Comparative Framing of Islam and Muslims by Indian Press in Congress (2009-2014) and BJP (2014-2019) Led Era

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Abstract

This paper aimed at comparatively analyzing the framing of Islam and Muslim in the Indian press, as Muslims are one of the prominent minorities of India, having a population of more than 201 million. 10 years of data collected from Times of India and Hindustan Time through LexisNexis database with the search terms "Muslim" and "Islam". Qualitative framing analysis performed on collected news stories with the help of qualitative data analysis software QSR Nvivo. The findings reveal significant differences in the framing of Muslims and Islam in selected eras of Congress and BJP. The newspapers tend more aggressive and hostile towards Islam and Muslims in the BJP era than the Congress era with the association of Muslims and Islam to Hindutva, conflict, Islamic radicalization, nationalism and minority affairs. Moreover, BJP marked news coverage of Islam and Muslims in the context of India's internal affairs. Albeit the coverage in the Congress era remains predominantly hostile towards Islam and Muslims, the press discussed in a broader frame of Clash of Civilizations, Islamic radicalization and Kashmir movement. The study concluded that India is no more a secular or liberal country as the prevailing violent nationalistic sentiments, the lynching of Muslims and Christians, burning down mosques and churches, demolishing Babri mosque, and campaigns like "GharWapci" are the indicators of Hindu radicalization and terrorism.
Keywords: Framing, Islam, Muslim, Congress, BJP, Press, Times of India, Hindustan Times

1. Introduction

European Muslim youth is linked with gender (in) equality and are often constructed in terms of religious veils and outward signs as clear and recognizable signs of difference. Races and classes, on the other hand, exist, but are often avoided when the colonial past shakes its head. In short, these topics are analyzed in response to the "not" claim rather than a more impartial survey (Boland, 2021). As we know, the role of the media is to disseminate information to people by raising awareness about the various issues that affect the community. But when it comes to how to represent Muslims and women in particular, the pen always changes color and is appropriate for how to represent women, especially women, especially on all media platforms. Find methods and conditions. The general perception of Muslim women is always different, especially in most Western countries. Most of them believe that all women who come out publicly with an Islamic veil are associated with terrorism and Islamic extremists, which often leads to a debate about Islam phobia (Kasirye, 2021).

India claimed to be a secular, liberal and democratic state having vast cultural and ethnic diversity. However, the recent two decades witnessed increased radicalization of Indian society resulting in the emergence of a Hindu state ideology where intolerance against other minorities has risen to a higher level. This radicalization caused the lynching of Muslim in the name of religion; relatively low caste Hindus and Christians are also the targets of Hindutva. The demolition of the Babri Mosque in 1992 by Hindu extremists resulted in inter-communal violence that led to the killing of more than two thousand Muslims and several incidents of rapes reported. Mr. Narendra Modi, the current Prime Minister of India, accused of initiating

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and condoning the violence, who was the Chief Minister of Gujarat at that time. During the 2002 Gujarat riots, Modi emerged as an extremist Hindu leader originally belong to Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), an Indian right-wing Hindu nationalist paramilitary volunteer organization based on the ideology of "Hindutva", i.e. India belongs to Hindus only. RSS is the parent organization of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Many scholars consider the Gujarat Riots as planned attacks against Gujarat Muslims (Dhattiwala & Biggs, 2012: 485; Ogden, 2012) by Modi and RSS. Since then, Modi's popularity graph continuously grown, resulting in his selection as PM in the Indian elections of 2014 under his nationalistic Hindutva manifesto (Jaffrelot, 2015).

According to India's census, India's population consists of 80.5% of Hindus, 13.4% Muslims, and 2.3% Christians. The sub-continent part came into being on August 14 1947, with Pakistan and India's creation after gaining freedom from British rule. The partition resulted in the greatest migrations in human history, as millions of Muslims Pakistan while Hindus and Sikhs headed towards India. Thousands of who never made it. The communities living peacefully for almost a millennium attacked and killed each other brutally in a terrifying outbreak of sectarian violence. Hindus and Sikhs on one side and Muslims on the other, a mutual genocide as unexpected as it was unprecedented (Aiyar, 1995). There are several political parties in India; however, India National Congress (INC) and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) considered India's most prominent political domains. Indian National Congress founded in 1885. In 1920, Congress began a campaign under Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's leadership against restrictions on the British government's press and political activities. Although the Congress claimed to represent all Indians, several Muslims, terrified of the vast Hindu majority, began to withdraw from the Congress, resulting in the All India Muslim League's emergence in 1906. After the partition, Congress emerged as the largest political party of India under Nehru's leadership. It preserved this support into the Sixties, and after Nehru's death, the party began to lose support. After Nehru's death, Indira Gandhi became prime minister in 1966, was challenged by a robust right cluster among the Congress, and in 1969 the party formally split into two factions; one headed by Morarji Desai, and the other by Mrs. Gandhi (Brass & Robinson, 1987; Pande, 1985; Zaidi, 1977). In 2004 Congress came back to power, and Manmohan Singh, a former minister of finance, became prime minister of India. The party remained in power with an immense majority and won the 2009 elections. In 2014, however, Congress and its allies suffered a landslide loss in parliamentary elections resulting in government formation by BJP (Chhibber & Ostermann, 2014).

