

Ziya Mehdizade

Master of Science in Global Studies (2021-2023)



Framing India's non-alignment policy in an increasingly polarized world: Observations from the popular media outlets of India

## Abstract

The media has considerable power in informing, shaping, or skewing foreign policy debates through salience and framing. While it is quite challenging to make accurate predictions about the future of India's non-alignment policy, it is feasible to examine perspectives and concerns about India's policy of non-alignment in the increasingly polarized world stemming from the Russia-Ukraine war. Thus, by carrying out qualitative content analysis of the Indian media framing, this study examines how the popular media outlets of India framed India's policy of non-alignment in the face of the growing military and political instability in the world stemming from the Russian Federation's full-scale military invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. After carrying out the qualitative content analysis of the editorial and opinion articles (retrieved from The Times of India, The Hindu, Hindustan Times, The Economic Times and The Daily Pioneer), it is concluded that the authors generally discuss the pragmatic ways of dealing with the potential implications of the Russia-Ukraine war for India as the way Ukraine war ends is considered crucial for the country's foreign and security policy decisions regarding the policy of non-alignment.

Key words: framing, digital media, non-alignment policy, public opinion, news

# 1. Introduction

In this research, I will investigate media portrayal of perspectives and concerns about India's policy of non-alignment in the face of the growing military and political instability in the world stemming from the Russian Federation's full-scale military invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, through the prism of the popular media outlets of India.

The main reason for undertaking this study is that the way in which the media portrays global security issues and concerns is assumed to have a significant impact on informing, shaping, or skewing the foreign policy debate in the Republic of India. Therefore, the analysis of the Indian media framing of India's policy of non-alignment will help me examine attitudes towards the policy of non-alignment and perceptions about its potential implications for India.

## 1.1 Overview of the research topic

It is argued that nearly all states are increasingly facing the threats to national security, sovereignty, and therefore non-participation in armed conflict due to the growing military and political instability in the world stemming from the Russian Federation's full-scale military invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 (Alberque and Schreer, 2022, p. 69). That is to say, most of the states are now facing the increasing threat of being dragged into a conflict on the side of one of the opposing blocks, or being turned into a battlefield.

While discussing the current security environment, some people argue that the concept of non-alignment as a foreign policy strategy is not relevant today as the old ideology offers little for the present age (Mohan, 2022). On the other hand, the others argue that the members of the Non-Aligned Movement, including India still seek to maintain the existence of foreign policy diversification, in other words, the

diversification of the state's foreign relations by maintaining equal proximity (equiproximity) rather than equal distance (equidistance) to the influential state actors of the international system (Bortnik, 2022, p. 8). In this regard, it is worth mentioning that the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) is an international organization comprising 120 member states that regard themselves as not formally aligned with or against any military blocs (Mandloi, n.d.); The policy of non-alignment is based on five principles: "1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; 2. Non-interference in each other's military and internal affairs; 3. Mutual non-aggression; 4. Equality and mutual benefit; 5. Peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation."

As Ruslan Bortnik (2022, p. 8) stated, being non-aligned (non-bloc) has allowed India "to maneuver between the interests of the leading countries of the world, and depending on the real political situation, use the resources and potential of any of the blocs based only on its national interest". For instance, India has sought to maintain close relations with the United States due to the conflict of interest with the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the Indo-Pacific<sup>1</sup> region, but at the same time, India has long regarded Russia as a reliable partner because of the Soviet Union's, as well as Russia's political and military support to the country during crises (Joshi, 2022). Therefore, India has abstained from all UN (the United Nations) votes on Russian invasion. In addition, the country has refused to join sanctions on Russia, and increased its Russian oil imports. In this regard, it is useful to refer to the following definition of the non-bloc status (Bortnik, 2022, p. 7):

"It provides for the refusal of permanent membership in unions, but does not oblige not to participate in conflicts or conclude agreements with unions. In other words, it does not impose restrictions on the missions of military contingents to the peacekeeping forces of international organizations, and it does not prohibit the

---

<sup>1</sup> The Indo-Pacific region consists of the tropical waters of the Indian Ocean, the western and central Pacific Ocean, and the seas connecting the western and central parts.

conclusion of defense agreements with any military alliances and individual states, depending on the situation. Thus, non-alignment is like driving a car with its own risks, threats and benefits.”

