

**DETERMINANTS OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS COVERAGE BY INDIAN ENGLISH-
LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS**

BY

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ABSTRACT

The study investigates the determinants used by three leading newspapers of India for international news coverage. The Indian newspapers are heavily dependent on foreign news wire services. They give prominence to news based on national threat and religious affinity, and cover negative news about the countries with which India has sour relations. The study finds science and technology as a new determinant for international news coverage. Trade, population, and distance are found to be poor predictors of international news. The determinants used for the study were based on determinants frequently used by the U.S. media.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Growing Economy and Indian Print Media

Dimensions of the world in terms of superpower are changing. Economist and editor Fareed Zakaria (2008) envisions a multi-polar world and the rise of the East. The “tectonic shift” of Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC) (Zakaria, 2008, p.1) in terms of economy and power has changed the perception of developed nations toward Third World countries.

Goldman Sachs’ report *BRICs and Beyond* predicts that the Gross Domestic Product of India will overtake that of the United States before the year 2050. It will make India the second-largest economy in the world behind only China (O Neill, 2007). India, with a population of 1.4 billion, has become a powerful nation in terms of social change, economy, politics, nuclear weapons, and hordes of other factors (Wilson, Kelston, & Ahmed, 2010). Its media are informing a huge population about what is happening within the nation and around the globe.

The sheer size of India and its rise in the world order make it interesting and relevant to find the determinants of international news coverage used by its newspapers. In terms of international relationships, India was a colony of England, and after independence it became an ally of the USSR. The demise of the USSR led India to become an ally of the United States (Zakaria, 2008). The entire chain of demise and rise of new relationships makes the country more diverse in terms of international relations. It has a British form of education system, its army runs on Soviet ammunition, the United States is the largest trade partner, it has a love-hate relation with China, Indian professionals and laborers account for the largest foreign workforce in the Middle East countries, and it has strong ties with France in the form of a small Indo-French population (Zakaria, 2008).

Media houses in India do have a colonial hangover to an extent. The BBC had a huge presence in the region, and it is slowly waning. BBC Hindi Radio service is on the verge of closure (Miller, 2011). American media houses are slowly collaborating with Indian media houses. CNN has collaboration with Indian news channel IBN; the *Hindustan Times* with the *Washington Post*; *Mint*, a business newspaper, with the *Wall Street Journal*; the *Indian Express* with the *Economist*; and *Mail Today* with British media house *Daily Mail*.

The collaborations come in the wake of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Indian media industry. The Indian government was convinced that FDI will not have major impact on content of country's media. However, newspapers in India were influenced by foreign media houses: "The *Hindu*, which resembled an unadorned *Wall Street Journal*, is turning gaudy in the race of tabloidization" (Silverblatt & Zloblin, 2004, p.183).

After FDI, India industries and media houses are getting bigger. Their growth rate has resulted in "reverse globalization understood as emerging market countries' outbound acquisition by buying companies—not just bonds-- in the developed nations" (Lawniczak & Lawniczak, 2011, p. 200). The BRIC countries' spectacular purchases in developed nations includes Mittal Steel India buying Arcelor in France; Tata, India, buying Corus and Jaguar LandRover of the United Kingdom; Geely, China, buying Volvo (car unit), and CBRD, and Brazil buying INCO in Canada (Lawniczak & Lawniczak, 2011).

In the wake of such massive economic growth it becomes crucial to understand the foreign news selection by media houses within BRIC countries. There is extensive study of determinants of international news coverage used by U.S. media. Some researchers have studied determinants of international news coverage in developing nations. Lehman Brothers termed the BRIC countries as nations that fall on the borderline of developing and developed countries

(Wilson, Kelston, & Ahmed, 2010). The BRIC countries with their economic growth are about to enter the league of developed nations.

The presentation of international news in such international and domestic diversity makes a challenging job for Indian gatekeepers to select parameters for foreign news. This study examines the determinants used by three Indian newspapers in covering international events and foreign countries.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

It is a matter of debate why certain nations get wide coverage and the rest are not on the priority list of gatekeepers. The question of newsworthiness in U.S. media has been studied extensively.

Theory

However, despite extensive research one of the major drawbacks in the study of international communication is that it lacks a theoretical framework. Robert L. Stevenson (1996) concluded, "As an area of study, international communication has no identifiable substance, body of theory, or specific research methods, only geography" (p 181) To an extent cultural imperialism has been used by researchers in the study of international communication as a theoretical framework.

In the 1960s the cultural imperialism was used in the field of communication to understand the "complex phenomenon of U.S media domination" (Chang, 2010, p .9). The world and news have undergone dramatic changes after the end of the Cold War and the advent of Internet have "weathered" the theory of cultural imperialism to an extent (Chang, 2010).

The argument that the Internet and globalization have given wider opportunities to access news about foreign nation has further complicated the study of international communication. In cyberspace a majority of countries remain elusive. Powerful nation such as the United States and the United Kingdom dominate the Internet, and most countries are not even hyperlinked (Himmelboim, 2008). "No existing theory in international communication research, however, seems to be able to explain why the structure of the offline world gets reproduced in cyberspace" (Chang, 2010 p. 15).

In the study of determinants of international news coverage absence of a theory has been discussed by leading researchers. Regardless of numerous studies there is hardly any theory that has been developed in this area (Wu, 2003). Shoemaker et al. (1986) in their landmark study that found deviance as a major predictor of foreign news accepted that determinants of international news coverage lack a theoretical framework.

World of Determinants

Determinants of international news coverage in U.S. media date back to 1960s. In 1965, Galtung and Ruge examined 12 factors that make an international event newsworthy. Their 12 factors were frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, reference to elite nations, reference to elite people, reference to persons, and reference to something negative. The concept of importance of international events, distance in terms of geography, and culture of events also became important determinants (Rosengren, 1974).