The BJP traces its roots to the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS), established in 1951 as a political wing of the pro-Hindu cluster Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) by Shyama Prasad Mukher jee. The RSS advocated India's reconstruction on Hindu culture principles and creating a powerful unified state based on Hindutva where only Hindi may exist (Hocking, 1994). In 1967 the RSS gained a considerable foothold within the Hindi-speaking regions of northern India. Ten years later, the party, crystal rectifier by Atal Sanskritic language Vajpayee, joined three different political parties to create the Janata Party and took over state reins. He was suffering from factionalism and internal disputes; however, the government folded in July 1979. The BJP formally established in 1980, following a split by dissidents inside the Janata coalition. The BJP advocates the ideology of Hindutva that insists that multi-religious and multi-ethnic Bharat is essentially a "Hindu Rashtra" (Hindu Nation). The party came to national prominence within the late Nineteen Eighties when it begins a nationwide movement to create a temple in Babri Mosque in Ayodhya city built during the Mughal emperor's reign. In 1992, the BJP and another rightist organization Vishwa Hindu Parishad rallied with a violent mob consisting of more than 100,000 Hindus and demolished the 16th-century Mosque. The demolition resulted in nationwide protests and riots that thousands of Muslims killed and created a fracture in Hindu-Muslim relations that have not recovered.

Afterwards, the BJP ran a conflicting campaign with its leaders were the suspects of pampering in anti-Muslim rhetoric to polarize votes and effectively utilized anti-Muslim and anti-minorities sentiments to secure their electoral seats. However, in the 2004 Indian elections, the United Parties Alliance (UPA) led by the Congress attain majority and happened in the 2009 elections on impressive economic growth. Afterwards, BJP, under the leadership of Modi, made a landslide victory in 2014 on an anti-corruption plank by winning 282 seats and hence the absolute majority. The Modi era witnessed a "disturbing" number of violent hate crimes, like assault, rape and lynching of minorities. Michelle Bachelet, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, warned against "divisive politics".

"We are receiving reports that indicate increasing harassment and targeting of minorities - in particular, Muslims and people from disadvantaged and marginalized groups, such as Dalits and Adivasis"(Bachelet, 2019). Women are generally marginalized and represented in the media with all kinds of images. Especially when it comes to how Muslim women are portrayed, especially in the Western media, there were various images that researchers came across during their many research studies. Kasirye (2021) carried out a research to investigate the portrayal of Muslim women in the New York Times and Guardian. The researcher used qualitative content analysis and use framing theory to analyze the findings. Findings of the study shows that 49 stories of both papers portrayed Muslim women's as a terrorist due to their dressing and link them with Al-Qaida's and extremist groups.

The motive of this study is to comparatively analyzing Islam and Muslims' image in India's press in Congress. BJR led Era as India claims to have the second-largest Muslim population after Indonesia. The study provides an outlook towards Indian socio-political structure and political and nationalistic priorities being a secular state as claimed.

2. Theoretical Framework

The journalists and news media inform people about the events and issues happening around them. The concept of framing is about how news media utilizes its power to construct social reality in a certain way to highlight a specific angle of the news story (Tuchman, 1978). The news media can infuse a particular interpretation and associate specific meanings with an issue as the press's primary function is to "disseminate the information that people want, need, and should know" (Zhang et al., 2016). According to Entman (1993),

"*To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition,*

The media personas employ specific techniques to cover each event, and news values govern these, routines of news coverage, deadline pressures, selection of sources, and ideology as well as personal tendencies (Shoemaker & Reese, 2013; Tuchman, 1978). These factors resulted in preconceived biases or mindset towards interpreting the event or issue to frame in a specific way by neglecting and selecting certain attributes (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). The media text frames can identify as the use of "certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (Entman, 1993). These specific keywords or phrases called frames conveyed to the audience, who deduce them according to their mental schemata, defined as mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing of information (Graber, 1989). Framing techniques developed by the media can change public opinion and public understanding as a result of problems. In this context, a frame is a device that provides a standard destination for the general public to investigate an event or problem (Yousaf et al., 2020).