That is to say, by following the non-bloc course, the government of India has tried to ensure not only security against aggression by foreign countries, but also internal stability to most of the society in which the country’ culturally and religiously diverse population is composed of communities who seem to be slightly familiar with each other’s beliefs and practices, and express wide range of views on policy issues (Iyer, 2020, p. 13). It is worth mentioning that due to its rapid economic growth stemming from the country’s integration into the global economy, India (also known as the world’s largest democracy) is emerging as a global player and has become one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Nevertheless, some researchers highlight the challenge for India to stand by its non-aligned policy in the increasingly polarized world<sup>2</sup>, and therefore find it necessary to deal with the risks associated with the non-aligned policy. For example, it is undeniable fact that the possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), such as nuclear weapons helps India deter other states from launching a large-scale military aggression against the country, but the development of the nuclear deterrence strategies does not completely address the need for security against aggression<sup>3</sup>; The case of the imposition of sanctions against Russia (the nuclear-weapons state) in response to its military aggression against Ukraine illustrates that the possession of nuclear weapons does not deter other states from imposing the restrictive measures, in other words, sanctions.

---

<sup>2</sup> Divided into military-political and socio-economic blocs and groups of countries

<sup>3</sup> In the context of this study, the term ‘security against aggression’ is defined as the implementation of restrictive measures, in other words, sanctions.

## 1.2 The aim and research question

While it is quite challenging to make accurate predictions about the future of India's non-alignment policy due to unpredictable internal and external factors, it is feasible to examine perspectives and concerns about India's policy of non-alignment in the increasingly polarized world stemming from the Russia-Ukraine war by carrying out qualitative content analysis of the Indian media framing. While looking through the previous research regarding the proposed topic, it becomes clear that research on examining the countries, including India that regard themselves as not formally aligned with or against any military blocs is still lacking.

Even though it is not feasible to generalize study findings (apply results of this study to a broader context) due to the qualitative nature of the proposed research, the analysis of India as a case study will contribute to the existing research in media framing in general. Furthermore, since the media portrays global security issues and concerns is assumed to have a significant impact on informing, shaping, or skewing the foreign policy debate in a democratic society, studying the media framing of the presented issue will help me shed light on the strategies used by the media in forming the public opinion. Therefore, the main research question is formulated as follows:

1.2.1 How have the popular media outlets of India framed India's policy of non-alignment in the face of the growing military and political instability in the world stemming from the Russian Federation's full-scale military invasion of Ukraine in February 2022?

## 1.3 The limitations of the study

One of the main limitations to the research is that it is relatively difficult to study an ongoing process as specific events that happen beyond the mentioned time frame can have a significant impact on the study findings. Nevertheless, within the time

limits of the master thesis, it is not feasible to cover a longer time frame for investigating the digital media. Since the proposed research is limited to analyzing a single case study, the amount of media coverage collected for conducting the qualitative content analysis was deemed sufficient.

Another main limitation to this research is that the amount of news platforms and sources selected for the qualitative content analysis are only limited to the newspapers; Since technological advancements dramatically change the way people obtain news, the influence of digital media platforms and sources (in addition to online newspapers) is growing rapidly. Despite the fact that an analysis of media frames used in the other news platforms and sources, namely social media platforms is not feasible in the scope of the master thesis, this can be suggested for future research.

## 2. Literature Review

Before carrying out the process of data collection and analysis, it is useful to prepare a comprehensive summary of previous research on the topic of media framing as the study of articles, books and other sources relevant to the proposed research topic will help me prepare for making my own argument, and therefore contribute to the existing research in media framing in general, and more specifically to the framing of news reports about the implementation of the policy of non-alignment at the time when the polarization of the international politics is increasing.

In this regard, it is important to note that a fair amount of research has been done on media framing of news reports about global security issues and concerns, and its potential impact on informing, shaping, or skewing the foreign policy debate in the Republic of India. The synthesis and analysis of previous research published on the potential impact of media framing on the dynamics of the foreign policy debate will help to explain the significance of the proposed research on Indian media framing of the news reports.