Foreign news has a significant role. Coverage of a foreign nation can affect people's perception of the foreign nation (Perry, 1990; Salwen & Matera, 1992). It also has considerable agenda-setting effects (Wanta & Hu, 1993) and builds up knowledge of readers (Barnett & Kim, 1996).

The important role of foreign news in the U.S. coverage led researchers to conduct extensive research on the issue. Wu in 1998 mentioned that around 15 studies were done before 1980, 23 during the time period of 1981 to 1990, and from 1991 to 1998 around 17 studies examining determinants of international news coverage had been completed.

The rich body of studies on determinants of international news coverage uses two theoretical approaches: event-based and contextual-based (Chang, Shoemaker, & Brendlinger,

1987). The variables of the contextual approach include economic status of a country (Rosengren & Richardson, 1974), culture affinity (Hester, 1973), location in world order (Chang, 1998), population size (Kim & Barnett, 1996), and geographical distance from the United States (Van Belle, 2000).

The traditional factors for international news coverage by Galtung and Ruge (1965) were argued to be lacking theoretical framework by Shoemaker et al. (1986). Those researchers came up with more a concrete predictor of news in the form of deviance.

Event-based coverage has three variables. Social change deviance describes an event that, if it occurred in the United States, might bring a change. It means “the extent to which the event threatens the status quo in the country in which the event occurs” (Shoemaker et al. 1987). Normative deviance means “the extent to which the event, if it had occurred in the United States, would have broken the United States’ norms” (Chang et al., 1987, p. 400). Statistical deviance has been explained as “events that are odd and unusual, or that call attention to accomplishments or disasters that are perceived as being far above or below average occurrences” (Shoemaker, Johnson, Seo, & Wang, 2010).

The changing world order after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 changed the determinants of international news coverage to a certain extent (Boccardi, 1993). Gatekeepers in the United States followed five crucial determinants after the collapse of the Soviet Union for selecting news of foreign nations: involvement of the U.S., threat to the U.S. and world peace, anticipated interest of readers, loss of lives and property, and timeliness (Chang & Lee, 1992). In the following years it was found that media gatekeepers view powerful countries as more newsworthy (Chang, 1998).

After the fragmentation of the U.S.S.R there was a debate regarding which nation will become the new adversary of the U.S.A. For nearly four decades the U.S. media portrayed the image of the U.S.S.R as “an evil empire, a secret society, and an ultimate enemy” (Wang, 1995, p. 228). Some of the studies found that China became the new adversary of the U.S.A. Studies found that the U.S. media started giving more coverage to China after the fragmentation of the U.S.S.R. The U.S. media that considered China a harmless nation started carrying more negative news about China after the Cold War era (Stone & Xiao, 2007). The U.S. media then also found adversaries with Middle-East nations including Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan. Galtung and Ruge also predicted that reference to something negative is a good predictor of news.

As a developing nation India’s role in the changing world order has remained crucial. Elizabeth C. Hanson in a longitudinal study of front pages of the *Times of India* tried to find how that newspaper responded to the changing world order after 1989. It tried to identify the *Times of India*’s change in coverage when the U.S.S.R. was collapsing (Hanson,1995). The study held relevance in the wake of India’s strong alliance with the U.S.S.R. in terms of trade, military affairs, and ideology.

The terrorist attacks on 9/11 were another occasion that changed the landscape of international news coverage. The event led to terms like *Islamic terrorism*, and religion to a certain extent became a determinant for international news coverage. The current body of research has not considered religion as a crucial determinant. Chang & Chang (2003) in a study of world editorials on the September 11 attack studied the use of religion as a determinant for international news coverage. They found that “editorials in Muslim countries were less likely than those in non-Muslim countries to focus on ‘international coalition,’ while editorials in

Hindu countries and Christian countries were more likely to bring up ‘international coalition’ than editorials in non-Hindu or non-Christian countries” (Chang & Chang, 2003) .

Science and technology is another determinant that has evaded the list of determinants of international news coverage. Indian media have a penchant for news based on science and technology. Dutt & Garg (2000) in their study of science and technology news coverage in front pages of Indian newspapers found that a total of 23 percent of the news was based on science. The study found that nearly 20 percent of the total science and technology news reports were contributed by foreign media houses. A majority of these science and technology news reports originated from the U.S media houses.

Such a high percentage of foreign science and technology news in Indian media makes science and technology an important determinant for international news coverage.

Negativity

Galtung and Ruge in their 12 predictors of news included reference to negativity. Charles et al. (1979) in their examination of coverage by *New York Times* of 18 African countries found that news of violence received more prominence than other factors. Studies confirmed that most newspapers give more significance to negative news originating from the Third World countries than the industrialized and developed nations (Schulz, 2001).

National Threat

Chang and Lee (1992) asked editors to rate the importance of foreign news selection from a menu of 12 factors: distance, involvement of the United States in the event, cultural relevance, trade, reader’s interest, timeliness, threat of event to the United States, threat of event to world peace, human interest, economic rise of the country, military strength, and loss of lives and

property. The study found that gatekeepers in the United States focus on factors that involve U.S. security and interest.

National Traits

Galtung and Ruge's (1965) structural theory of foreign news was tested by Dupree (1971), who found that 11 national traits conformed to foreign news coverage. The economic ties and population size have been crucial determinants of U.S. media coverage of developing nations. Charles et al. (1979) in a study of coverage of 18 African nations in the *New York Times* found economic ties and population size to be strong predictors of coverage of African nations. The study found that both factors to a large extent decide the coverage. In the same vein, population size and GDP were found to be predictors of foreign news coverage in *Asahi Shimbun*, Japan (Ishii, 1996).

