Guardian between 2009-2019.

Fine Arts

In this sub category, TG had 85.7% favourable and 14.3% news stories with a neutral tone. Art galleries, exhibitions, museums displaying works of Indian art and sculpture; a modern art gallery was planned at Delhi; the beauty of Ajanta cave murals; Ohio museum and UK government agreeing to return the Indian artworks and stolen idols which were smuggled out of India into these countries and museums in the past.

<u>Cinema</u>

In this sub category, TG had 28.4% favourable, 22.4% unfavourable and 49.3% neutral news stories. Bollywood movies and actors gaining global recognition; actors like Katrina Kaif, Nora Fatehi etc. who were born and brought up outside India making a place for themselves in the Indian film industry; movies like Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara proving to be quite popular in other countries as well were some of the favourable news stories found.



Actors Hrithik Roshan and Katrina Kaif in the Tomatina scene from Zindagi Na Milegi Dobara.

Source: theguardian.com, 31st July 2011

Huge protests against movie "Padmavat" and not allowing it to be screened in the cinema halls gave an unfavourable image of India. British actor Ben Kingsley wanting to play the character of Mogul emperor in an upcoming Bollywood movie; plans of a Bollywood movie on the life of Adolf Hitler; censor board asking James Bond movie to cut a few scenes; Oscar award winning movie "12 years a slave" passing Indian censor for full nudity were some news stories reported with a neutral tone.

India

Michael Safi and Kevin

Rawlinson Sat 25 Nov 2017 07.00 GMT • This article is more than 5 years old

Hindu activists threaten to torch UK cinemas in Bollywood film row

Indian release of Padmavati, about 14th-century queen, postponed after protests and death threats against cast and director



People walk past a poster for the Bollywood movie Padmavati in Mumbai. Photograph: Divyakant Solanki/EPA

Source: theguardian.com, 25th Nov. 2017

<u>Fashion</u>

In Fashion sub category, 77.8% news stories were found to be favourable in tone and 22.2% were neutral. Emergence of India as a big market for fashion products; Indian weddings creating huge demand in the jewellery market; Indian jewellery exhibitions in UK; the popularity of Modi jacket; western women trying to wear traditional Indian sari etc. were some of the favourable stories.



D Cultural exchange ... Samantha Cameron at the Shri Swaminarayan Mandir Hindu temple in Neasden, north-west London. Photograph: Alastair Grant/PA

Source: theguardian.com, 10th Nov. 2013

Literature

In Literature sub category, 37.5% stories were favourable; 25% unfavourable and 37.5% were neutral in tone. Indian writer Amish Tripathi winning \$1m advance for his upcoming book series; Google celebrating the birthday of famous writer RK Narayan by dedicating a doodle to him; increase in the number of home-grown thrillers etc. were favourable news stories. While, Mumbai University dropping the novel of Rohinton Mistry after huge protests, writer Arundhati Roy facing protests for her comments on Kashmir were some unfavourable news stories.

Performing Arts

In this sub category, 33.3% news stories were favourable; 11.1% unfavourable and 55.6% neutral in tone. The performance of Indian artists abroad; Google celebrating the birthday of tabla legend Ustad Alla Rakha by dedicating a doodle to him; dance festivals like Darbar being organized to showcase Indian classical dance etc. were some of the news stories which had a favourable tone. Unfavourable stories talk about the misrepresentation of India in western music videos and movies. Neutral stories were on subjects like famous singer AR Rahman's response to the fatwa against him, Indian pop video on Sardar Udham Singh etc.

<u>Sports</u>

In Sports sub-category, in TG 43.1% stories were favourable, 19% were unfavourable and 37.9% were neutral in tone. Beginning of IPL matches with much fanfare; the grand farewell given to Sachin Tendulkar; film star John Abraham trying to popularise football in India; how the ancient sport of kabaddi getting a new avatar much on the lines of IPL; Aditi Ashok, a young girl becoming the face of golf in India; various sporting events taking place in the country and the achievements of key sports persons were the themes of the favourable news stories. India not performing very well in the Olympics; corruption in sports bodies; match fixing activities in IPL, ban on some IPL teams for engaging in corrupt practices etc. were news stories which presented an unfavourable image of India.

<u>Tourism</u>

In tourism sub category, in TG 40% news stories were favourable and 60% were unfavourable in their tone. Favourable stories projected the image of India as a beautiful tourist destination. Kochi water metro project emerging as a new tourist destination; magazine Lonely Planet declaring India's Mihir Garh as the world's most extraordinary hotel etc. were some of the favourable news stories.

Hotels

India's Mihir Garh named world's most extraordinary hotel by Lonely Planet Rajasthan fort named by Lonely Planet as the world's most extraordinary hotel as publisher unveils three new top 10s, including best-value hotels and outstanding eco-hotels Which hotels would you add to these top 10s? Tell us in the comments below Gallery: world's most extraordinary hotels **Isabel Choat** Tue 18 Feb 2014 15.40 GMT 8 f) 🎔 🖾

Mihir Gahr, Rajasthan, India, has been named the most extraordinary hotel in the world by guidebook publisher Lonely Planet

Source: the guardian.com, 18th Feb. 2014

Indian government increasing the ticket prices for the domestic tourists visiting Taj Mahal by 400%; India's tourism minster asking female tourists not to wear skirts and ban on public kissing by a Goa village etc. were some news stories with an unfavourable tone. When India launched world's longest river cruise MV Ganga Vilas in 2023 news report in The Guardian framed it as a matter of grave environmental concern as it could lead to the death of dolphins. But this environmental concern seems to be very selective in nature as according to stastista.com on searching the number of River cruise vessels worldwide by region" it was found that in 2018, Europe had 359 river cruise vessels (the largest fleet in the world) followed by Russia which had 121 such vessels and 119 vessels were operating in the rest of the world (Statista, 2022).

The age of extinction India

The age of extinction is supported by

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OFS About this content Shweta Desai Fri 13 Jan 2023 11.20 GMT

'World's longest river cruise' could threaten endangered Ganges dolphin, experts warn

A luxury cruise has been hailed as the start of a new age of Indian tourism. But conservationists fear the impact of increased river traffic and pollution



The MV Ganga Vilas will begin its journey from Varanasi and sail around 3,200 km in 51 days to reach Dibrugarh in Assam, crossing 27 river systems. Photograph: Courtesy of NMCG

The Indian prime minister, Narendra Modi, has officially launched the "world's longest river cruise" from the city of Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh. The luxury voyage will last 51 days, travelling 3,200km via Dhaka in Bangladesh to Dibrugarh in Assam, crossing 27 river systems.

Source: theguardian.com, 13th Jan. 2023

Yoga & Spirituality

In sub category of Yoga & Spirituality TG had 57.1% favourable and 42.9% neutral news stories. Yoga gaining global popularity was the key theme identified in the news stories. United Nations recognising 21st June as World Yoga Day might me a crucial factor behind this. According to a 2016 Yoga Journal report, 36.7 million people practise yoga in the US, up from 20.4 million in 2012. The yoga market is now worth \$16bn (£12bn) in the US and \$80bn (£74bn) globally. in the UK, "yoga" was one of Google's most searched-for words in 2016 (Delaney, 2017). Indian government asking civil servants to get yoga lessons; Indian prime minister trying to promote yoga globally and making videos of himself practising it etc. were some of the favourable news stories.



Source: theguardian.com, 17th Sept. 2017

While, the death of famous yoga guru BKS Iyengar; disciples of Indian guru Ashutosh Maharaj wanting to preserve the dead body of their guru in Punjab etc. were the themes of neutral stories.

	NYT		TG	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Agriculture	3	3.7	11	4.7
Environment	40	48.8	145	62.0
Energy	4	4.9	13	5.6
Health	18	22.0	32	13.7
R&D	17	20.7	33	14.1
Total	82	100.0	234	100.0

4.5 Scientific Image of India

Table 4.29: Comparison between NYT and TG. Total number of Scientific news stories

 published between 2009-19.

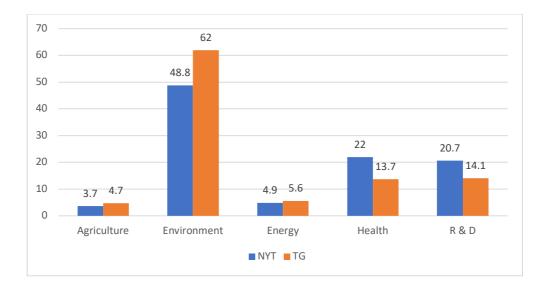


Fig.4.29: Comparison between NYT and TG. Total number of Scientific news stories published between 2009-19.

Looking at total number of Scientific news stories published between 2009-2019 it was found that NYT gave highest coverage to news related to Environment (48.8%) followed by Health (22.0%) and Research & Development (20.7%). Least coverage was allotted to Agriculture sub category (3.7%). On the other hand, TG gave the highest coverage to Environment (62.0%) followed by Research & Development (14.1%) and Health (13.7%). Least coverage was assigned to agriculture sub category (4.7%). Agriculture was covered more by TG (4.7%) than NYT (3.7%). Environment was given more coverage in TG (62.0%) than in NYT (48.8%). Energy related news was covered more in TG (5.6%) than in NYT (4.9%). Health sub category was covered more in NYT (22.0%) than in TG (13.7%). Research & Development was covered more in NYT (20.7%) than in TG (14.1%).

	UPA2		NDA1	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Agriculture	3	7.7	0	0
Environment	20	51.3	34	59.6
Energy	3	7.7	1	1.8
Health	6	15.4	12	21.1
R&D	7	17.9	10	17.5
TOTAL	39	100.0	57	100.0

Table 4.30: Comparison of Scientific news stories published in New York Times duringUPA2 and NDA1.