### **2.1 Technological advancements in the media industry**

It is worth mentioning the profound impact of technological advancements in the media industry due to its role in accelerating the processes of globalization. In this regard, it is also important to mention the impact of globalization on the media management in India (Agrawal and Kumari, 2021, p. 4150). In the current era of globalization, economic liberalization in India, namely ‘the expansion of the role of private and foreign investment’ in the country has paved the way for demonopolization of the media industry, in other words, the end of the state control on electronic media (Sharma, 2014, p. 21); As a result of the fierce competition among print and electronic media sources, the people seems to have gained a strong sense of freedom that they have never enjoyed before. To put it simply, the



development of communication technologies has helped to enhance interaction between users and media contents.

On the one hand, some media analysts associate the rise of mass media with the rapid growth of advertising revenues stemming from the structural changes in economy. On the other hand, it is highlighted that focusing only on the generation of the advertising revenues has resulted in the increasing number of print and digital publications of sensationalized news stories, and therefore dumping of serious 'content' (Sharma, 2014, p. 21).

While looking through the previous studies on exploring the role of the media in the making of Indian foreign policy (Ghosh, 1994; Kapur, 2009; Mohan, 2009; Malone et al., 2015; Chandra, 2017; Plagemann and Destradi, 2019), it becomes clear that technological advancements in the media industry over recent decades have paved the way for the growing role of the mainstream mass media in political processes. This is also the reason why the study of the digital media outlets (namely online newspapers) has been preferred over the study of the traditional media outlets (print media, television broadcast and radio).

In this regard, the objective of Partha Ghosh's (1994) study was to examine the relationship between foreign policy and electoral politics in India, and the role of the print media in foreign policy issues. During this period, the role of print media in political processes was deemed more important as digital transformation in the media industry of India was taking place slowly at that time. Because of this reason, the author paid close attention to studying the role of the print media in foreign policy issues of the country. Nevertheless, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August 1995, an Indian telecommunications company, namely Tata Communications Limited (previously known as 'Videsh Sanchar Nigam Limited') started to offer the first public internet service in the most populated cities of India, which accelerated the process of digital transformation in the media industry of the country (Banerjee, 2022).

Before carrying out the process of data collection and analysis, the author hypothesized that even though the print media plays a role in informing, shaping and skewing the foreign policy debate in the country, foreign policy issues seldom appear to influence the election results. As a result of the study, Partha Ghosh concluded that despite the fact that the print media paved the way for the fierce debates on the foreign policy issues, the absence of voter and party attention to India's foreign policy matters was acknowledged. The main reason is that the issues regarding national security and strategy were regarded as outside the purview of public debate in the country; It was highlighted that the government officials follow their pragmatic instincts when it comes to handling India's relations with the 'Third World' or the West.

In order to test the suggested hypothesis, the author (Ghosh, 1994) carried out a content analysis of the election manifestos of leading political parties. To conduct the analysis, the author referred to two Indian elections, namely the tenth election to the House of the People, in other words, the lower house of India's bicameral Parliament (also known as the Lok Sabha) held in May-June 1991 and the elections to the six state assemblies in November 1993, compared to the backdrop of the overall electoral experience of the country. It is worth mentioning that the tenth Lok Sabha elections were regarded as more critical in comparison with the first nine elections due to the fact that scholars considered it necessary to "determine the nature of the post-Cold War world and conceptualize India's role therein" at that time (Gosh, 1994, p. 808).

Furthermore, after the comprehensive study of the changing institutional balance in the country, Raja Mohan stated (2009, p. 154): "As Indian democracy matured and the balance among different national institutions began to evolve, the media's relative power improved rapidly from the late 1970s and so did its impact on policymaking, including in the areas of national security and external relations." In other words, it was concluded that while the print media's power in the 1980s

accreted in a gradual and regular way, the power of the private electronic media surged dramatically in less than two decades.

In this regard, the technological developments in the media industry of India significantly influenced the national security and foreign policy discourse within the country. As a result, the columnists in the media started to actively promote terms and concepts that had not constituted India's foreign articulation for a long period of time. For instance, some of these new terms and concepts were related to the emphasis on the idea of 'balance of power', 'multipolar Asia' (also regarded as democratization of world politics), and 'India's responsibilities as a rising power' in contrast to 'strategic autonomy' (2009, p. 159).