However, Robinson and Sparkes (1976) in their study of 39 newspapers in the United States and Canada found that GDP, population, and trade were not the most effective determinants for predicting coverage of foreign news. They also found that cultural affinity in terms of colonization needs further investigation. Kariel and Rosenvall (1984) in their study of foreign news in Canada found that the elite status of nations is a more powerful determinant than population, trade, and GNP.

Relatedness and Cultural Affinity

Hester (1973) developed a major assumption that readers and gatekeepers would relate more with nations that have cultural similarity, e.g. the United States will relate more with England. The assumption was tested by Shoemaker et al. (1991) and found to be a key variable for international news coverage.

Studies by Atwood (1985), Meyer (1989), and Skurnik (1981) measured the effect of colonial ties on international news coverage. Colonial ties, national interests, and regionalism were found to be significant in determining international news coverage. The Middle East and African nations gave importance to Britain and France, with which they had colonial ties. Atwood found that African and Arab countries tended to give importance to colonial rulers.

Language is also part of a culture determinant for international news coverage. In their study of English and French-language newspapers in Canada, Kariel and Rosenvall (1983) found that newspapers of different languages fall into separate groups. They found that the newspapers in Canada display strong cultural affinities for readers' homelands. The French-language newspapers cover a vast amount of news from France. The English-language newspapers show inclination toward the United Kingdom.

The study also found that in New Brunswick, where the population consists of both French and English cultural groups, newspapers maintain a “more even balance of news from the two cultures” (Kariel & Rosenvall, 1983, p. 435).

Deviance

Shoemaker et al. (1986) identified three important deviances, social change deviance, normative deviance, and statistical deviance, as strong predictor of international news event coverage. Chang et al. (1987) tried to learn why some events are covered and some are not. The study found normative deviance and potential for social change deviance as strong predictors of international event coverage. The same study also found that any event that has the potential to change U.S. norms will have a tendency to be covered by U.S. media.

Involvement

Ethnocentrism, which means involvement of the home nation in an event, was identified to be strong predictor of international news by Hicks and Gordon (1974). In a study of three television networks, ABC, NBC and CBS, Larson (1982) discovered that around 50 percent of the international news of a foreign country had U.S. involvement in one way or other. In the same vein, Riffe (1996) in a study of *New York Times* coverage of foreign nations from 1980 to 1990 found 39 percent of the news report had linkage to the interest of the United States.

Prominence

The world system theory of Wallerstein (1974) divides the nations into three categories: core, semi-periphery, and peripheral. The categorization of nations into three categories was studied as predictor of international news coverage. Chang (1998) found that industrialized Western nations represent the “core zone.” It was found that core nations dominate international event coverage. Chang (2000) found coverage of one core nation in international news equals two semi-peripheral countries and seven peripheral countries. Galtung (1971) argued that international news coverage imbalance is caused by the difference in power relationships among core and peripheral countries.

Population

Kariel and Rosenvall (1983) argued that the majority of the news is about people and activities related to them, so more news about nations with high populations should be carried. Their study of U.S.- to-Canadian newspaper news flow found that a positive relationship between news flow and size of population exists (Kariel & Rosenvall, 1983). However, in a study of the coverage of the Middle East in Swedish newspapers, Rosengren and Rikardsson

(1984) found trade is more important than population in terms of determinants of international news coverage (Kariel & Rosenvall, 1984).

Population in terms of immigrants was also studied by Kariel and Rosenvall. In their study of Canadian newspapers they concluded that population was a crucial factor in determining news from France (Kariel & Rosenvall, 1983). As noted earlier, they found that Canada's newspapers display remarkable cultural affinities toward their readers' respective cultural homelands, the French-language newspapers toward France and the English-language ones toward the United Kingdom (p 435).

Infrastructure

The entire issue of imbalance in foreign news coverage was furiously debated during the UNESCO convention in 1970. Communication experts of UNESCO underlined, "What has come to be known as the free flow of information at the present time is often in fact a 'one way' rather than a true exchange of information" (UNESCO, 1970). The gross imbalance in the international news flow and negligible representation of underdeveloped and developing nations became a matter of concern.

One crucial reason for the imbalance is a lack of communication resources in Third World countries. The major global news agencies--AP, UPI, Reuters, and AFP-- are located in developed countries: United States, France, and Britain (Chang, Shoemaker, & Brendlinger, 1987).

Few research projects have focused on developing nations, their perceptions, and their determinants for covering international news. Wu (2003) in his study of 44 countries compared news flow between developed and underdeveloped countries and made an observation: The fact that international news coverage gravitates to the powerful is

intriguing, and the implications of this phenomenon certainly await further scholarly research to generate a more comprehensive theoretical framework (p. 20).

Developed Nations, Developing Nations, and BRIC Countries

Scholars carried out a series of studies in the backdrop of the 1970 UNESCO convention. Researchers opined that there is indeed imbalance in the coverage of underdeveloped and developing nation in the international news coverage by developed nations (Masmoudi, 1979).

In 1979, Charles, Shores, and Todd in their examination of coverage by *New York Times* of 18 African countries found that news of violence was given prominence over other issues. In the 1980s, India complained of similar unfair treatment by Western media. The Western media were blamed for covering negative news of drought, flood, and civil war in India and ignoring nation's entry into space and satellite launches (Yadav, 1984).

A few Indian journalists criticized the way coverage of the seventh non-alignment conference was done by five Western media: the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Baltimore Sun*, and the *Times*, London. Journalists termed the Western media "The Jaundiced Eye" (Mathur & Shrivastava, 1984, p. 116-118).

Over the years Indian media have evolved, and their dependence on foreign news coverage has come down to a certain extent (Yadav, 1984).