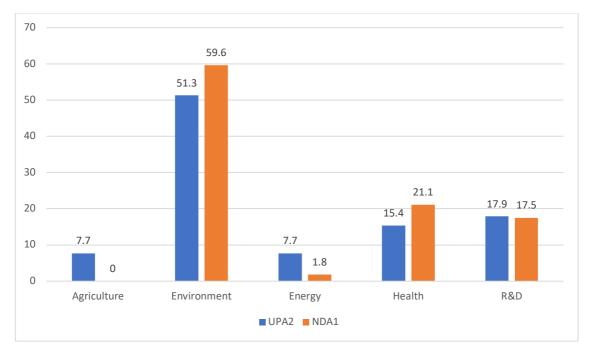


Fig. 4.30: Comparison of Scientific news stories published in New York Times during UPA2 and NDA1.

On comparing the amount of Scientific news stories published in NYT during UPA2 and NDA1 it was found that during UPA2 highest coverage was given to news related to environment (51.3%). It was followed by the coverage of Research & Development (17.9%) and Health (15.4%). During the NDA1 time period, the highest coverage was once again given to Environment (59.6%) followed by Health (21.1%) and Research & Development (17.5%). No coverage was given to agriculture sub category. Agriculture sub category was in focus more during UPA2 (7.7%) when compared to NDA1 when it got nil coverage. (0%). Environment sub category was covered more in NDA1 time period (59.6%) when compared with UPA2 (51.3%). News related to energy was found to be more during UPA2 (7.7%) in comparison to NDA1 (1.8%). In Health sub category, coverage was more in NDA1 time period (21.1%) when compared to UPA2(15.4%). In R&D sub category coverage given during UPA2 was slightly more (17.9%) than NDA1 (17.5%).

	UPA2		NDA1	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Agriculture	5	6.1	6	3.3
Environment	54	65.9	123	66.8
Energy	5	6.1	8	4.3
Health	7	8.5	25	13.6
R&D	11	13.4	22	12.0
TOTAL	82	100.0	184	100.0

Table 4.31: Comparison of Scientific news stories published in The Guardian duringUPA2 and NDA1.

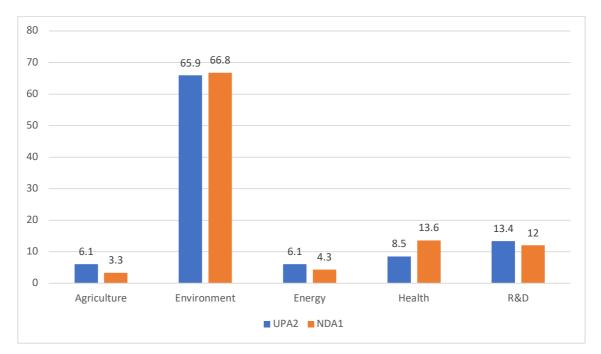


Fig.4.31: Comparison of Scientific news stories published in The Guardian during UPA2 and NDA1.

On comparing the Scientific news stories published in The Guardian during UPA2 and NDA1 it was found that during UPA 2 time period, TG gave the highest coverage to news related to Environment (65.9%). This coverage was followed by news related to R&D (13.4%) and health (8.5%). During NDA1 time period, highest coverage was given to environment (66.8%) followed by health (13.6%) and R&D (12.0%). Least coverage was given to agriculture sub category (3.3%). Coverage given to Agriculture sub category was more during UPA2 (6.1%) than NDA1 (3.3%). Coverage given to Environment was more

during NDA1 (66.8%) than UPA2 (65.9%). Coverage given to Energy sub category was more during UPA2 (6.1%) than NDA1 (4.3%). Coverage given to Health sub category was more during NDA1 (13.6%) than UPA2 (8.5%). Coverage given to R&D was more during UPA2(13.4%) than NDA1 (12.0%).

	I	NYT		G
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Agriculture	3	7.7	5	6.1
Environment	20	51.3	54	65.9
Energy	3	7.7	5	6.1
Health	6	15.4	7	8.5
R&D	7	17.9	11	13.4
TOTAL	39	100.0	82	100.0

Table 4.32: Comparison of Scientific news stories published in The New York Times &The Guardian during UPA2.

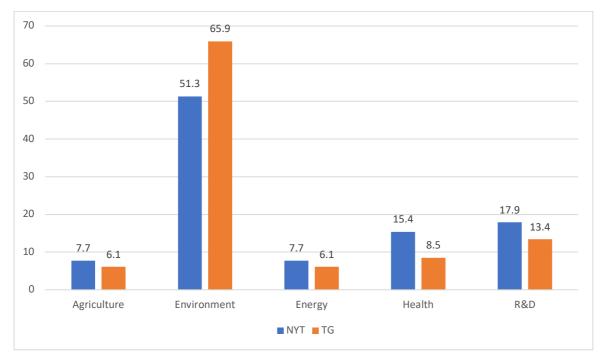


Fig. 4.32: Comparison of Scientific news stories published in The New York Times & The Guardian during UPA2.

During UPA2 time period, NYT gave highest coverage to news stories related to Environment (51.3%) which was followed by news stories related to R&D (17.9%) and

Health (15.4%). In the same time period, TG gave the highest coverage to news stories related to Environment (65.9%) followed by R&D (13.4%) and Health (8.5%). In Agriculture sub category, news coverage given by NYT (7.7%) was found to be more than TG (6.1%). In Environment sub category, coverage given by TG (65.9%) was more than that of NYT (51.3%). In Energy sub category, coverage given by NYT (7.7%) was more than that of TG (6.1%). Health related news was found more in NYT (15.4%) than in TG (8.5%). In R&D sub category, coverage given by NYT (17.9%) was found to be more than that of TG (13.4%).

	NYT		TG	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Agriculture	0	0	6	3.3
Environment	34	59.6	123	66.8
Energy	1	1.8	8	4.3
Health	12	21.1	25	13.6
R&D	10	17.5	22	12.0
Total	57	100.0	184	100.0

Table 4.33: Comparison of Scientific news stories published in The New York Times &The Guardian during NDA1.

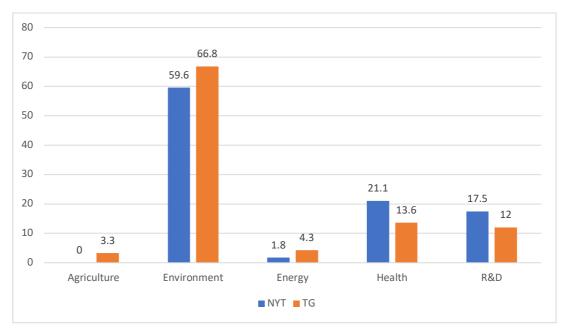


Fig.4.33: Comparison of Scientific news stories published in The New York Times & The Guardian during NDA1.

In this category, during NDA1 time period, NYT gave the highest coverage to news related to Environment (59.6%) followed by Health (21.1%) and R&D (17.5%). Agriculture was not covered at all. In the same time period, TG gave the highest coverage to environment (66.8%) followed by health (13.6%) and R&D (12.0%). Least coverage was given to news related to Agriculture (3.3% only). In Agriculture sub category, the coverage given by TG (3.3%) was more than that of NYT where it was nil. In Environment sub category, the coverage given by TG (66.8%) was more than NYT (59.6%). In Energy sub category, the coverage given by TG (4.3%) was more than NYT (1.8%). In Health sub category the coverage given by NYT (21.1%) was more than TG (13.6%). In R&D sub category, the coverage given by NYT (17.5%) was more than TG (12.0%).

	Favourable		Unfavourable		Neutral	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Agriculture	0	0	2	100.0	0	0
Environment	10	17.9	30	66.1	6	16.1
Energy	2	50.0	2	50.0	0	0
Health	5	27.8	7	38.9	4	33.3
R&D	10	58.8	1	5.9	3	35.3
TOTAL	27	32.9	42	51.2	13	15.9

Table 4.34: Tone of Scientific news stories in NYT

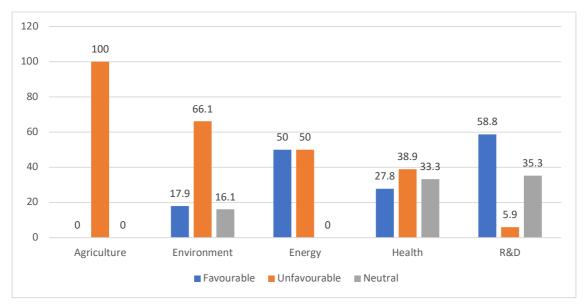


Fig. 4.34: Tone of Scientific news stories in NYT

Agriculture

In this sub category, in NYT all the stories were found to be unfavourable in tone. The stories were mainly on farmer suicides in Vidarbha region of India due to high debt and crop failure.

Environment

In the sub category of Environment, 17.9% news stories were favourable; 66.1% were unfavourable and 16.1% were neutral. Favourable stories were on conservation of wildlife; initiatives to deal with plastic pollution; attempts to increase green cover; significant rise in the number of wild tiger population in India; the growth of wildlife and biodiversity; the idea of plastic roads to solve the menace of plastic pollution in India; international environmental conference taking place at Hyderabad on shrinking biodiversity; relief and evacuation works done during the environmental disasters etc.



Source: nytimes.com, 28th March 2011 & 13th Nov. 2009

Climate change making an impact on the lives of ordinary people in India; air conditioners adding to global warming and climate change; the probability of climate deals pushing air conditioners beyond the reach of many Indians; the floods caused in Mumbai due to climate change; the deaths caused by natural disasters such as landslides in hilly and mountainous terrains; deaths of farmworkers due to lightning; Delhi and other metro cities facing extreme water crisis due to depleting water tables; farmers facing drought and the scarcity of drinking water in many parts of India; Rhino poaching in Assam; large number of deaths of elephants in railway accidents etc. were the themes of news stories which presented an unfavourable image of India.

Some more environmental news stories which were unfavourable in their tone were all related to pollution. These news stories depicted India as a highly polluted nation. Continuous degradation in the air quality of India's metro cities; high degree of air pollution in New Delhi; air pollution giving birth to several diseases in Indian cities and India undergoing an air pollution emergency etc. were the themes of such news stories.