This study aimed to assess Islam's image and Muslims presented by the Indian press and what kind of perception built in India. Moreover, how major political parties of India influence the media's agenda regarding their policies and designs. Framing theory is the most appropriate theory for this study as many studies utilized framing to study images and portrayals (Booth,

2010; Dastgeer & Gade, 2016; Ibrahim, 2010; Kumar, 2010; Macdonald, 2006; Mishra, 2007; Nacos, 2005; Nacos & Torres-Reyna, 2004; Rahman, 2012).   Following are the primary objectives of the study.

Objectives
The followings are the primary objectives of the study.
- To study Islam and Muslims' coverage in the press of India during Congress and the BJP era.
- To describe the frames of Indian press for covering Islam and Muslims during the Congress and BJP era.
- To compare the framing of Muslims and Islam in the Indian press.
- To assess the changes in frames related to Islam and Muslims in the Indian press over time.

Research Questions
The followings are the research questions of the study.
RQ1). How does the Indian press cover Islam and Muslims?
RQ2). What are the mainframes, which Indian Press is using for covering Islam and Muslims?
RQ3). Is there any difference in Islam and Muslims' framing in the BJP era, i.e. 2014-2019, compared with the Congress era, i.e. 2009-2014?

3. Methodology
The present study used the qualitative content analysis method for examining the coverage of Islam and Muslims in the Indian press during the Congress and BJP reign. The study population is Time of India and Hindustan Times and use 10 years of data for analysis. The period divided into two phases; Congress rule, i.e. 2009-2014, and BJP rule, i.e. 2014-2019. The researchers used the Nexis Uni database to collect news stories with keywords "Islam" and "Muslims". NVIVO qualitative data analysis software by QSR International, Version 11, was used to analyze the data.

A codebook considered a fundamental tool in coding (DeCuir-Gunby, Marshall, & McCulloch, 2011). Frames derived inductively from the collected data, and these frames refined by moving back and between data analysis and interpretation to describe the emerging concepts; hence, they achieved theoretical saturation by reaching a stage where no new frames or ideas emerged.

4. Findings
This study aimed at assessing the coverage of Islam and Muslims in the Indian press during the Congress and BJP led Era. The data analysis reveals that the press coverage related to Islam and Muslims is quite different and varied in both periods. There is comparatively less coverage on Islam and Muslims in the Congress era, i.e. 2009-2014, while the coverage was significantly high in BJP led Era, i.e. 2014-2019. There were 1534 news stories published during the Congress era, while in the same period of the BJP era, the number of news stories related to Islam and Muslims was more than 4543.

CONGRESS ERA (2009-2014)
During the Congress era, the coverage of the Indian press about Islam and Muslims was comparatively low as only 1500 news stories published in tow most circulating and elite newspapers of India, i.e. Hindustan Times and Times of India. The qualitative data analysis of the collected news stories reveals that during the Congress era, Islam and Muslims discussed in terms of comparative religion, democracy, nationalism, politics, terrorism, minorities, women rights, Kashmir, Pakistan, extremism, radicalization, violence and clash of civilization.

One of the most commonly used frames for Islam and Muslims is the clash of civilizations. The Indian press frames Islam and Muslims in a broader civilization clash while discussing the Muslim world, Europe and America.

The press discussed Islam and Muslims in the broader category of civilization clash from the 9/11 attacks. The whole world was under terrorism threat after the USA invasion of Iraq in response to terrorist attacks, so international media were developing a specific narrative about Islam and Muslims about civilization under threat, which picked up by the Indian press of the data. The Indian press heavily relied on the USA and the Muslim world's bilateral relations, and prominent coverage has given to this topic.

The word cloud and frames derived from the news stories given below describes how Muslims and Islam represented in the Indian press during the Congress era, i.e. 2009-2014.

Figure 1

Table 1: Framing of Islam Congress Era 2009-2014

Frame	Keywords
Clash of Civilizations	Islam, Christianity, Judaism and Buddhism, Islam unfavorable, militant, Islam is becoming an American problem, Islamic extremism, 'ghettoization' of British Muslims, 'assimilation' of Muslims in America, Muslim-American community, second-generation Muslim Americans, narrow definition of Islam, the western values, post-9/11 America, identity crisis, social cohesion, Islamic communities, impact on British society, "Islam will dominate the world, freedom can go to hell." "Embrace yourself for the coming of Islam, The U.K. will become Islam, war against Islam and Muslims, promoting "western values" against Islam, Islamic dolls promoting virginity and women in veils to take over Barbie, confrontation between the West and the Muslim ,West vs. Middle-East or Europe Arab world, Christian-Islam conflict ,Islam-Jews, Arab and Israelis, Islamic world order against the Communist Soviets , global phenomenon of anti-West, anti-Christian, anti-Jewish, anti-Indian and anti-Hindu operation, conflict of supremacy within Islam, non-fundamentalist Christian traditions, fear of retaliation from Muslims, infidel West from the danger of Islamic assault on Western civilization,' crusade war', western conspirators, targeting Islam for political gains, Islam is inherently violent and incompatible with America, national uproar over Islam, 9/11 and freedom of religion, safety and security, critical public view of Islam, Muslim immigrants could lead to Europe getting dominated by