Some of the developing nations such as Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC) are not only part of the changing world order but should emerge as developed nations in the decade to come. India by its sheer size, robust economy, and political ties is difficult to ignore. The media scene in India is vibrant, with newspapers published in around 76 languages. According to the World Association of Newspapers, India is the second largest country of

newspaper readers after China. According to the survey conducted in 2005, China was on top with 93.5 million copies a day and India second with 78.8 million copies a day. It may come as a surprise that world's biggest English daily is *Times of India* with a circulation of 2.5 million copies a day (Times News Network, 2005).

The determinants of international news coverage went through a transformation phase after the collapse of the USSR, and Hoge (1993, 1997) argued that the predictability of news will change. The new world order as seen by Zakaria (2008) hints at another remapping of the world with the emergence of the BRIC countries. India as a part of the BRIC countries has media houses that influence public perception of foreign countries.

The determinants of international news coverage that are adopted by U.S. media have been widely studied. The purpose of this thesis is to determine if the leading English-language newspapers of India follow the same determinants as those used by U.S. media houses.

H1- Indian newspapers cover negative news of foreign nations with which India has sour relations and positive news of nations with which it has good relations.

Galtung and Ruge identified reference to negativity as a predictor of news. Charles et al found that the *New York Times* gives preference to negative news originating from 18 African nations. Also, it was argued that nations need an adversary and after the collapse of the U.S.S.R, China became the new adversary for the U.S. and its media (Stone & Xiao, 2007).

H2- Indian newspapers give prominence to foreign news based on science and technology.

Dutt and Garg (2000) in a study of science and technology news coverage in Indian newspapers found that a total of 23 percent of the news was based on science. They also found that nearly 20 percent of the total science and technology news reports were contributed by

foreign media houses. Science and technology as a determinant of international news coverage is initialized by this study.

H3- Indian newspapers' coverage of nations focuses more on the United States than on other nations.

The dynamics of international relations have undergone vast change after demise of the U.S.S.R. Hanson, in a study of the *Times of India*, found that the U.S.A. had become one of the most covered nations after the fragmentation of the U.S.S.R. Also, the world system theory of Wallerstein (1974) divides the nations into three categories: core, semi-periphery, and peripheral. The United States is a core nation.

H4- Indian newspapers are dependent on three prominent news agencies -AP, AFP, and Reuters -- for coverage of international news.

The UNESCO debate claimed that developing nations are heavily dependent on foreign news wire for international news coverage (UNESCO, 1970). This hypothesis tests if India is still dependent on foreign news wire or not.

RQ 1. Which determinants of international news coverage do Indian English-language newspapers follow?

RQ 2. Which of the determinants are most prominently used by Indian English-language newspapers?

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

To study the determinants used by English newspapers in India, three leading English newspapers of the country, *The Times of India*, *The Hindustan Times*, and *The Indian Express* have been selected. The selection of the newspapers is based on the Indian Readership Survey (IRS) of 2011. The time period June 1 to 10, 2011, has been selected.

The coverage of international news related to foreign countries in the front pages and international pages of the three newspapers is examined. The unit of analysis is the individual news story. However, news stories that merely mentioned the country and did not focus on it are not included.

Content analysis of news reports will help in understanding what factors were used for story selection. The determinants of international news coverage identified by researchers – trade, distance, language, religion, negativity, deviance, infrastructure, cultural affinity, science and technology, population, and coverage of the U.S.A are coded.

Content analysis is described by Keyton (2001) as a tool “to measure the occurrence of some identifiable element in a complete text or set of messages.” Altheide (1996) explained the role of quantitative content analysis: “the major tact of quantitative content analysis is to verify or confirm hypothesized relationships rather than discover new or emergent patterns” (p.16). This study measures the determinants used by Indian English-language newspapers for international news coverage through quantitative content analysis.

Trade

The import and export figure of the trade between India and the nation covered is gleaned from the official website of government of India. Coding takes into consideration trade in terms of import and export between India and nation covered.

Distance

The CIA World Fact Book gives shortest air distance between capitals of India and the nation covered.

Language

The official language spoken in the country covered and percentage of Indian population speaking the native language of covered nation is known from the official website of the Indian government and the official website of the nation covered in the news report.

Religion

Religion, which is a part of cultural affinity, is correlated by the population size. For example India has a vast population of Muslims, and its coverage of Middle East can be influenced by religion. The populations of religious faiths are known from official census data of both countries.

Colony

India was ruled by England, France, and Portugal. The official website of the Indian government gives a break-down of the number of years British, French, and Portuguese ruled.

Negativity

Researchers have found that bad international relations between two countries can result in one nation's negative coverage of a nation with which it has sour relations. The CIA World Fact Book give lists of adversity among nations.

Deviance

Normative deviance and social change deviance are analyzed by the coders on a four-point scale. Events that if happening in India would have changed the norms represent normative

deviance. Social change deviance measures an event that if happening in India would have brought social change.

Infrastructure

The UNESCO debate in 1970 underlined that developing nations are dependent on international news wires for international news coverage. The byline and contribution of news reports by wire services, national reporters, or foreign reporters, including reports contributed by collaboration of Indian media house with foreign media houses, are measured.

Variables

The coverage of news of a foreign nation is the dependent variable, and factors such as trade, cultural affinity, population, and negativity are independent variables.

Data Analysis

The Pearson Correlation is used to establish a relation between dependent and independent variables. Pearson Correlation Co-efficient is used for finding a correlation between data procured after content analysis of variables coded from the newspaper reports. If the correlation coefficient value is near ± 1 , then it's considered to be a perfect correlation. If the value is between ± 0.75 and ± 1 , then correlation is of high degree. If the value is around zero, then it means there is no correlation.

Coding Sheet

A coding sheet was developed for the content analysis of each news report. Each news report was assigned an identification number. The first five questions were based on the identification of the news report: (1) Identity number of news report, (2) Name of Country, (3) Newspaper, (4) Headline, and (5) Publication Date- DD/MM/YY. Questions 6 to 19 addressed H1 to H4 about the determinants of news selection, nature of news story, population of

immigrants, total population of country covered, export and import figures, distance, infrastructure, cultural ties, language, religion, social change, normative change, and involvement. Question number (20) specified the number of columns the news report occupied.