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Smog blanketed New Delhi in 2016. About 1.1 million people die prematurely in India every year from the effects of air pollution. Roberto Schmidt/Agence France-Presse — Cetty Images

 $NEW \ DELHI - India's rapidly worsening air pollution is causing about 1.1 million people to die prematurely each year and is now surpassing China's as the deadliest in the world, a new study of global air pollution shows.$

The number of premature deaths in China caused by dangerous air particles, known as PM2.5, has stabilized globally in recent years but has risen sharply in India, according to the report, issued jointly on Tuesday by the Health Effects Institute, a Boston research institute focused on the health impacts of air pollution, and the Institute of Health Metrics and Evaluation, a population health research center in Seattle.

Source: nytimes.com, 14th Feb. 2017

Energy

In the sub category of Energy, 50% stories were found to be favourable and 50% news stories were unfavourable in their tone. Growing popularity of hydrogen fueled autorickshaws in India and their role in reducing air pollution in the country; growth in India's massive investments in clean energy sources such as solar energy, wind energy etc. were some news stories with a favourable tone which presented India as a nation which

was quickly moving towards renewable energy and was serious about protection of environment.

<u>Health</u>

In the sub category of Health, 27.8% stories were favourable; 38.9% stories were unfavourable and 33.3% were found to be neutral in their tone. Health campaign to eradicate elephantiasis; zinc supplements helping to solve the problem of malnutrition and deficiency; India attempting to get rid of polio; role of Bill Gates foundation in eradication of deadly diseases; India slowing down its population growth using cash bonuses as incentives etc. were some of the favourable news stories.

While the unfavourable stories focused on diseases which were still taking the lives of people in large numbers in India such as tuberculosis; death of young children due to mystery illness after consuming litchis in Bihar; malnutrition still being prevalent in Indian children etc. Research activities on various diseases; study on the sudden deaths of children due to a mystery illness due to a toxin produced in Litchi fruits; the underreported deaths due to Malaria; predictions of India becoming the most populous country in the world in the near future were some of the news stories found with a neutral tone.

Research & Development (R&D)

In the sub category of R&D, 58.8% stories were favourable, 5.9% news stories were unfavourable and 35.3% stories were neutral. App-based technologies helping to solve daily life problems of ordinary Indians; technology helping to increase online payments; eco-friendly electric vehicles (cars, motorbikes) changing the face of transportation in India; the success story of India's space missions etc. were some of the news stories which presented a favourable image of India as a nation which was making huge advancements in the field of science and technology. Aakash project which failed to provide very cheap tablet computers to students in India was the theme of an unfavourable news story. Solving the mystery of sudden deaths of children in Bihar due to a mysterious disease and India stand against the technology colonization by big Internet giants were the news stories which had a neutral tone.

	Favourable		Unfavourable		Neutral	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Agriculture	8	72.7	2	18.2	1	9.1
Environment	40	27.6	85	58.6	20	13.8
Energy	12	92.3	1	7.7	0	0
Health	18	56.3	13	40.6	1	3.1
R&D	24	72.7	3	9.1	6	18.2
TOTAL	102	43.6	104	44.4	28	12.0

Table 4.35: Tone of Scientific news stories published in TG

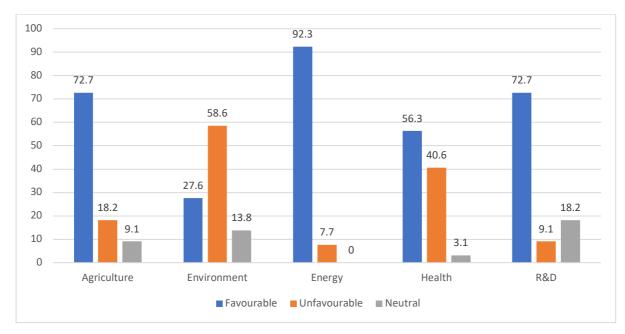


Fig.4.35: Tone of scientific news stories published in TG

Agriculture

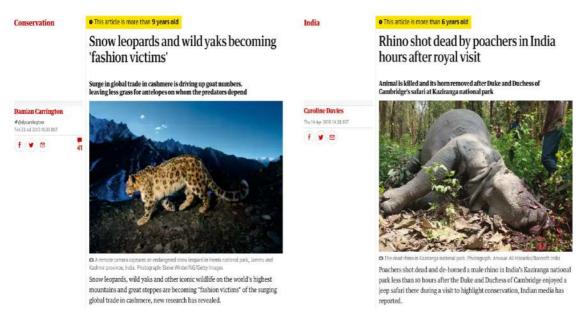
In agriculture subcategory, 72.7% news stories were favourable; 18.2% were unfavourable and 9.1% were neutral in tone. Adoption of innovative farming practices by farmers in India; Rajasthan farmers growing beans to gain more profits; the growing popularity of agroforestry; Indian grape farmers using online mediums to sell their products; greater awareness about organic farming amongst the farming community; new concept of seed banks for crop diversity gaining ground; women playing crucial role in conservation of indigenous crop varieties etc. were all in favourable tone. While news stories such as the hardships being faced by the tea farming community; farmers losing their land due to acquisitions by the government etc. presented an unfavourable image of India. The news story on armyworm pest attack was in neutral tone.

Environment

In sub category of environment, 27.6% news stories were found favourable; 58.6% unfavourable and 13.8% were in neutral tone. India's initiatives to fight climate change and global warming; country trying to curtail its carbon footprints; IT company Infosys cutting down its energy use by one third; waste being turned into employment opportunities; relief operations conducted during Himalayan earthquake; an increase in tiger population by one third; attempts to save endangered species such as Asiatic lion, Amur falcon, Gangetic dolphins, camels, Bengal tiger etc.; the launching of an air quality index; Delhi government asking citizens not to burst firecrackers on Diwali to avoid air pollution; introduction of car sales tax to fight pollution; imposition of driving restrictions and introduction of clean fuels to combat smog were some of the news stories which gave a favourable image of India.

On the other hand, news stories such as tribal population losing their land and resources due to mining; rampant coal mining in Andhra Pradesh; Greenpeace's report on the deaths of about 120,000 people each year due to pollution caused by coal power plants; adverse impact of climate change on tea growers of Assam; banned drug causing the death of vultures; disappearance of popular fish species Bombay duck; severe earthquake hitting India and Nepal; difficulty in rescuing people affected by the earthquake; water crisis in Delhi and other parts of country due to depleting water tables; severe drought and crop failures in some parts due to two consecutive weak monsoons etc. were some news stories which gave an unfavourable image of India.

Threats to wildlife and endangered species due to human activities and poaching; disappearance of tigers from mangroves; the death of elephants due to railway accidents and electrocutions; snow leopards losing their habitat; Asian elephants being kept in cruel conditions; poaching of Rhinos and tigers etc. presented an unfavourable image of India. Carrington (2013) in The Guardian reported how the snow leopards and wild yaks were becoming the 'fashion victims' and were being killed in large numbers for making costly fashion accessories.



Source: theguardian.com, 23rd July 2013 & 14th April 2016

Degrading condition of air in cities of India; air pollution leading to several respiratory diseases; toxic smog after Diwali in Delhi and air pollution rising to emergency levels; Varanasi's air quality becoming most toxic; north Indian cities failing to meet air quality standards etc. were some more subjects which presented an unfavourable image of India as a nation whose air was so polluted that it was unfit to breathe in it. Burke (2015) reported that India was home to 13 of the 20 most polluted cities in the world. His report mentions that as per India's National Health Profile 2015, there were almost 3.5m reported cases of acute respiratory infection (ARI) reported in 2014 alone and a sharp rise was witnessed in the number of diseases related to chest, throat and respiration due to increasing pollution.



Source: theguardian.com, 23rd Sept. 2015 & 17th Dec. 2012

Role of carbon emission cuts to control global warming; India rethinking the costs of mining; use of chilli by farmers to keep away the elephants; India changing the name of nilgai etc. were news stories with a neutral tone.

Energy

In the sub category of energy, 92.3% stories were favourable and 7.7% stories were found unfavourable in their tone. India was trying to invest more in green energy; price of solar power getting cheaper in the country; India planning to harness almost 60% of electricity from non-fossil fuels by 2027; country's emphasis on more energy production from solar power; India signing deal with France for nuclear power stations; country witnessing excellent growth in the field of green energy were some of the subjects covered.

<u>Health</u>

In the sub category of health, 56.3% stories were favourable, 40.6% were unfavourable and 3.1% were neutral. Initiatives by the government to tackle deadly diseases and improve health facilities in the country; families getting text alert message on organ donation; state offering free breast implants to the needy; India's efforts to reduce infant mortality and maternal mortality rates; government providing cheap drugs; Indian doctors

in great demand in Britain were some of the subjects that depicted a favourable image of India.

Unfavourable news stories focused on subjects such as how the lifestyle diseases such as diabetes were increasing in India; a poor man in Odisha was forced to carry her dead wife home after the hospital refused him transport; the death of sick people due to cold in Delhi; death of children due to poisonous mid-day meal etc. presented a dismal picture of India as a nation which had miles to go to match the quality of life being offered by the developed countries.

India



A screengrab of Dana Majhi carrying the body of his dead wife Amang toward their home in Melghara after a hospital allegedly refused to. Photograph: ANI News

Source: theguardian.com, 26th Aug. 2016

Research & Development

In the sub category of R&D, 72.7% stories were favourable, 9.1% stories were unfavourable and 18.2% stories were neutral in their tone. Important research works and innovation taking place in the country were the central themes of favourable news stories. The discovery of starry dwarf frog; development of tidal lagoon technology; launching of world's cheapest smartphone; plastic roads to get rid of plastic pollution; green wood made from rice waste to help build low-cost homes; country joining the exploration efforts in deep sea mining; nation becoming a nuclear research and development leader under Homi Bhabha; possibility of setting up thorium power nuclear plants etc. were the subjects of some of the favourable news stories.