	Islam, racial hatred against Muslims, America was not at war with Islam, anti-Islam Dutch film, September 11 attacks, anti-Muslim fervor, controversial U.S. film 'The Innocence of Islam', war against Islam, Islam as encouraging violence, Muslims as terrorists by West, Muslim nations for the spread of terrorism, Muslims are terrorists
Democracy	World largest democracy, Democracy in Iraq, power-hungry Muslim leaders, minority representatives, political leadership, the voice of minorities, elected members, legislation, Congress
Human Rights	freedom of speech, wearing or not wearing a veil, individual choice, dictatorial dress code principles, access,
Islamic Radicalization and Terrorism	Bara-based Lashkar-e-Islam (LeI), Military force, al Qaeda and the Taliban with, the tyranny of Saddam, radical Muslim friends, generation of terrorists, ideological indoctrination, Jihad must continue, infidels have become Muslims, Radical Islamic preacher, Muslim fanatics, Muslim extremist, extreme stands, fertilizing the ground for fundamentalists and terrorists, Taliban in Afghanistan, Muslim extremists, prey to Islamic extremists, Extremism Unit, secular, tolerant and pluralistic Islam, Radicalization of large Muslim communities, jihadism, 'Islamic honor killings', Radical militant Islam, violent jihadism, Muslim extremist, homegrown Muslim radicals, Tehreek Ghalba-e-Islam (TGI), 'Suicide bombings and terrorist attacks, young Muslims from becoming involved in terrorism, political violence, terror group, Anti-Islam demonstrators
Kashmir Movement	Nationalist Kashmiris, Separatist, Kashmiri separatist groups, Hurriyat Conference and Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front, Kashmir is land of Shaivism and Islam, Pakistan.
Muslims as Minority	Isolated Muslims, warned non-Muslim communities in Bara, the Muslims versus Sikhs feud, Friend of the minority community, problems faced by Muslim couples in getting passports, marriage registration, ministries of law and minority affairs, the communal divide, fatwa's against singing Vande Mataram, worshipping 'Mother India', Muslims not to sing Vande Mataram is unfortunate, controversy, political and partisan debate, alienated Muslims into the mainstream, cow protection, hatred against Muslims, promote enmity between communities and trigger violence, suspicion and loathing displayed against Muslims, anti-Ground Zero mosque, peaceful Mosque & terrorists?", hurt feelings of members of the Muslim community, Muslim minority, welfare of the Muslims, Sikhs will be protected, Sikh community, victimization of Muslim women in India, struggle to get social justice for Dalits Christians and Muslims, indigenous Assamese Muslims, microscopic minority, little significance in the social, political, demolition of the Babri Masjid, quarrelling Hindus and Muslims, deep-rooted bias against Islam and Muslims, anti-Islam policies, religious leader, high level of anti-Muslim sentiment, attitudes toward Muslims, faith-based issues, prejudice against Muslims, Islam and Muslims have been depicted in 'Vishwaroopam', religious sentiments, hurt the feelings of Muslims, Nikah, Nikahnama, month of abstinence, traditional Muslim customs, religious freedom, the Quran, infatuated with love of Islam, tragedy of Karbala, traitor to Islam, growing a beard, France's Muslim Council said the proposal "stigmatized" Islam, Quranic instruction, "Pork, haram (forbidden) for Muslims, Arabic calligraphy, Gujarat riots, Babri Masjid.