Inter-coder Reliability

The researcher is the first coder with an experience of eight years in journalism in India. He was born and raised in India. A coding booklet was developed for the second coder. The second coder from India was trained to code 10 percent of the news reports. The second coder is also an Indian with five years of experience in journalism. He was also born and raised in India. The second coder has done conflict reporting in India and is presently a Master's students in the U.S.A. During the training, 31 news reports were selected for coding. Both coders at the same time coded the news reports. After coding, inter-coder reliability was calculated by the simple agreement (Holsti's formula) at .99, and Cohen's Kappa at .98.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

The study used a total of 301 international news reports covered by *The Indian Express*, *The Hindustan Times*, and *The Times of India*. The statistics show that *Times of India* printed more international news and devotes two full pages-- Times Global, and Times Trends-- for foreign news coverage. In the 10- day news cycle *The Times of India* printed 163, *The Hindustan Times* printed 71, and *The Indian Express* printed 67 international news reports.

Table 1 shows the nature of reports that received prominence. Threat to the nation was the dominant determinant for international news coverage. A considerable number of threat to nation reports originated from Muslim dominated countries: Pakistan, Yemen, Afghanistan, and Egypt. India is one of the worst victims of terrorism and is deeply impacted from cross-border terrorism from Islamic nations. The majority of terrorism-based news reports originated from Pakistan. War and conflict reports including threat to the nation constituted 63.3 percent (190 reports) of the total 301 news reports. There were 38.2 percent (115 reports) of reports that were purely based on threat to nation, and 24.9 percent (75 reports) were about war and conflict.

H1, which states that Indian media cover negative news about countries with which it has sour relations and positive news about nations with which it has friendly relations, is supported. The nations covered were divided into two categories of friendly and unfriendly nations (Table 3). A t-test was performed to compare the whether friendly nations ($M = 2.20$, $SD = .78$) are covered more positively than unfriendly ($M = 2.78$, $SD = 5.37$) countries in Indian newspapers. A higher score on the frame scale indicates a higher level of negativity. The difference between means is statistically significant ($t = -7.56$, $p < .001$).

Table 1. Nature of Reports

Nature	No. of reports	Percent
Threat to Nation	115	38.2
War/Conflict	75	24.9
Science and Technology	65	21.7
Lifestyle	24	8.0
Politics	19	6.3
Disaster	2	.7
Total	301	100

The chi-square for nature of reports equals 387.767 with four degree of freedom. The two-tailed P value is less than 0.0001. The difference is statistically significant.

Threat to the nation is the most prominent determinant. News based on war and conflict is the second most prominent determinant. The third most prominent determinant of international news is based on science and technology. It's intriguing that the existing body of literature does not include it as one of the determinants of international news coverage. It's difficult to ascertain why Indian newspapers give prominence to international science, research, and health news. Science and technology stories constituted 21.7 percent (65 reports) of the news reports. H2 predicts that Indian newspapers gives prominence to science and technology news, is supported.

Table 2 shows the countries covered by the Indian newspapers. The U.S.A. is the most covered nation: 26.4 percent (79 reports) were based on the superpower. H3, which states that the Indian newspapers' coverage of nations focuses more on the United States than on other nations, is supported.

Table 2. Countries in News

Country	No. of Reports	Percent
USA	79	26.4
Pakistan	56	18.7
UK	34	11.4
Yemen	29	9.7
Germany	14	4.7
China	14	4.7
Afghanistan	12	4
Syria	7	2.3
Iran	2	0.7
Nepal	3	1
Sri Lanka	6	2
Hong Kong	1	0.3
Chile	7	2.3
Saudi Arabia	2	0.7
Netherlands	3	1
Libya	11	3.7
Russia	1	0.3
Indonesia	1	0.3
Switzerland	3	1
Egypt	3	1
Japan	2	0.7
Iraq	2	0.7
Malaysia	1	0.3
France	3	1
Bahrain	1	0.3
Venezuela	1	0.3
Portugal	1	0.3
Total	299	100

Table 3. India's Relationship with Countries Covered

Friendly Countries		Hostile Countries	
1. USA		1. Pakistan	
2. UK		2. Yemen	
3. Nepal		3. Syria	
4. Sri Lanka		4. China	
5. Chile		5. Germany	
6. Saudi Arabia		6. Iran	
7. Netherland		7. Afghanistan	
8. Russia		8. Australia	
9. Indonesia		9. Libya	
10. Switzerland		10. Iran	
11. Egypt			
12. Japan			
13. Malaysia			
14. France			
15. Bahrain			
16. Venezuela			
17. Portugal			
18. Hong Kong			

The UNESCO debate on developing nations' dependence on foreign news wire services still holds true in India. Table 4 shows the Indian newspapers' dependence on foreign wire services. A total of 42.7 percent (123) of the news reports were written by foreign wire services.

The dependence on foreign news infrastructure further grows to 52.7 percent (152 news reports) if the foreign news organizations, and news gathered through foreign media collaborations are added. The Indian newspapers selected more than half of the stories from international news wires, news organizations and collaborations. H4, which states that Indian media are dependent on foreign news outlets for international news coverage, is supported. The chi-square for infrastructure equals 171.688 with four degrees of freedom. The two-tailed P value is less than 0.0001. The difference is statistically significant.

Table 4. Infrastructure

News Contribution	Frequency	Percent
API/AFP/Reuters	123	42.7
Indian News Agency	96	33.3
Indian Correspondents	40	13.9
Foreign News Org.	22	7.6
Collaboration	7	2.4
Total	288	100.0

Researchers identified religious affinity, language affinity, cultural affinity, trade, distance, involvement, social change, and normative deviance as prominent determinants of international coverage. Table 5 ranks the news reports that were based on six determinants, religion, language, cultural affinity, involvement, social change, and normative deviance.