Moreover, while carrying out research on "What kind of foreign policy do populists (namely, anti-elitist, and anti-pluralist) execute when they are in power?", Plagemann and Destradi's (2019) study also pays attention to the role of traditional and digital media outlets in the communication of a populist's foreign policy in India. In this case, the authors decided to conduct the analysis of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's foreign policy record.

In this regard, the authors stated (2019, p. 286): "Naturally, new communication media (in other words, digital media that are interactive, incorporate two-way communication, and involve some form of computing) allowing for direct channels between the leader and the people are endorsed enthusiastically by populists, while traditional media, namely radio, printed newspaper, and recently TV "are accused . . . of 'mediating' [and thereby] distorting political reality"."

## **2.2 The state of media freedom in India**

While looking through the previous studies, it becomes clear that a fair amount of research has been done on exploring the state of press (media) freedom in India. In this research, the term 'media freedom' is defined as "the ability of journalists to

report freely on matters of public interest” (Freedom House, n.d.). Then the question arises: how is the concept of media freedom relevant to the proposed research topic, and why is it important to study the state of press freedom?

It is worth mentioning that in order to be able to make informed choices on issues of public concern, the citizens need to rely on the media outlets to provide information. On the one hand, high levels of press freedom ensure the publicity principle, also known as transparency; In this regard, the term ‘publicity’ is defined as “making information about the operations of government public and provides the opportunity for public debate and scrutiny of matters of public concern” (Eagan and Munro, 2013). To put it simply, it is believed that high levels of media freedom facilitate the process of citizens’ participation in public debate, which is regarded as a main factor for involving the public in the decision-making process.

On the other hand, it is argued that unrestricted freedom of press may result in the spreading of false information online, and therefore skewing public opinion (Eagan and Munro, 2013). Thus, regulations on the media outlets are assumed to guide news reporters in “acting within the parameters of public interest”. Nevertheless, the imposition of regulations on the media outlets may lead to governmental interference in press freedom and violation of the public’s right to choose and own media sources.

In this regard, the aim of the study (the book called ‘The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy’) was “to offer an authoritative and up-to-date survey of foreign policy in India since 1947” as stated by the book editors (D. Malone, C. R. Mohan, & S. Raghavan) in the inside page of the cover jacket of the book. It is worth mentioning that readers of the book have an opportunity to gain a range of different perspectives in India’s foreign policy debates due to the fact that while editing the book, the book editors used their advantage on pursuing different careers and disciplines, such as academics, bureaucrats and diplomats within the country and abroad.

Chapter 19 of the book is dedicated to the analysis of the role of the media in the making of Indian foreign policy. In this regard, it is argued (2015, p. 259) that on the one hand, the government of India continues to exert a certain degree of pressure on media outlets by restricting access, but on the other hand the media professionals have the potential to nudge foreign policy in certain directions through the framing of news reports in a particular way, namely offering more binary and for-and-against debates.

That is to say, as a result of large investments and advertising revenues from the private sector, it has become more challenging for the government to exercise pressure on the media professional (2015, p. 264); Therefore, journalistic autonomy of the media professionals in terms of framing the foreign policy debates in the country has increased. Nevertheless, it is debatable whether the media framing of the foreign policy debates leads to the adoption, modification, or abandonment of a specific foreign policy course.

Moreover, the aim of Vikash Chandra's (2017) study was to examine changing patterns in Indian foreign policy since Narendra Modi has taken office. The author also explored the state of media freedom and pluralism across the country. In this regard, it is argued that a major change in the goals and strategies of a state's foreign policy usually stems from changes in the systemic variables followed by a change in either state or individual level variables (Chandra, 2017, p. 99).

In this article, the systemic variables include the systemic imperatives of anarchy or interdependence, and their impact on the state's foreign policy. On the other hand, the domestic variables consist of media, business, public opinion, economic and military capabilities, regime type, ideology and ruling party; That is to say, the author also studied the role of media and public opinion in formulating foreign policy of the country, which is also relevant to the proposed research.

After the comprehensive study of ‘democratization of foreign policymaking in the Republic of India’, Vikash Chandra (2017, p. 111) concluded that as a result of changes in state-level variables, in other words, “a shift away from ‘quasi-federalism and ‘centralized federalism’ to federalism” (the growing role of states in foreign policy), media and public opinion have started playing a significant role in the process of foreign policy formulation.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that under Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s leadership, centralization and decentralization of the foreign policymaking processes have been going side by side. On the one hand, the prime minister has stressed the importance of the people’s participation in the foreign policy decision making (Chandra, 2017, p. 111). On the other hand, it is highlighted that the control in foreign policymaking has been substantially increased by the Prime Minister’s Office.