Misrepresentation of Islam	Islamists are apprehensive of the way Islam and Muslims have been depicted in 'Vishwaroopam', launch a campaign against the Waqf Bill, adversarial sense, misconceptions about Islam, Building a grand temple at the Ramjanmabhoomi is not an act of confrontation with the Muslims, religious sentiment.
Nationalism	Vande Mataram and Bharat Mata Ki Jai, "Islam does not condone the nation's worship or land. Vande Mataram is anti-Muslim, a massive rally, second-largest Muslim population, Indian Muslims, the national language, and Muslim leaders participated in the flag hoisting ceremony at Idgah. Two-Nation theory, co-operation to GaneshaUtsav committees to install Ganesha idols at public places, separatist tendencies, In India, Hindu and Muslims, living together, several centuries.
Pluralism	Sufism, the face of moderate and diverse Islam and militant radical Islam, which bears only Arabic traits, brotherhood, Mumbai is itself an embodiment of diversity and pluralism, the gulf between America and the Islamic world, peace, Islam does not permit terrorism. A terrorist should be 'hanged thrice', 'Suicide attacks are not allowed in Islam, killing all humanity, jingle bells, Christians brethren, communal harmony, Christianity and Judaism, bridge amid Hindus Muslims. Muslims to be noble and peace-loving, the Sufi Islam, peaceful demonstrations and movements, Islam is a universal religion, respects Islam and loves Muslims, mystical Islam.
The USA and the Muslim World	Arab-Muslim nations, the Muslim world, ties between the Americans and the Muslims, Obama, being a half Muslim, dynamics of Islam, end to the "cycle of suspicion and discord", mutual interest and mutual respect. Arab world and America, the war in Iraq, Afghanistan, Al Qaeda, Israel and Palestinians, right to exist, development and peace for all, the hospitality of people of Egypt, re-energize the dialogue with the Muslim world. Various issues that concerned America and the Arab world, 'Palestinians must abandon violence. The United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran, nuclear weapons, Muslim-majority countries, America is not - and will never be - at war with Islam, religious, cultural and historical references.
Women Rights	women's rights, denied equality, the burqa, oppose equal rights for men and women, prejudice against Muslims, an assault on French secularism and women's right, women's education, and women's skill formation. A fatwa against Muslim women from working alongside men, right of inheritance, inheritance rights for women, oppress women, Muslim women should not become judges, polygamy, and Islam gives you many rights like men. Know your rights and exercise them properly.

The data further reveals that the Indian press considers Islam and Muslims' issues as a minority in India during the congress era. These issues often were debated over media like Talaq and other sharia laws related to Muslim family laws. Women rights and misconceptions about Islam are important themes that emerged out of the collected data. Congress's ideology is somewhat different from BJP as data reveals that the Indian press during the Congress rule highly emphasized pluralism and nationalism frame. Several incidents suppress Muslims as a minority, yet the press seems to promote pluralistic values. An essential frame used by the Indian press is Islamic radicalization and terrorism, where the Muslims and Islam got directly associated with it. The primary attribute given to Muslims and Islam by the Indian press is terrorism and radicalization, which seen from the analysis of the collected data. The Kashmir

movement also discussed concerning Pakistan and separatist group working for the liberation of Kashmir.

BJP ERA (2014-2019)

The 2009 general elections of India resulted in the BJP government and the election of Narendra Modi as prime minister of India. The press of India during the BJP era framed Islam and Muslims quite differently compared to the Congress era (2009-2014).
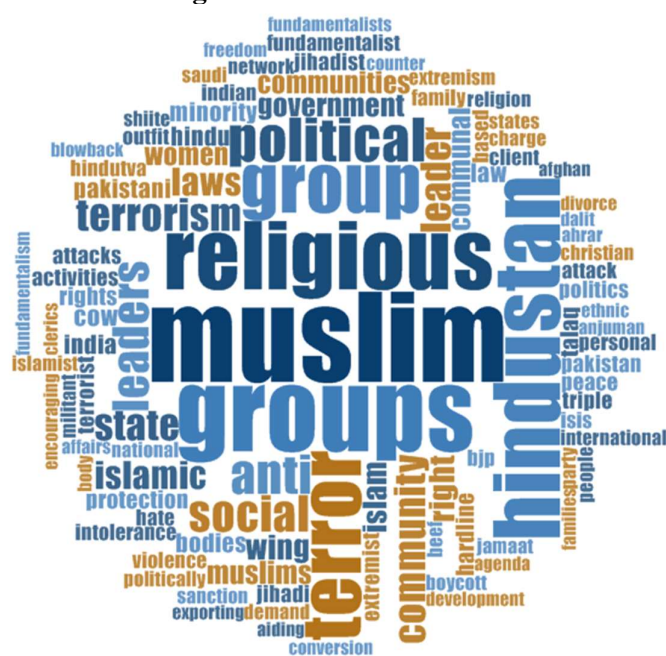
Figure 2: Word Cloud

Table 2: Framing of Islam and Muslims in BJP Era

Frame	Keywords
Conflict	Distrust between Hindu and Muslims, fundamental issue between Hindus and Muslims, Muslim fears, cow-protection and Muslim personal law, scared Muslims, anti-Muslim agenda, Hinduism and Islam, separatist leader.
Democracy	Indian democracy, Muslim vote bank, Muslim politics, political ambitions, political authorities, political backing, political developments, political discourse, political events, political experts, political force, political foundations, political freedom, political function, political gambles, political gimmicks, political goal, political groups, political instability, political intolerance, political issues, political leadership, political movements, political opponent, political outfit, political party, politically ambitious, electoral states, state governments, state heads, legislative bodies, local bodies minister, BJP government, democratic government, political leader, opposition leaders, Muslim politicians, liberal politics
Hindutva.	The Christian community, collaborative group, dangerous group, ex-extremist group recruiter, hardline Hindutva groups, hate group, homegrown militant groups. India-focused groups, Indian terror group, local cow