The determinants have been assigned rank on the basis of the mean. A higher mean gives higher rank to the determinant.

Table 5. Determinant Rank

Rank	Determinant	Strongly (4)	Somewhat (3)	Little (2)	No (1)	Total	Mean	SD
1	Religious Affinity	83	195	16	5	298	3.19	.60
	Percent	27.8	65.2	5.4	1.7	100		
2	Language Affinity	58	130	54	57	299	2.63	1.00
	Percent	19.4	43.5	18.1	19.1	100		
3	Cultural Affinity	96	26	121	56	299	2.54	1.12
	Percent	32.1	8.7	40.5	18.7	100		
4	Social Change	35	117	57	90	299	2.32	1.02
	Percent	11.7	39.1	19.1	30.1	100		
5	Normative Deviance	8	61	118	112	299	1.88	.82
	Percent	2.7	20.4	39.5	37.5	100		
6	Involvement	30	9	6	253	298	1.38	.95
	Percent	10.1	3	2	84.9	100		

Religious affinity ($M=3.19$, $SD=.60$) is the most prominent determinant for selection of international news of these six determinants. Language affinity ($M=2.63$, $SD=1.00$) and cultural affinity ($M=2.54$, $SD=1.12$) are the second most prominent determinants. 19.4 percent (58) of the news reports covered nations that have strong language affinity with India.

There were 32.1 percent (96 news reports) with strong cultural affinity with the nation covered. Also, 8.7 percent (26 news reports) were based on “somewhat” cultural relevance with the nation covered. This means 40.8 percent (122 news reports) were based on nations with

which India has cultural ties. Table 6 shows a comparison of variables that were coded on a four point scale of strong, somewhat, little and no. The idea is to give a clear picture of whether the variables were coded on the two point scale of yes and no.

Social change deviance ($M=2.32$, $SD= 1.02$) is a better predictor of foreign news than normative deviance ($M=1.88$, $SD= .82$) in Indian English-language newspapers: 39.1 percent of the reports (117 reports) had “somewhat” potential to bring social change and 11.7 percent of the reports (35 reports) had strong potential to bring change. Additionally, 2.7 percent (8 reports) had strong potential to change the norms in India (normative deviance), and 20.4 percent (61 reports) had the potential to “somewhat” change the norms.

The involvement ($M=1.38$, $SD=.95$) of India with a foreign nation is a weak determinant for foreign news selection: 10.1 percent (30 news reports) were based on nations with which India has strong involvement.

Table 6. A Comparison of Sum of Somewhat and Strong with No and Little

Determinant	Somewhat+Strong	No+Little	Total Reports	SW+ST/Total
Religious Affinity	278	21	299	93.2
Language Affinity	188	111	299	62.8
Social Change	152	147	299	50.8
Cultural Affinity	122	177	299	40.8
Normative Deviance	69	230	299	23
Involvement	39	259	298	13

RQ1 asks, which determinants of international news coverage do Indian newspapers follow? The three Indian newspapers examined in the study follow the determinant of infrastructure, threat to nation, U.S.A. as most covered nation in Indian newspapers, war and conflict, reports based on science and technology, religious affinity, language affinity, involvement, social change, and normative deviance. The determinants of trade and distance are

found to be poor determinants of international news coverage. The data of distance and trade provides no valid results.

In this study, determinants of infrastructure, threat to nation, the U.S.A, war/conflict and science and technology have been ranked using simple data and means. The determinants of infrastructure, threat to nation, U.S.A as most covered nation in Indian print media, war and conflict have been ranked separately. The other set of six determinants-- religious affinity, language affinity, social change, culture affinity, normative deviance, and involvement-- have been ranked on the basis of means. This second set of determinants has been ranked in a separate table.

RQ 2 aims to find the most prominent determinant of the international news coverage in India. The most prominent determinants based on percentages include infrastructure, threat, U.S.A. as most covered nation, war, and science and technology. Table 7 ranks these determinants on the basis of percentage.

Table 7. Prominent Determinants Based on Percentage

Rank	Determinants	Percent
1	Infrastructure	42.7
2	Threat to Nation	38.2
3	U.S.A	26.4
4	War/Conflict	24.9
5	Science & Technology	21.7

The ranking of six determinants based on means has been listed in Table 5. The most prominent determinants in terms of means include religious affinity, language affinity, cultural affinity, social change deviance, normative deviance, and involvement. In terms of percent the most prominent determinants are infrastructure, threat to nation, U.S.A, war/conflict, and science and technology.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of the study is to analyze the strong determinants of international news coverage used by Indian-English language newspapers in India. There is limited study about determinants used by news media in developing nations (BRIC) that are on the verge of entering league of elite nations. The majority of determinants of international news coverage pertain to developed countries. Prominent among those are the U.S.A., U.K., Canada, and France.

The study examined 301 international news reports of the *Times of India*, the *Hindustan Times* and the *Indian Express*. The data coded from the reports identify science and technology as a new determinant for international news coverage. The considerable coverage of science and technology news and of nations with strong religious affinity makes the Indian English-language newspapers distinct. The determinants of international news coverage studied by researchers do not include science and technology, and researchers give limited importance to religious affinity. 21.7 percent (65) of the international news reports in the Indian English-language newspapers were based on science and technology.

It's difficult to ignore both the determinants despite the fact that they do not figure on the traditional list of determinants of international news coverage.

The diversity of emerging economic power in India makes its media houses different from those in other nations across the world. India has a considerable population of Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, and other religions. The determinant of religion becomes a crucial factor for Indian editors to select international news. The coverage of Islamic nations becomes prominent because of the huge Muslim population within India and because of rivalry with

Pakistan, an Islamic nation. Religion also becomes crucial in the wake of alleged links of terrorism with Islamic nations.