India's achievements in the field of space science was a major theme which was covered. India's aspirations of sending astronauts into space by 2022; launching of hi-tech telescopes, space observatory, lunar mission, space missions, rockets and mission to Mars

(Mangalyaan) by Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO); the discovery of water on the surface of moon were some of the subjects that created a favourable image of India. Burke (2014) noted that India became the first nation to send a satellite into orbit around Mars on its first attempt. Safi (2018) reported that India was aiming to send astronauts into space by 2022 and by doing so it would become the fourth country in the world to conduct a manned space mission after the US, China and Russia.

Mars

India's Mars satellite successfully enters orbit, bringing country into space elite



Source: theguardian.com, 24th Sept. 2014

On the other hand, the claims made in the Indian Science Congress that stem cell research was invented by ancient Hindus; high amount of antibiotics found in India's farmed chickens etc. were some news stories which gave an unfavourable image of India.

	NYT		TG		
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Accident	41	65.1	45	84.9	
Awards	1	1.6	6	11.3	
Obituary	21	33.3	2	3.8	
Total	63	100.0	53	100.0	

4.6 Miscellaneous Image of India

Table 4.36: Comparison between The New York Times and The Guardian. Total number

 of Miscellaneous news stories published between 2009-19.

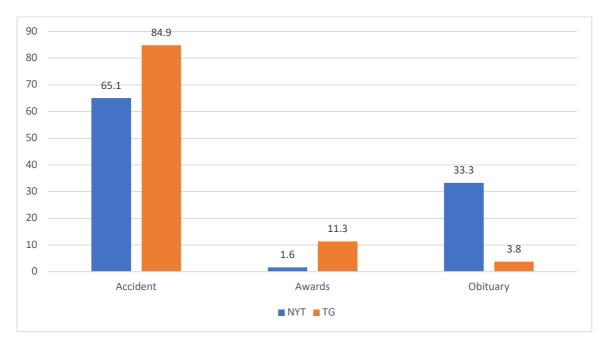


Fig.4.36: Comparison between The New York Times and The Guardian. Total number of Miscellaneous news stories published between 2009-19.

On comparing total number of miscellaneous news stories published between 2009-19 on the website of The New York Times and The Guardian it was found that in this time period NYT gave the highest coverage to news stories related to accident (65.1%) followed by obituary (33.3%) and awards (1.6%). In the same time period TG too gave the highest coverage to news related to accident sub category (84.9%) followed by awards (11.3%) and obituary (3.8%). The accident sub category was given more coverage in TG (84.9%) compared to NYT (65.1%). News related to awards sub category was found to be more in

TG (11.3%) than in NYT (1.6%). Obituary related news was found to be much more in NYT (33.3%) than in TG (3.8%).

	UPA 2		NDA 1	
Sub Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Accident	11	68.8	30	63.8
Awards	0	0	1	2.1
Obituary	5	31.2	16	34.0
TOTAL	16	100.0	47	100.0

 Table 4.37: Comparison of Miscellaneous news stories published in New York Times

 during UPA2 and NDA1.

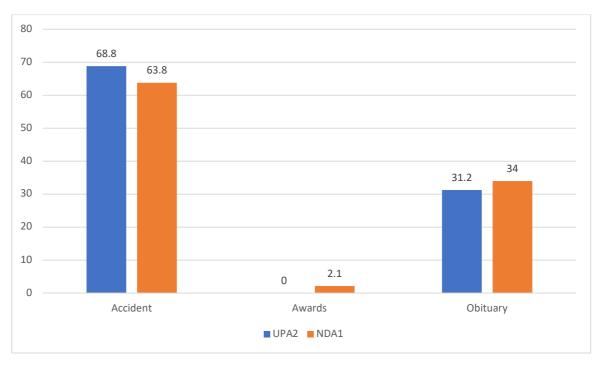


Fig.4.37: Comparison of Miscellaneous news stories published in New York Times during UPA2 (2009-14) and NDA1(2014-19)

In miscellaneous theme category the highest coverage during UPA2 was given to accident sub category (68.8%) followed by obituary (31.2%). In the NDA1 time period also highest coverage was given to accident news (63.8%) followed by obituary (34.0%) and awards (2.1%). Accident-related news was covered more during UPA2 (68.8%) in comparison to NDA1 (63.8%). Awards related news was found to be more during NDA1 (2.1%) than

UPA2 when it was nil. Obituary news was published more during NDA1 time period (34.0%) than during UPA2(31.2%).

	UPA2		NDA1	
Sub category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Accident	15	100.0	30	78.9
Awards	0	0	6	15.8
Obituary	0	0	2	5.3
TOTAL	15	100.0	38	100.0

Table 4.38: Comparison of Miscellaneous news stories published in The Guardian duringUPA2 and NDA1.

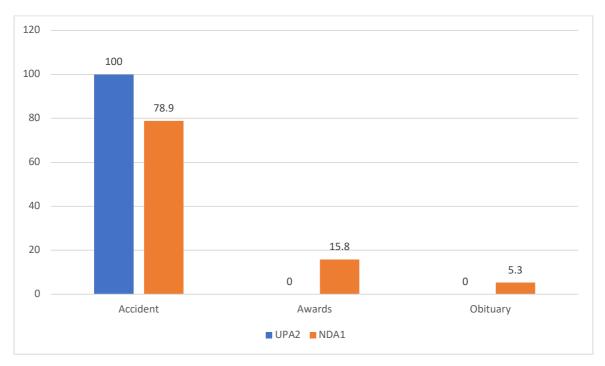


Fig.4.38: Comparison of Miscellaneous news stories published in The Guardian during UPA2 and NDA1.

During UPA2 in the miscellaneous news stories category highest coverage was given by The Guardian to news related to accident sub category (100.0%). No coverage was given by the news website to awards or obituary sub category in this time period. During NDA1 time period, the highest coverage was given to news related to accident sub category (78.9%) followed by awards (15.8%) and obituary (5.3%). Accident news was given greater coverage during UPA2 time period (100.0%) compared to NDA1 when it was

found to be 78.9%. In awards sub category greater coverage was witnessed during NDA1(15.8%) than UPA2 time period when it was nil. Obituary was covered more during NDA1(5.3%) than UPA2 when it was not covered at all.

	NYT		TG	
Sub category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Accident	11	68.8	15	100
Awards	0	0	0	0
Obituary	5	31.2	0	0
TOTAL	16	100.0	15	100.0

Table 4.39: Comparison of Miscellaneous news stories published in The New York Times& The Guardian during UPA2.

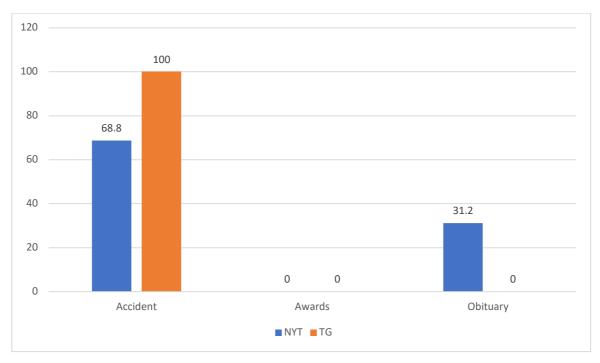


Fig.4.39: Comparison of Miscellaneous news stories published in The New York Times & The Guardian during UPA2.

In the UPA2 time period, NYT gave the highest amount of coverage to news related to accident sub category (68.8%) followed by obituary (31.2%). While in the same time period, TG also gave the highest coverage to news related to accident sub category (100.0%). Awards and obituary sub category were not given any coverage at all in the above-mentioned time period. Accident-related news was covered more in TG (100.0%)

than in NYT (68.8%). Awards were not given any coverage by both the news websites during this period. Obituary was covered more by NYT (31.2%) than in TG where it was found to be nil.

	NYT		TG	
Sub category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Accident	30	63.8	30	78.9
Awards	1	2.1	6	15.8
Obituary	16	34.0	2	5.3
TOTAL	47	100.0	38	100.0

Table 4.40: Comparison of Miscellaneous news stories in The New York Times & TheGuardian during NDA1.

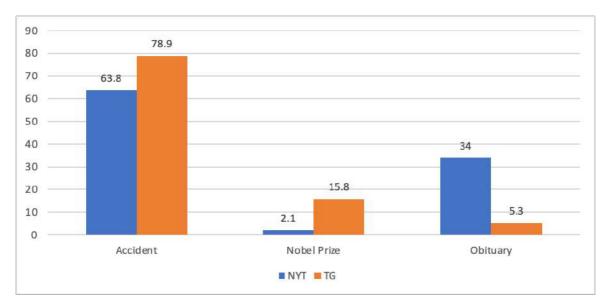


Fig.4.40: Comparison of Miscellaneous news stories in The New York Times & The Guardian during NDA1.

Under miscellaneous news stories category, during NDA1 time period NYT gave the highest coverage to news stories related to accident (63.8%) followed by obituary (34.0%) and awards (2.1%). While TG gave the highest coverage to news stories related to accidents (78.9%) followed by awards (15.8%) and obituary (5.3%). Accident-related news were covered more in TG (78.9%) compared with NYT (63.8%). Awards sub category was covered more by TG (15.8%) than NYT (2.1%). Obituary sub category was covered more in NYT (34.0%) than in TG (5.3%).

	Favo	Favourable		Unfavourable		ıtral
Sub	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Category						
Accident	1	2.4	38	92.7	2	4.9
Awards	1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0
Obituary	0	0	0	0	20	100.0
TOTAL	2	3.2	39	61.9	22	34.9

Table 4.41: Tone of stories related to Miscellaneous theme category published on news

 website of The New York Times during 2009-19.