Frame	Keywords
	protection group, right-wing groups, rival groups, savage terror group, vigilante cow protection groups, violent extremist group, violent groups, cow urine Hindustan, excommunicated Hindustan, extremism Hindustan, goat sacrifice Hindustan, Islam phobia card Hindustan. Muslim-free Hindustan, religious conversion Hindustan, safety Hindustan, threat Hindustan, anti-blasphemy laws, beef ban law, Hindutva leader, right-wing leader, right-wing leader Maharaj. Muslim cattle traders, beef politics, right-wing politics, religious conversion Hindustan, religious hatred, home-bred terrorism, right-wing bodies, cow slaughter, anti-Islam charge client, right-wing government, anti-Islamic group, armed group, cow protection group.
Muslim World	international bodies, Shiite communities, marginalized groups, Saudi-Iran relations Hindustan, foreign Muslim leaders, Islamic leaders, Jamaat-e-Islami leaders, influential Muslim, Muslim clerics, Muslim countries, Muslim politicians, global terror image, global terror outfit, the Saudi government, Shia-led government, Arabian government, anti-afghan groups, Bangladesh-based group, Saudi-led grouping, anti-afghan groups, Palestinian leaders, Turkish leaders, Arab leaders
Muslims as Minority	international bodies, Shiite communities, marginalized groups, Saudi-Iran relations Hindustan, foreign Muslim leaders, Islamic leaders, Jamaat-e-Islami leaders, influential Muslim, Muslim clerics, Muslim countries, Muslim politicians, global terror outfit, the Saudi government, Shia-led government, Arabian government, anti-afghan groups, Bangladesh-based group, Saudi-led grouping, anti-afghan groups, Palestinian leaders, Turkish leaders, Arab leaders
Nationalism	nationalist Muslims, cornering minority communities, ethnic communities, Hindu communities, Akhand Hindustan morcha, Aligarh Hindustan, apocalyptic vision Hindustan, basic dignity Hindustan, birth anniversary Hindustan, blowback terrorism Hindustan, country Hindustan, development Hindustan, forever Hindustan, fragile Hindustan, historical perspective Hindustan, leader Hindustan, light Hindustan, security radar Hindustan, state religion Hindustan, counter-terrorism laws, patriotic Muslim, progressive Muslim, secular people, political ideology, religious nationalisms, national socialism
Pakistan and Indian Muslims	Pakistan-based jihadi groups, Pakistan-based terror group, Pakistani group, Pakistani leaders, political party Tehreek-e-Insaf, Pakistani state, Pakistan-based terror group, planning terror activities, planning terror strikes, promoting terrorism, supported terrorism, exporting terrorism, Pakistani media, Baloch government, Baluchistan government, the Pakistani government, anti-Pakistan groups, Kashmir-centric groups, Pakistani groups, Pakistani hackers group, Pakistan-supported terror groups, cross-border terrorism, encouraging terrorism, exporting terrorism Hindustan.
Pluralism	share everything-have dinner, shop together, attend each other's family weddings, Muslim areas are also peaceful, Friendships between Hindus and Muslims, Sufi fold of Islam, Sufis propagated Islam through peace and persuasion, peace-loving community, progressive Muslim groups, inter-religious peace Hindustan, peace Hindustan, tolerance Hindustan, prominent