Threat to the nation has been a prominent predictor of foreign news. Dennis Wu in a comparative study of traditional media and two leading news websites of the USA found that coverage of Iraq dominated both media (Wu, 2007). Chang and Lee (1992) also found threat to the nation as an important determinant from the gatekeeper's perspective for foreign news coverage. Extensive coverage of Pakistan, Yemen, and Afghanistan is solely dependent on terrorism or threat to nation with a religious frame. The Indian newspapers carry reports about nations with which India has a high religious affinity. At the same time a majority of these nations, including Pakistan, Yemen and Afghanistan, have been widely blamed for breeding terrorist organizations. Both Afghanistan and Pakistan pose a high degree of security threat to India, but a majority of Muslim population in India relates with these two countries.

The publication of news reports based on science and technology is intriguing. The current body of research does not give any explanation on this determinant. A majority of science and technology reports originated from developed countries. They include medical breakthroughs, technological advancement in engineering and software, innovations, space, and biotechnology.

One of the reasons for Indian newspapers' giving such high importance to scientific news might be India's culture of science education. Statistics in 2004 reveal that the United States produced around 70,000, China 600,000, and India 350,000 engineers (Colvin, 2006). The number of engineering graduates in China and India is increasing. On the contrary, the number of engineers graduating in the U.S. is declining (Wulf, 2005). A considerable number of Indian engineers are educated in Western countries. The number of Indian and Chinese engineers

graduating from the universities in the United States and staying in the United States is quite high: Research by Michael Finn of the Oak Ridge Institute for Science and Education found that 86 percent of Indian engineers graduating from United States universities stay in the United States. (Gerrefi, Wadhwa, Rissin, & Ong, 2008).

Some of the determinants of international news coverage have a strong historical relevance with Indian media. India might be raring to enter the league of elite nations, but its media are still dependent on foreign news outlets. The UNESCO debate of developing nations' dependence on foreign wire services for international news coverage still holds true for India. Nearly half of total news reports were written by foreign news wires or international media houses. Infrastructure has been identified as a strong predictor of international news coverage.

Indian newspapers are deeply enchanted by two elite nations: the U.S.A and U.K. They prominently cover the U.S.A. and U.K. The wide coverage of the U.S.A. becomes obvious after the demise of the U.S.S.R. an ally of India. Researchers have found a positive relationship with colonial rulers and international news coverage. India was a colony of Great Britain. Its media prominently relate to British forms of education, architecture, literature, and politics.

Distance, trade, and population are poor determinants of international news coverage in Indian English-language newspapers. The Indian newspapers cover Pakistan extensively and ignore its two neighbors Bhutan and Bangladesh. There were few news reports about Nepal and Sri Lanka. However, the newspapers give prominence to China. The focus on China might be due to economic competition and threat to the nation. India has border disputes with China. China also attacked India in 1962, which resulted in a war.

No positive relationship could be derived from coverage of trade and population. It's surprising that Indian English-language newspapers do not give much importance to trade

relations for selecting foreign news despite India's being a major economic force and a part of the BRIC nations. The international news world of Indian English-language newspapers does not show China, Russia, Brazil, and other emerging economies with much prominence.

CHAPTER SIX: LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

There needs to be inclusion of the gatekeepers' perspective for clearly understanding the determinants used by the Indian print media. The Indian newspapers' penchant for science and technology news needs further investigation. A qualitative study of editors of leading Indian English newspapers can help explain the reason why science and technology is such a crucial determinant for international news coverage.

The reliance on foreign media outlets affects the examination of crucial determinants. It blurs the examination of social change and normative deviance. News wire giants such as AP, AFP, and Reuters frame their news for readers of Western countries. The framing of these reports by an Indian correspondent might have clearly explained the social or norms change that the event could have brought in India.

Nahid Kabir, in a study of representation of Muslims and Islam in Australian media, concluded that coverage of Islam focuses on demonizing Muslims. The study also highlighted that news using words like Islam and Muslim has seen a rapid increase after 2001 (Kabir, 2006). It must be a difficult task for gatekeepers in India to differentiate the thin line between selecting news from Islamic nations and news on terrorism. It has been widely accepted that media portray that "the customs, dress and religious practices of Muslims have sinister associations with the terrorist activities of Islamic militants" (Kabir, 2006, p. 327). A majority of Islamic nations have been blamed for spreading terrorism. Since India has a considerable population of Muslims, it becomes extremely difficult to ascertain whether the news selection involving Islamic nations is based on Muslim readership in India or terrorism (threat to nation). However, a majority of negative news about Islamic nations tilts more toward the threat to nation determinant. A

comparison of Indian media coverage of Islamic nation before 9/11 and after 9/11 could be helpful in clearly understanding the thin line dividing threat to nation and religion determinant.

The study used a population size of 301 international reports covered by three leading English-language newspapers of India. A bigger sample size or longitudinal study of international news reports covered in a time span of one year could give a much clearer picture of determinants used by the newspapers in India. Also, the newspapers included in the study are the largest circulated English newspapers in India. There are other Hindi language newspapers that have a much larger circulation than the English language newspapers. A study of Hindi newspapers would give a broader view of determinants used by the newspapers in India.