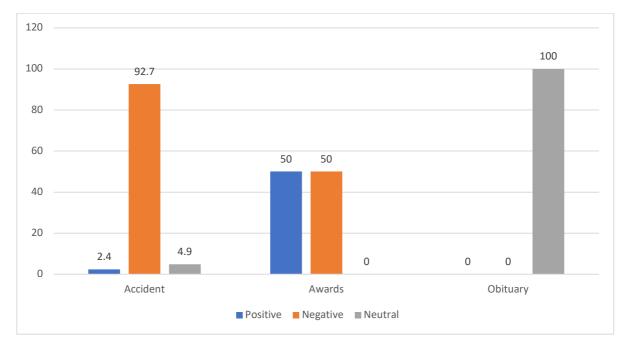


Fig.4.41: Tone of stories related to Miscellaneous theme category published on news website of The New York Times during 2009-19.

Accident

In the sub category of accident, 2.4% news stories were favourable; 92.7% unfavourable and 4.9% neutral in their tone. Favourable news stories in this sub category focused on the attempts to save people who were injured in some or the other accident. While, the death of soldiers in avalanche; destruction of natural history museum due to fire; clash of armed protesters with police; fire at hospital in Bhubaneshwar; deaths caused due to overpass and building collapse; bus plunging into gorge in Kashmir; derailing of Hirakhand Express

train etc. were some of the subjects which presented an image of India as an accidentprone nation. A large number of news stories were found on same theme which might give birth to the idea that in India, accidents keep happening very frequently.

<u>Awards</u>

Award related news were found to be having 50.0% favourable tone and 50.0% unfavourable tone. Nobel Peace Prize being awarded to Kailash Satyarthi and Malala Yousufzai was the key subject of discussion. It is surprising to note that Indians across the world have won many awards during this long time period but it was not visible in the coverage.

Obituary

News related to obituary were 100.0% neutral in tone. The death of some of the globally famous people such as Tyeb Mehta (artist), Maharani Gayatri Devi, C.K. Prahlad, 'Tiger Guru' Fateh Singh Rathore, cartoonist R. K. Laxman, ex- president Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, actor Saeed Jaffrey were covered by the news website.

Favourable		Unfavourable		Neutral		
Sub	Frequency Percentage		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Category						
Accident	1	2.2	43	95.6	1	2.2
Awards	6	100.0	0	0	0	0
Obituary	0	0	0	0	2	100.0
TOTAL	7	13.2	43	81.1	3	5.7

Table 4.42: Tone of stories related to Miscellaneous theme category published on news

 website of The Guardian during 2009-19.

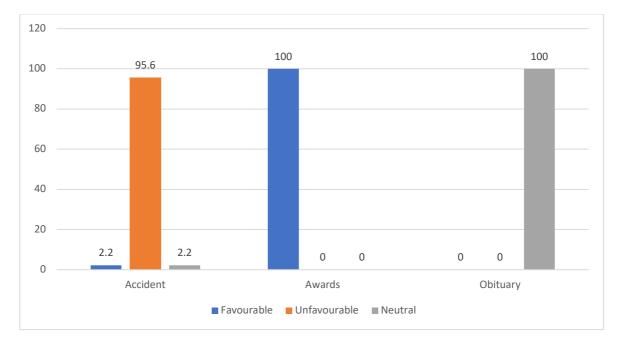


Fig.4.42: Tone of stories related to Miscellaneous theme category published on news website of The Guardian during 2009-19.

Accident

In the sub category of accident, 2.2% news stories were found to be favourable; 95.6% unfavourable and 2.2% in neutral tone. The deaths caused due to metro bridge collapse in Delhi; stampede in school; deaths of people in bus and train crash; death of troops due to avalanche in Kashmir; death of people going for a wedding party in road crash; lives lost on railway tracks; deaths of children due to lunch poisoning; building collapse in Mumbai; capsizing of boat due to overcrowding; stampede in religious festival; temple fire in Kerala due to firework blasts; flyover collapse at Kolkata, fire at natural history museum in Delhi etc. were some of the subjects of the unfavourable news stories covered by the news website. These news stories present a dismal image of India as an accident prone nation or a nation where accidents like these were very frequent and common.

<u>Awards</u>

Award related news stories were all favourable in tone. The news focused on the declaration of names of joint winners of Nobel Prize to Kailash Satyarthi from India and Malala Yousufzai from Pakistan. Satyarthi was given the award for his excellent social work in the field of child rights. No other award winners were mentioned in this time period.

Obituary

All news stories related to obituary were neutral in tone. These news stories were on the deaths of famous Indians such as former Indian president APJ Abdul Kalam and former Indian prime minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee. These news stories talked about their life, times and their contribution to the society.

	NYT		TG	
Theme	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Political	410	36.1	486	29.5
Social	291	25.6	558	33.9
Economic	143	12.6	110	6.7
Cultural	134	11.8	172	10.5
Scientific	82	8.4	234	16.2
Miscellaneous	63	5.5	53	3.2
Total	1123	100.0	1613	100.0

4.7 The Total Coverage in NYT & TG

Table 4.43: Total number of news stories during 2009-19 in NYT & TG

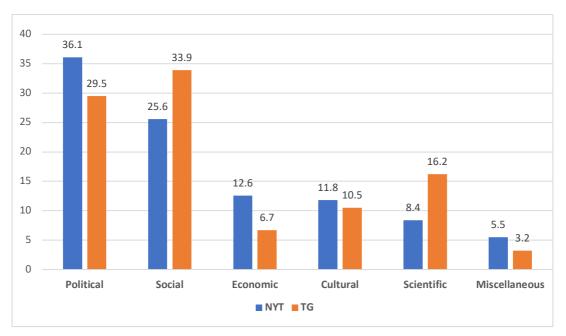


Fig.4.43: Total number of news stories during 2009-19 in NYT & TG

Total number of stories taken for the study were 2736, out of which 1123 were in NYT and 1613 were in TG. Out of 1123 stories in NYT, 36.1% were Political, 25.6% were Social, 12.6% Economic, 11.8% Cultural, 8.4% Scientific and 5.5% were Miscellaneous news. Whereas, out of 1613 news stories in TG, 29.5% were Political, 33.9% Social, 6.7% Economic, 10.5% Cultural, 16.2% Scientific and 3.2% were Miscellaneous news. The percentage of Political stories was more in NYT (36.1%) compared to TG (29.5%). The coverage of Social stories was more in TG (33.9%) than in NYT (25.6%). The coverage of Economic stories was more in NYT (12.6%) compared to TG (6.7%). Coverage of Cultural stories was more in NYT (11.8%) than in TG (10.5%). Coverage of Scientific news stories was more in TG (16.2%) than in NYT (8.4%). The coverage of other news stories was more in NYT (5.5%) than in The Guardian (3.2%). In a nutshell we can say that overall, the highest priority area for The New York Times was Political category whereas for The Guardian it was Social category.

	UPA 2		NDA 1	
Theme	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Political	179	33.0	231	39.8
Social	136	25.1	155	26.7
Economic	101	18.6	42	7.2
Cultural	71	13.1	63	10.8
Scientific	39	7.2	43	7.4
Miscellaneous	16	3.0	47	8.1
TOTAL	542	100.0	581	100.0

Table 4.44: News agenda in The New York Times during UPA2 & NDA 1

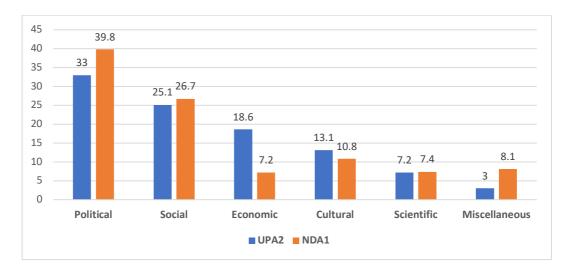


Fig. 4.44: News agenda in The New York Times during UPA2 & NDA1

In NYT website, during UPA2 time period the highest coverage was given to Political news (33.0%) followed by Social news (25.1%) and Economic news (18.6%). Least coverage was given to Miscellaneous theme category (3.0%). During NDA1 time period highest coverage was given to Political category news (39.8%) followed by Social news (26.7%) and Cultural news (10.8%). Least coverage was given to Economic news (7.2%). Political news was covered more during NDA1(39.8%) than during UPA2 (33.0%). Social news was covered more during NDA1 (26.7%) than UPA2 (25.1%). Economic news was assigned more coverage during UPA2 (18.6%) than NDA1(7.2%). Cultural news was covered slightly more during NDA1 (7.4%) than during UPA2 (7.2%). News related to Miscellaneous category was covered more during NDA1 (8.1%) than UPA2 (3.0%).

Theme	UPA2		NDA1		
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Political	230	34.7	256	26.9	
Social	208	31.4	350	36.8	
Economic	54	8.1	56	5.9	
Cultural	74	11.2	98	10.3	
Scientific	82	12.4	152	16.0	
Miscellaneous	15	2.3	38	4.0	
TOTAL	663	100.0	950	100.0	

Table 4.45: News agenda in The Guardian during UPA2 & NDA 1

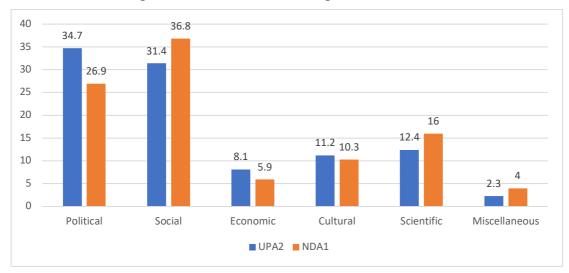


Fig. 4.45: News agenda in The Guardian during UPA2 & NDA1

If we look at news stories published in The Guardian during UPA2 we find that Political category was given the top priority (34.7%), followed by social category (31.4%) and Scientific (12.4%). Least coverage during UPA2 was given to Miscellaneous category (2.3%). During NDA1 time period highest coverage was given to Social category (36.8%) followed by Political category (26.9%) and Scientific news category (16.0%). Least coverage was given to Miscellaneous category (4.0%). News website of The Guardian gave more coverage to Political category during UPA2 time period (34.7%) than in NDA1 time period (26.9%). Social news was covered more in NDA1 time period (36.8%) than in UPA2 (31.4%). Economic news was covered more during UPA2 (8.1%) than in NDA 1 (5.9%). Cultural news was covered more during UPA2 (11.2%) than during NDA1 (10.3%). Scientific news was covered more during NDA1 (16.0%) than during UPA2 (12.4%). Miscellaneous category was focused more during NDA1 (4.0%) than during UPA2 (2.3%).