Frame	Keywords
	Sufi leader, spiritual leaders, religious debates, religious distinctions, religious dialogue, religious freedom, religious similarities, social peace, non-religious state, pluralistic states, secular state, pluralism client, communal harmony client, peaceful community, spiritual leaders, peace-loving Muslim, religious tolerance
Religion	religious activities, religious affairs, religious affiliations, religious agenda, religious authority, religious barriers, religious bias, religious books, religious classes, religious clerics, religious education, religious indoctrination, religious injunction, religious intolerance, religious issue, religious justification, religious rights, state religion Hindustan, Muslim establishments, Muslim families
Social Life of Muslims	social attitudes, social behaviour, social boycott, social change, social changes imams, social class, social cohesion, social conditions, social context, social darkness, social engineer, social equality, social equity, social order, social rights, social sanction, social security, social upheaval, un-Islamic group, anti-Muslim hate groups, anti-triple talaq groups, marriage laws, Muslim laws, devout Muslim family, the elite Muslim community, Muslim businesspeople, Muslim parents, Muslim practices divorce, poor Muslim families, religious clothing, social life
Terrorism & Radicalization	Religious activities, ISIS , extremist groups, militants killing thousands of people, enforcing Taliban-style laws, Hindu right-wing groups, Islamist terrorism, fundamentalism, asian terror group, certain Muslim groups, ethnic group, extremist groups, fanatic groups, fundamentalist group, hard-line salafi groups, islamist groups, jihadi groups, jihadist group, militant groups, radical groups, rebel groups, restive group, terror group, terrorist groups, jihad Hindustan, terrorism Hindustan, terrorism trap Hindustan, anti-terrorist laws, jamaat-ud-dawa leader, rebel leaders, fanatical Muslim preacher, Muslim fundamentalists, radicalised Muslim couple, butcher people, religious antagonism, religious extremism, religious extremists, religious fanaticism, religious fundamentalism, religious hardliners, religious radicalisation, religious radicals, Islamic state operators, islamist state attack, jihadi state, terrorist state, 9/11 terror attacks, aiding terror groups, alleged terror plot, anti terrorism campaign, anti-India terror outfits, brutal terror attacks, calling terrorism un-Islamic, combating terror, condemning terror activities, counter terrorism units, countering terrorism, creating terror, curbing terrorism, deadly terror attacks, established terror outfits, frightening terror attack, horrifying terror attacks, huge terror attack, isis-linked terror case, Islamic terror, islamicist terror attack, jaish-e-mohammed terror plot, jihadist terror organization, nip terrorism, savage terror group, serial terror blasts, spreading terror, terror financing, terror network, terror organisations, terror outfit isis, terror strike, various terror organisations, pan-Indian terror network, radicalization threat, al-mujahedeen group, anjuman-i-islam group, fundamentalist group, hardline Muslim groups, Indian jihadi group, international jihadist groups, isis-type groups, Islamic fundamentalist group, Islamic terror groups, islamist groups, jamaat-ul-ahrar group, lashkar-ejhanghvi terror group, militant groups, rival jihadist group, al-mujahedeen group, fundamentalist group, international jihadi groups, jamaat-ul-ahrar

Frame	Keywords
	group, jihadist group, Muslim law board hiding talaq facts, hardline Muslim groups, Muslim fundamentalists, radical Muslim, religious extremism, religious intolerance, religious polarisation, terrorist state, anti-India terror activities, deep terror network, communal violence, Muslim victims, Muslim riot-victims, Muslim and a murderer, dead bodies, insurgent group, separatist leaders
Women Rights	anti-women community, women groups, Muslim family laws, Muslim girl, Muslim girl students, Muslim mother, Muslim women, women rights client, domestic violence, women rights groups, Muslim women groups, Muslim women outfit, Muslim women protest, Muslim women speakers

The data analysis reveals that where the Indian press covered Islam and Muslims significantly in the BJP era, the coverage remains significantly negative. The major frames that emerged out of data are Hindutva, Islamic radicalization, terrorism, conflict, democracy, Muslims and Pakistan, Nationalism, the Muslim world, and Muslims' social lives in India. So these frames are different from frames used by the Indian press during the Congress era. The Muslims and Islam got directly associated with terrorism and radicalization despite the severe incidents in India, resulting in lynching and brutal killings of Muslims. The press heavily focused on the Hindutva frame, which is an ideology to kill Muslim even in the name of cow protection(Sarkar & Sarkar, 2016). Pluralism and Women rights are also the frames utilized by the press, yet the dominant frames are radicalization, Muslims as a minority in India, Hindutva and Nationalism.

DISCUSSION

Using religion to play with politics is a common phenomenon worldwide to get political gains and benefits (Maier, 2004). The 2009 election resulted in the victory of BJP built on a campaign of Hindutva, and nationalism was a piece of bad news for Indian democracy. As the movement purely based on Hindutva, the BJP negated *Muslim* votes through clever social engineering and polarization (Yechury, 2017), using Islam phobia to get votes and empower Hinduism in India. The Indian National Congress can somehow maintain its pluralistic ideology compared to the Hindu Nationalist approach of BJP (Chhibber & Verma, 2014).

The analysis reveals that during the congress era, mainly built the image of Muslims and Islam under the influence of the prevailing international scenario developed after the 9/11 attacks and resulting in the U.S. led Afghan war that leads to the emergence of clash of civilization where the West sees Islam as a threat for their society. The Indian press highly appreciated this narrative. A significant chunk of news stories reported about Islam and Muslims contains this broad frame of reference to image Islam and Muslims as terrorists, extremists, fundamentalist and illogical (Panagopoulos, 2006). The concept of Jihad was highly misunderstood and propagated by Western media and the Indian press and kept India's stake in South Asia.