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Coding Sheet

1. ID of news report

2. Name of Country

3. Newspaper

4. Headline

5. Day/month/year

6. Nature of news story (Check all that applies).

1. Natural disaster 2. Politics 3. War/Conflict 4. Lifestyle 5. Research/ Science/ Health 6. Any other-specify

7. What is the population of immigrant Indian in the country covered?

8. What is the total population of the country covered?

9. The export figure of the county with India.

10. Import figure of the country with India.

11. How has the news been framed?

1. Positive 2. Neutral 3. Negative

12. Geographical distance of country covered from India. Distance between two capitals.

13. News has been written by

1. International News agency 2. Foreign news organizations 3. Indian news agency 4. Indian correspondent 5. Collaboration 6. Any other-specify

14. Cultural ties with country covered.

1. No 2. A Little 3 Somewhat 4. Strongly

15. Language affinity between the two countries.

1. No 2. A Little 3 Somewhat 4. Strongly

16. Religious affinity between the two countries.

1. No 2. A Little 3 Somewhat 4. Strongly

17. Does the news have the potential to bring social change?

1. No 2. A Little 3 Somewhat 4. Strongly

18. Does the news or event if happened in India would break the norms ?

1. No 2. A Little 3 Somewhat 4. Strongly

19. Is there involvement of India in the event or news covered?

1. No 2. A Little 3. Somewhat 4. Strongly

20. Does the report poses any threat to India?

1. Yes 2. No.

21. Specify the number of column of the news report.

Coding Booklet

1. ID of News story

Assign an identity number to the news story. Identity is in the number format—01, 02.

2. Name of the Country

In the news story identify the country that has been covered. The identification of the country is done carefully. News stories that just mention the name of the country should be ignored. The report should have some relevance to the country covered.

3. Newspaper

Specify the name of the newspaper whose reports is being coded. For the *Hindustan Times* use HT, the *Times of India* use TOI, and for *Indian Express* use IE.

4. Headline

Type the entire headline of the news story that is being coded.

5. Date/Month/Year

Specify the date/month/year of publication of the news story in dd/mm/yy format.

6. Nature of the news story

Identify the nature of the news story. Assign number 1 for Natural Disaster, 2 for Politics, 3 for War/Conflict, 4 for Lifestyle, 5 for Science and Technology. Use number 6 for Any Other subject covered in the news story. Also, identify the subject of news story falling under Any Other category and mention it the coding sheet.

7. What is the population of immigrant Indians in the country covered?

From the official census of immigrants of Government of India mention the number of Indian living in the country that has been covered in the news story.

8. What is the population of the country covered?

Use the official CIA Factbook to find the total population of the country covered in the news story.

9. The export figure of the country covered?

From the official website of the Government of India mention the total amount of export that the country covered has with India.

10. The import figure of country with India

From the official website of the Government of India mention the total amount of import that the country covered has with India.

11. How has the news been framed?

Identify whether the news has been framed Positive, Neutral or Negative.

12. Geographical distance of the country covered from India.

Use the official website of the Government of India to mention the distance between two countries. The website gives the air distance between two capitals. It means distance between New Delhi, the capital of India and capital of the country covered. For example, if the news story mentions the U.S.A. then distance calculated should be between New Delhi and Washington.

13. News has been written by

1. International News Agencies are AP, AFP, Reuters, and Bloomberg.
2. Foreign News Organizations can be any foreign media outlet. It can be *New York Times*, *BBC* or *China Times*. The foreign news organizations are defined as foreign news outlets that

are not news wires. 3. Indian News Agencies are Press Trust of India (PTI) and IANS (Indi-Asian News Service). 4. Indian Correspondents are reporters from India that are either posted in a foreign country or Indian reporter whose byline appears in the news story. 5. Collaborations- the newspapers in India have some form of collaboration with foreign news agencies or organizations. The international news stories that mentions 'in collaboration with..' comes in this category. For example there can be news stories in the *Hindustan Times* that says, in collaboration with Washington Post.

14. Cultural ties with the country covered.

The cultural ties between India and the country covered can be defined as common festivals, attire, food, belief, faith or rituals that are common between two countries. Be careful to differentiate between 1. No and 2. A Little 3. Somewhat and 4. Strongly. For example, India will have a strong cultural affinity with Pakistan but somewhat with majority of other Islamic nations. India will have somewhat cultural affinity with Iran but a strong one with Saudi Arabia because Haj is major pilgrimage site for almost all Indian Muslims. A section of Indian Muslims are also fluent with Arabic. Also, Mughals ruled India for centuries and Indians relate to Mughal food and architecture.

15. Language affinity between the two countries.

The official website of government of India gives the total number of population that speaks English, Arabic, French, German, Mandarin etc. The level of language affinity can be answered by comparing the population of India speaking the language of the country covered. Be careful when it comes to American English and British English. Both forms of English have strong affinity with India.

16. Religious affinity between the two countries.

The official website of Government of India gives the number of people following a particular religion. Be careful in case of Islamic countries. India have a huge population of Sunni Muslims and less number of Shia Muslims. Countries like Iran that has a high Shia Muslim population will have a less religious affinity than Saudi Arabia that has a huge Sunni Muslim population. In countries like Japan, China, Tibet and Sri Lanka, a considerable population is Buddhist. Lord Buddha attained nirvana in India. Also, Christianity has a vast influence in India.

17. Does the news or event if happened in India would bring social change?

There are certain international events that brought a social change in India. For example, remark of a police officer in Canada blaming scantily dressed woman for eve-teasing and rape brought sharp reactions in Indian. A section of females in India started the tradition of Slut Walk to protest such remarks made by Indian police officers. It was an event that strengthened the women is empowerment movement in India.

18. Does the news or event if happened in India would break the norms?

There are few events like the terrorism attack in America that broke the norm of lax attitude of Indian government on the issue of terrorism. Lynching of a thief or a robber or a rapist in Middle-East countries created ripples in India. People in India also started lynching rapists in particular and the norm of justice was broken.

19. Is there involvement of India in the event or news covered?

Identify the level of involvement of India in the event or the news covered.

20. Does the news story mention the threat to India?

Some of the news story mention about security or economic threat to India. Identify the level of threat that the news story poses to India.

21. Specify the number of column of the news story?

Count the number of columns that the news story occupied.