	NYT		TG	
Category	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Political	179	33.0	230	34.7
Social	136	25.1	208	31.4
Economic	101	18.6	54	8.1
Cultural	71	13.1	74	11.2
Scientific	39	7.2	82	12.4
Miscellaneous	16	3.0	15	2.3
TOTAL	542	100.0	663	100.0

Table 4.46: News agenda in NYT & TG during UPA2

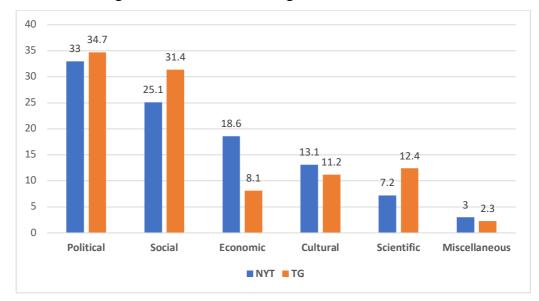


Fig. 4.46: News agenda in NYT & TG during UPA2

During UPA2 time period, NYT gave highest emphasis to political news category (33.0%) followed by Social news (25.1%) and Economic news (18.6%). Least coverage was assigned by the news website to Miscellaneous category (3.0%). In the same time period TG also gave highest coverage to Political news category (34.7%) followed by Social news (31.4%) and Scientific news (12.4%). Least coverage was given to Miscellaneous news category (2.3%). Political news was covered more in TG (34.7%) than in NYT (33.0%). Social news got more coverage in TG (31.4%) than in NYT (25.1%). Economic news coverage in NYT (18.6%) was more than twice in comparison to TG (8.1%). Cultural news was given more attention in NYT (13.1%) than in TG (11.2%). Scientific news was given more coverage in TG (32.4%) than in NYT (7.2%). News stories in Miscellaneous section were covered more by NYT (3.0%) in comparison to TG (2.3%).

	NYT		Т	G
Theme	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Political	231	39.8	256	26.9
Social	155	26.7	350	36.8
Economic	42	7.2	56	5.9
Cultural	63	10.8	98	10.3
Scientific	43	7.4	152	16
Miscellaneous	47	8.1	38	4
TOTAL	581	100.0	950	100.0

Table 4.47: News agenda in NYT & TG during NDA1

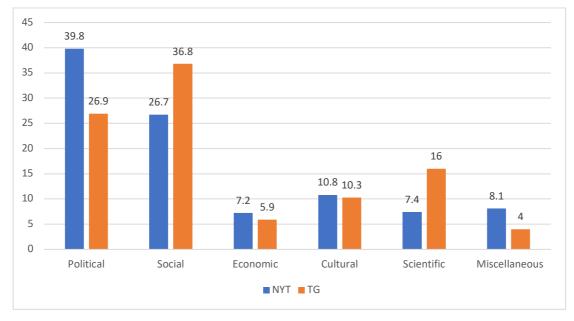


Fig.4.47: News agenda in NYT & TG during NDA1

During NDA1 time period, NYT gave highest emphasis on political news (39.8%) followed by Social news (26.7%) and Cultural news (10.8%). Least coverage was assigned by the news website to Economic news (7.2%). In the same time period TG gave highest coverage to Social news (36.8%) followed by Political news (26.9%) and Scientific news (16%). Least coverage was given to Miscellaneous news (4%). When it comes to coverage given to different themes it was found that political news was covered more in NYT (39.8%) than in TG (26.9%). Social news got more coverage in TG (36.8%) than in NYT (26.7%). Economic news coverage in NYT (7.2%) was slightly more in comparison to TG (5.9%). Cultural news coverage was almost similar in both the news websites i.e., NYT (10.8%) and TG (10.3%). The coverage of Scientific news more than double in TG (16%) compared to NYT (7.4%). News stories in Miscellaneous section were covered more by NYT (8.1%) than in TG (4%).

	Favourable		Unfavourable		Neutral	
Theme	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Political	112	27.3	197	48.0	101	24.6
Social	88	30.2	163	56.0	40	13.7
Economic	49	34.3	39	27.3	55	38.5
Cultural	83	61.9	13	9.7	38	28.4
Scientific	27	32.9	42	51.2	13	15.9
Miscellaneous	2	3.2	39	61.9	22	34.9
TOTAL	361	100.0	493	100.0	269	100.0

 Table 4.48: Tone of the stories published on news website of The New York Times

 between 2009-19.

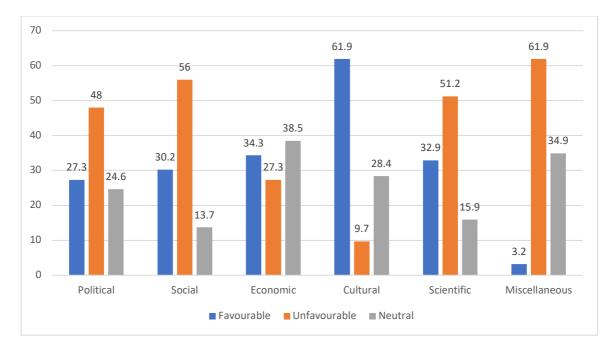


Fig. 4.48: Tone of the stories published on the news website of The New York Times between 2009-19.

The political image created by NYT was more of unfavourable nature (48.0%). Political news with favourable and neutral tone were 27.3% and 24.6% consecutively. The Social image of India was also found to be more unfavourable as majority news stories were found having unfavourable tone (56.0%). Among all the Social news 30.2% were of favourable tone and 13.7% were neutral in tone. Economic news was mostly neutral in tone (38.5%) followed by favourable tone (34.5%) and unfavourable tone (27.3%). When it comes to the Cultural image of India it was found that most of the coverage received was favourable in tone (61.9%) and hence it presented a favourable image of India as a nation with rich and varied culture. Almost 28.4% stories related to Culture were found to be neutral and 9.7% were unfavourable in tone. Scientific image of India was shown mostly in unfavourable light as 51.2% news were unfavourable in tone followed by 32.9% in favourable tone and 15.9% followed by neutral 34.9% and favourable 3.2%.

	Favourable		Unfavourable		Neutral	
Theme	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Political	125	25.7	225	46.3	136	28.0
Social	113	20.3	348	62.4	97	17.4
Economic	26	23.6	28	25.5	56	51.0
Cultural	69	40.1	32	18.6	71	41.3
Scientific	102	43.6	104	44.4	28	12.0
Others	7	13.2	43	81.1	3	5.7
TOTAL	442	27.4	780	48.4	391	24.2

Table 4.49: Tone of the stories published on news website of TG between 2009-19.

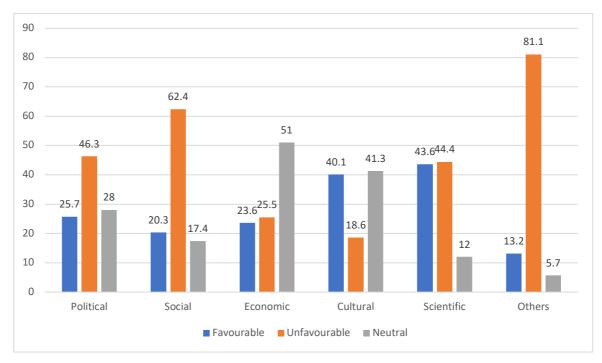


Fig. 4.49: Tone of the stories published on news website of TG between 2009-19.

The political image created by The Guardian was more of unfavourable nature as the maximum percentage of news were found with unfavourable tone (48.4%). Political news with favourable and neutral tone were 25.7% and 28.0% consecutively. The social image of India was also found to be mostly unfavourable as majority news stories were found having unfavourable tone (62.4%). Among all the social news 20.3% were of favourable tone and 17.4% were neutral in tone. Economic news was mostly neutral in tone (51.0%) followed by unfavourable tone (25.5%) and favourable tone (23.6%). When it comes to

the Cultural image of India it was found that most of the coverage received was neutral in tone (41.3%). Almost 40.1% stories related to Culture were found to be favourable and 18.6% were unfavourable in tone. Scientific image of India was shown mostly in unfavourable light as 44.4% news were unfavourable in tone followed by 43.6% in favourable tone and 12.0% in neutral tone. News in Miscellaneous theme category was also mostly unfavourable (81.1%) followed by favourable (13.2%) and neutral coverage (5.7%).

	Western Media			
Theme	Frequency	Percentage		
Political	896	32.7		
Social	849	31.0		
Economic	253	9.2		
Cultural	306	11.2		
Scientific	316	11.5		
Miscellaneous	116	4.2		
TOTAL	2736	100.0		

Table 4.50 Total stories (news coverage) in western media

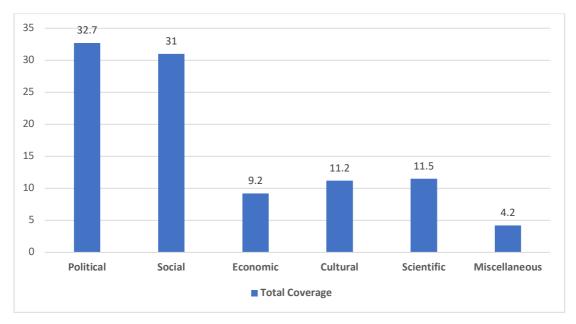


Fig. 4.50: Total stories (news coverage) in western media

In the analysis it was found that western media gave highest coverage to Political news (32.7%) Social news received second highest coverage (31%) and Scientific news (11.5%) was at the third priority. Least coverage was given to news related to Miscellaneous theme category (4.2%) only.