The Indian press further extended this international narrative against Islam and Muslims to radicalization and terrorism on international frontiers and at the indigenous level by connecting it to the prevailing scenario of minorities in India and the historical conflict between Muslim and Hindus. India is facing severe criticism over Kashmir's forceful occupation since 1947. Under the umbrella of the international campaign against Islam and Muslim, the Indian press also attempts to settle the score defining Islamic groups and Kashmiri freedom fighters as terrorists. The clash of civilization frame further strengthened by utilizing the U.S. and Muslim world frame to discuss the U.S.'s relation with Muslim countries and prevailing conflicts within Muslim countries and other countries like Israel and Palestine. However, the data further reveals that pluralism was another commonly used frame by the Indian press to develop communal harmony and peace and promote India's nationalism during the Congress era.

Democracy and human rights discussed during the Era of Congress but comparatively less connected with Islam and Muslim than in general context; however, Islam's misrepresentation was a dominant frame.

The primary frame that emerged from collected data in the BJP era is Hindutva, which surpassed all other frames regarding coverage. Since Modi's election as Prime Minister in 2014, the main motive of the BJP is to appease the party's hard-line Hindu base while pursuing the goals of development and economic growth. He has accommodated extremist groups like the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and give them a free hand resulting in cow protection, beef ban and lynching of Muslims in cow's name happened. As an RSS preacher, Modi has not condoned violence against Indian Muslims or publicly criticized Hindu extremists' anti-Muslim actions.

The data further reveals that during the BJP era, the Hindutva movement has gained momentum as Human Rights Watch stated that Hindu vigilante groups killed dozens of people for the protection of cows, and the majority of these were the Muslims who murdered for allegedly slaughtering cows (Human Rights Watch, 2019). These attacks on the Muslim community reveal the rise of violent nationalism under BJP and Modi's regime. The conflict between Muslims and Hindus during the BJP era seems at the highest level due to right-wing policies of the BJP like cow protection, beef ban, anti-Muslim agenda and influencing Muslim laws. There are hard-line Hindu groups that consider cow protection a mission and primary tenant of Hindutva, resulting in religious hatred in Indian society, often witnessed through various violence against Muslims and other minorities.

Nationalism is also a significant category that emerged from the collected data. Hindutva that India belongs to Hindus and followers of other religions cannot consider as loyal to India as Hindus are. Paul Marshall, a senior fellow at the Center for Religious Freedom, says that while the international focus has been on Islamic terrorism, it has ignored chiefly Hindu extremism and its violent record. Saffron terror is a natural phenomenon and supported by members of the BJP. It is rarely scrutinized in the West because Hinduism stereotyped as a gentle and non-violent faith. It personified by the image of Mahatma Gandhi (Zaman, 2019). Another significant aspect of Indian violent nationalism is Pakistan's association with the Indian Muslims, especially concerning the Kashmir issue. Kashmir movement indigenously charged by the freedom fighters against the suppression and oppression by India. However, Indian media often associated such conflicts and acts of freedom fighters to Pakistan, whether in Kashmir or India. As seen from several violent activities like Pathan kot and Mumbai attacks, all such attacks are immediately linked with Pakistan by the Indian media. Often, Indian Muslims blamed for having a religious association with Pakistan.

5. Conclusion

Every Indian, in some sense, is a Hindu even if he is a Christian or Muslims, following the ideology of Hindutva nationalism aimed to make India an exclusively Hindu state. BJP's win in general election 2014 and 2019 based upon this ideology. It hailed by the majority of the Hindu community depicting the rising Hindu extremism and hatred against other communities like Christians, Sikhs and Muslims, and lower-caste Hindus. The secular traditions are no more alive in Indian society, with the rise of BJP as a more powerful political party in the centre being Hindutva and RSSas the driving forces behind. The lives of minorities in India are no more comfortable practicing their religion. The ban on cows' slaughter affected more than 180 million Muslims, and several incidents reported killing Muslims by extremist Hindu groups in mob violence. The rising extremism and radicalization in the Hindu religion are a matter of great concern for human rights organizations within and outside India. Such kind of violent nationalist and religious approaches may cast dark shadows on humanity.

It is a matter of great concern that the press relied heavily upon Muslims and Islam's negative framing in both the Era of Congress and BJP; however, the situation was far more worsen in the BJP era. There is no debate related to the socio-economic uplifting of the marginalized segments of society. The Muslims and Islam associated with terrorism, minorities, violent extremism, radicalization, and religion ignored all other socio-political aspects of Islam and Muslims in India. India, the most prominent secular democracy claimant globally, is rapidly losing its credibility as a secular liberal state to a Hindu state.

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