News Website	Frequency	Percentage
NYT	1123	41.0
TG	1613	59.0
TOTAL	2736	100.0

Table 4.51 Total coverage of news stories during 2009-19 in Western Media

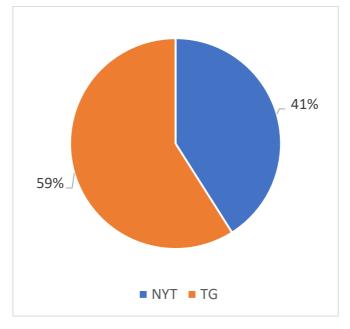


Figure 4.51 Total coverage of news stories during 2009-19 in Western media Among both the news websites which have been chosen for analysis The Guardian (59.0%) gave more coverage to India in the ten year time period compared to The New York Times(41.0%). The coverage given by The New York Times was almost twenty per cent less than that of The Guardian.

	Favourable		Unfavourable		Neutral	
Website	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
NYT	361	32.1	493	43.9	269	24.0
TG	442	27.4	780	48.4	391	24.2

Table 4.52 Comparison of the tone of the story in NYT and TG.

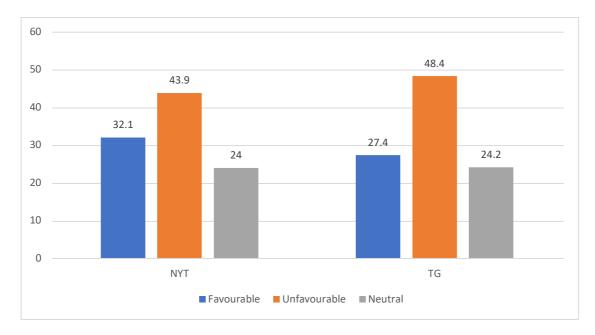


Figure 4.52 Comparison of the tone of the story in NYT and TG.

It was found that on the website of The New York Times, during the 2009-19 time period, majority of stories were unfavourable in tone (43.9%). It was followed by favourable and neutral news stories which were 32.1% and 24.0% respectively. For the same time period on the website of The Guardian too majority of news stories were found to be of the unfavourable tone (48.4%) followed by news whose tone was favourable (27.4%) and neutral (24.2%).

Tone	Frequency	Percentage
Favourable	803	29.3
Unfavourable	1273	46.5
Neutral	660	24.1
TOTAL	2736	100.0

Table 4.53 Overall tone in Western media

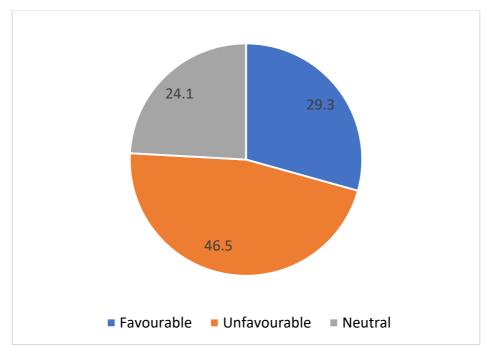
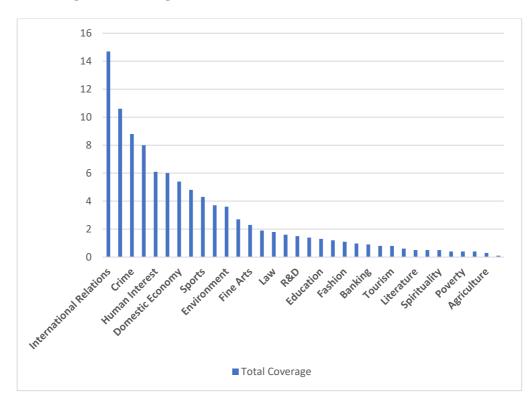


Fig. 4.53 Overall tone in Western media

The highest percentage of news which was covered in western media about India in the time period 2009-19 was unfavourable in tone (46.5%) followed by 29.3% news having favourable tone and 24.1% having neutral tone.



4.8 Measuring the media agenda in the Western Media

Fig. 4.54 Order of the media agenda in The New York Times (High to Low)

In NYT, news stories related to International Relations were given highest coverage (14.7%) which shows that India's external engagements have increased in this time period. India's international relations from 2009-2019 saw a surge in strategic partnerships, notably with the US through the Civil Nuclear Agreement, while navigating tensions with China over border disputes. Efforts to address Pakistan tensions persisted, while engagements with BRICS and ASEAN underscored India's growing global and regional influence. This coverage was followed by news related to Domestic Politics (10.6%) and Crime (8.8%). Least coverage was given to news related to Awards (0.1%).

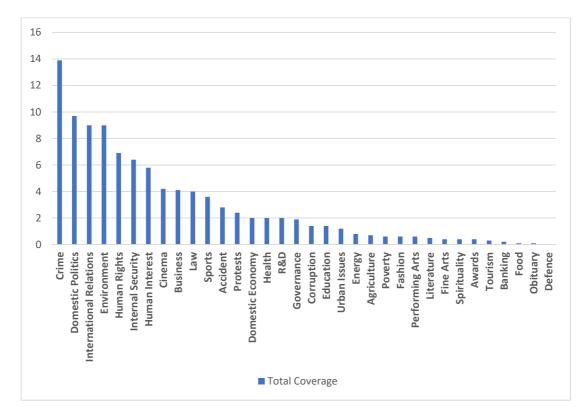


Fig.4.55 Order of the media agenda in The Guardian (High to Low).

In The Guardian, Crime sub category (13.9%) was given highest news coverage. It was followed by the coverage of Domestic Politics (9.7%) and International Relations and Environment (9% each). India's domestic politics from 2009-2014 saw the Indian National

Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government in power. The period was marked by economic reforms, such as the Right to Information Act and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, alongside challenges like corruption scandals and social unrest, shaping the electoral landscape. India's domestic politics from 2014-2019 was dominated by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) under Prime Minister Narendra Modi's leadership. The period saw major economic reforms like demonetization and the Goods and Services Tax (GST), alongside social initiatives like Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, amid debates over nationalism, secularism, and social justice. Least coverage was given to news related to Defence sub category (0.01%).

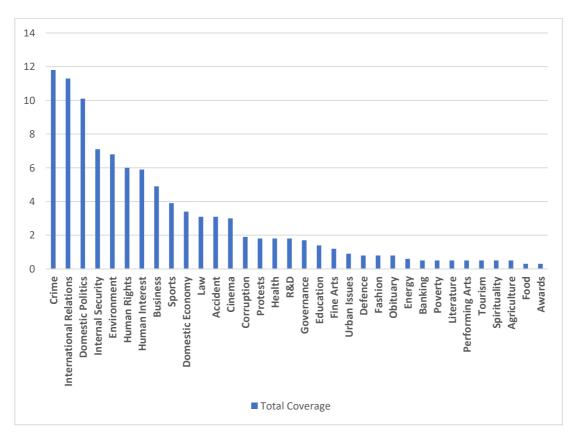


Fig. 4.56 Order of media agenda in the Western media (High to Low)

In the western media, Crime was the topmost sub category (11.8%). Several high-profile crime cases in India from 2009-2019 captured national attention and sparked widespread debate. Notable among them were the Nirbhaya gang rape case in 2012, which led to

nationwide protests and calls for stricter laws on sexual violence. The Vyapam scam, involving irregularities in admissions and recruitment exams in Madhya Pradesh, exposed corruption in the education system. The 2G spectrum scam and the Satyam scandal highlighted financial malfeasance and corporate fraud. Additionally, the Mumbai terror attacks in 2008 continued to reverberate through legal proceedings and discussions on counterterrorism efforts during this period. Crime sub category was followed by International Relations (11.3%) and Domestic Politics (10.1%). Least media attention was paid to news related to Awards and Food sub category (0.3% each).

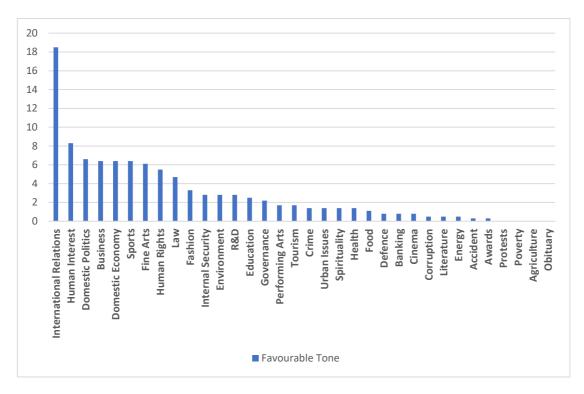


Fig. 4.57 Order of favourable tone in NYT (High to Low)

In NYT, highest favourable tone was observed in the news related to International Relations (18.5%). This was followed by news related to Human Interest sub category (8.3%) and Domestic Politics (6.6%).

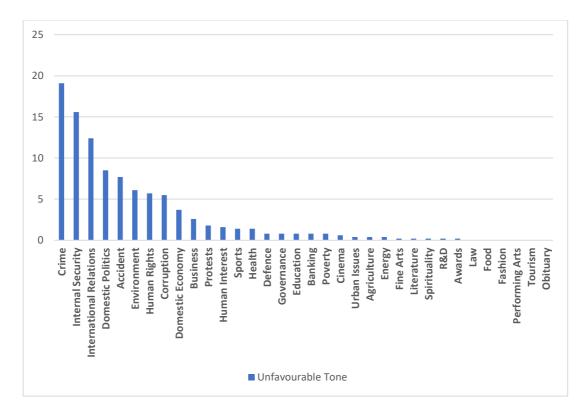


Fig.4.58 Order of unfavourable tone in NYT (High to Low)

In NYT, news stories related to Crime had highest unfavourable tone (19.1%) followed by Internal Security (15.6%) and International Relations (12.4%).

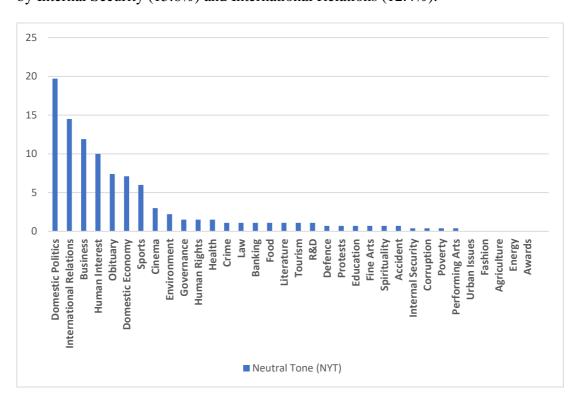
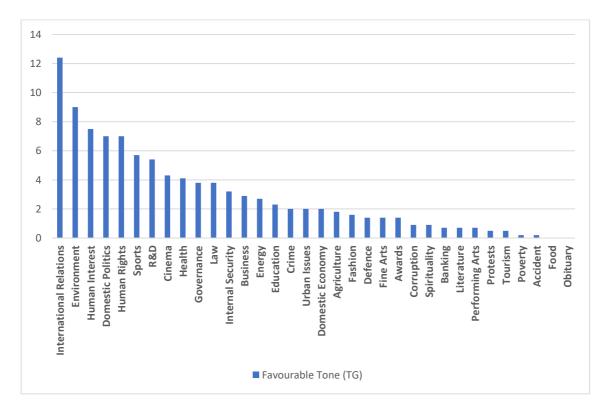


Fig. 4.59 Order of neutral tone in NYT (High to Low)



In NYT, highest neutral coverage was seen in Domestic Politics sub category (19.7%) followed by International Relations (14.5%) and Business (11.9%).

Fig.4.60 Order of favourable tone in TG (High to Low)

In The Guardian, highest favourable coverage was given to news related to International Relations sub category (12.4%) followed by Environment (9%) and Human Interest (7.5%).

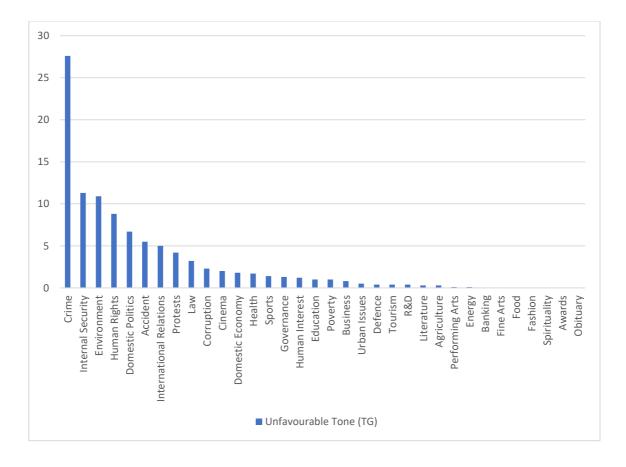


Fig. 4.61 Order of unfavourable tone in TG (High to Low)

In The Guardian, news stories related to Crime sub category had highest unfavourable tone (27.6%) followed by Internal Security (11.3%) and Environment (10.9%). The coverage of environmental news related to India during 2009-2019 was diverse and extensive. It included reports on issues such as air and water pollution, deforestation, climate change, wildlife conservation, and environmental policies. Major events like natural disasters, environmental protests, and initiatives for sustainable development received significant media attention, reflecting growing environmental consciousness and the need for urgent action.

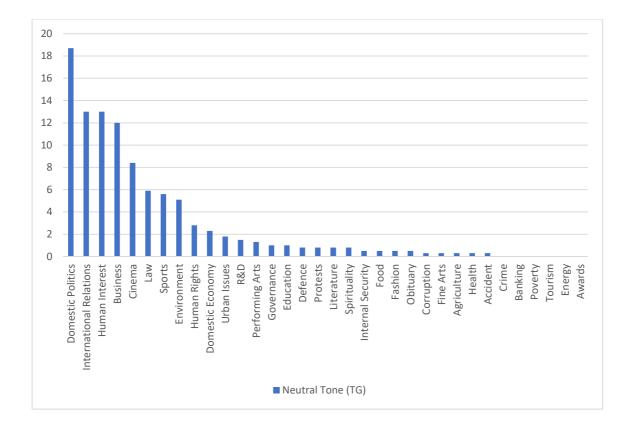


Fig. 4.62 Order of neutral tone in TG (High to Low)

In The Guardian, news stories related to Domestic Politics had highest neutral tone

(18.7%) followed by International Relations and Human Interest (13% each).

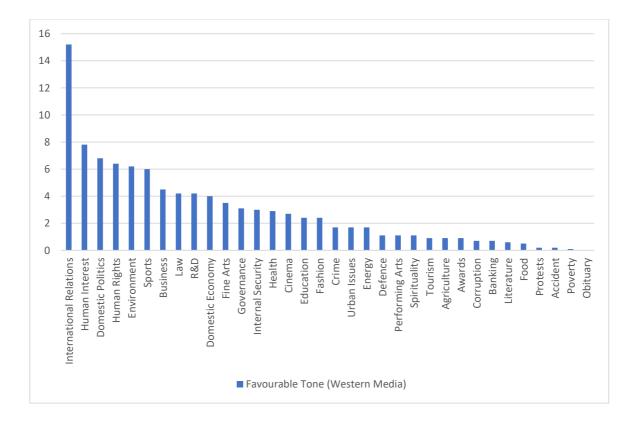


Fig.4.63 Order of favourable tone in western media (High to Low)

In the western media, news stories related to International Relations sub category (15.2%) had highest favourable tone which was followed by news stories related to Human Interest (7.8%) and Domestic Politics (6.8%).

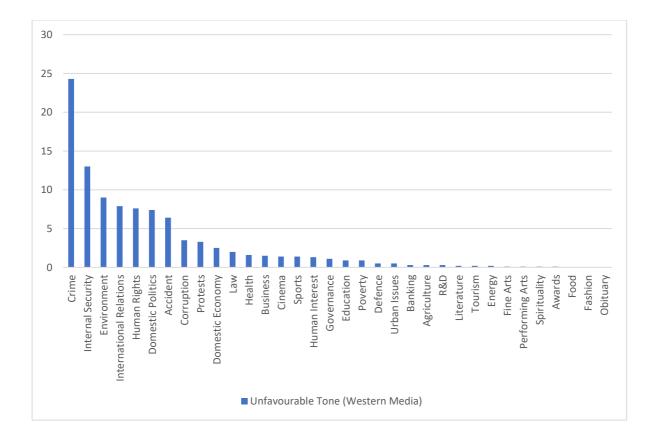


Fig.4.64 Order of unfavourable tone in the Western media (High to Low)

In the western media, news stories related to Crime sub category (24.3%) had highest unfavourable tone. Key criminal activities in India from 2009-2019 included a rise in cybercrimes like online fraud, identity theft, and hacking. Instances of sexual violence against women sparked national outrage and demands for stronger legal measures. Corruption scandals, financial frauds, and organized crime also remained significant challenges throughout the period, necessitating comprehensive law enforcement efforts. Crime sub category was followed by news stories related to Internal Security (13%).

India faced several key internal security challenges from 2009-2019, including terrorism, insurgency, and left-wing extremism. Terror attacks like the 26/11 Mumbai attacks and incidents in Jammu and Kashmir persisted. Insurgency in states like Manipur and left-

wing extremism in states like Chhattisgarh posed significant threats, necessitating robust counterinsurgency measures. Internal Security sub category was followed by news related to Environment (9%) sub category.

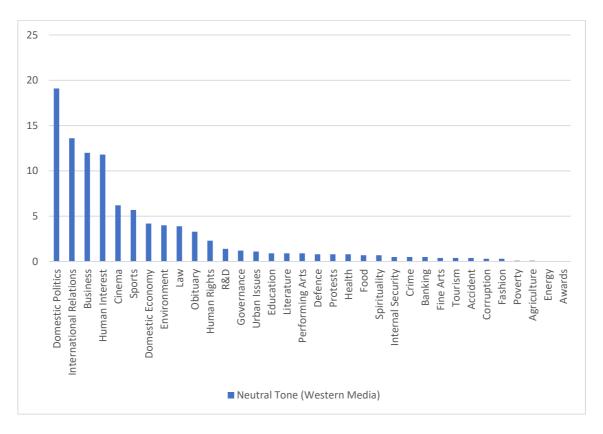


Fig. 4.65 Order of neutral tone in the Western media (High to Low)

In the western media, news stories related to Domestic Politics sub category (19.1%) had highest neutral tone which was followed by news stories related to International Relations (13.6%) and Business (12%).

4.9 The word cloud for headlines



Fig. 4.66 Word cloud of Headlines

These words very clearly show the priority of the western media when it comes to India. Among all the 2736 headlines the words which appeared most frequently in them were as follows: Delhi (103); Rape (96); Kashmir (95); Modi (95); Police (90); Mumbai (78); Pakistan (67); Women (63); Narendra (57) and Bollywood (51).

Delhi (mentioned 103 times) being the capital of India was found in most of the headlines but finding the word "Rape" (96 times) and in so many headlines was a big surprise. It raises big question over the safety and security of women in the country (mentioned 63 times). Several rape cases in India garnered significant media attention and public outrage during 2009-2019. Notable among them are the Nirbhaya case (2012), Kathua rape case (2018), Unnao rape case (2017-2018), Asifa Bano case (2018), and the Hyderabad veterinarian rape-murder case (2019). These incidents sparked nationwide protests and discussions on women's safety and justice.

Kashmir (95 times) was found frequently in the headlines due to its complex geopolitical significance, ongoing conflict between India and Pakistan, human rights issues, militancy, cross-border tensions, and international implications for regional stability. Narendra Modi being the prime minister of India for last ten years was mentioned in large number of headlines. Mumbai being the financial capital of India was mentioned 78 times.

Pakistan was mentioned 67 times due to historical animosity, territorial disputes, crossborder terrorism, nuclear tensions, diplomatic manoeuvring, and their impact on regional security and global geopolitics. Bollywood (mentioned in 51 headlines) is continuously in the news due to its influence on popular culture, celebrity scandals, film releases, box office performances, fashion trends, star-studded events, social media presence, and its significant role in the entertainment industry.

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