### **2.3 Framing news, public opinion, and Indian foreign policy**

Furthermore, it is also worth mentioning that in order to understand the importance of media framing in the context of this study, it is necessary to explore the relationship between the Indian public opinion and foreign policy by reviewing the previous studies on the issue. In order to examine this relationship, the researchers pay close attention to exploring the diverse demographics of India’s states.

As mentioned previously, India is regarded as a land of diversities in terms of races, religions, languages, castes, and cultures. In this regard, Prithvi Iyer argues (2020, p. 12) that because of this reason, it is debatable whether there is any analytical basis to explore the Indian public as a whole, or it is difficult to conduct such an analysis in an effective way due to the diverse demographics of India’s states.

In addition, while reviewing the previous studies on the importance of technological developments in the media industry and the state of media freedom in the country,

it becomes clear that the researchers have also debated whether public opinion in India creates a decisive impact on the officials' decision-making in the area of foreign affairs or the officials prime the public to have opinions in line with their agenda. Despite the fact that the researchers find it difficult to establish a definitive causal link between public opinion and foreign policy, there is a general consensus on highlighting the significance of public opinion in a democratic society.

For instance, in the study conducted by Devesh Kapur (2009) at the Center for the Advanced study of India, the relationship between public opinion and Indian foreign policy was examined through a survey of more than two hundred thousand households, which was regarded as the largest, nationally representative survey (of foreign policy attitudes of Indians) ever conducted in the country until that time. Before carrying out the process of data analysis, the author summarized some key findings of the literature on the importance of raising public awareness of the foreign policy issues through the presentation of debates among foreign policy elites in the mass media, therefore highlighting the critical role of the media in connecting public opinion with foreign policy decision making (Kapur, 2009, p. 289).

Moreover, the aim of Raja Mohan's (2009) study was to examine the relationship between International Relations (IR) scholarship, Indian public opinion and foreign policy making in India. Before undertaking the study, the author (2009, p. 147) assumed that solid domestic political support with the help of the mass media is necessary for all large nations (democratic or otherwise), as well as India, to achieve foreign policy objectives abroad. Due to the lack of similar studies in the country, Raja Mohan relied on his own experience during the last three decades with think tanks, media and academia for writing the article. During that time, the scholars paid close attention to studying the issues of foreign policy, national security and international relations.

As a result of the research, it was determined that since the demographic group interested in foreign policy issues is growing rapidly, public opinion on Indian foreign policy is likely to have more influence in the future (Kapur, 2009, p. 304; Mohan, 2009, p. 156; Iyer, 2020, p. 3). Furthermore, due to the fierce electoral competition stemming from the fragmentation of India's political landscape, and therefore the weakening of the executive power relative to legislative and judicial branches of government, the citizens are expected to have more influence on foreign policy decision making in the future. In this regard, Devesh Kapur stated (2009, p. 303): "If policy makers are able to tailor public opinion to create support for their policies through the media and various framing techniques, governments can have even wider latitude on foreign policies."



### 3. Theoretical Framework

In this research, framing analysis has been employed as a theoretical framework. From the perspective of framing theory (Goffman, 1974; Entman, 1993; Benford and Snow, 2000), the proposed research aims to investigate what kinds of frames have been used in the popular media outlets of India, to outline what arguments have been most prominent regarding India's policy of non-alignment. The following chapter will begin with the introduction and definition of media framing. After this, the most common generic frames in framing literature today, namely diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames will be discussed in the context of the proposed research.

#### 3.1 Media framing of policy issues

While examining the concept of media framing, Erving Goffman (1974, p. 17) stated that news stories are the reconstruction of reality through the implementation of specific frames. In this regard, it can be stated that journalists use media frames in order to place an issue or an event within a field of meaning, and then direct the audiences' attention to these certain events or issues. In other words, media frames can have a significant effect on the people's choices about how to process an issue or an event (Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 630). More specifically, the different semantic descriptions of the same event or issue will have an influence on the individuals' decision-making processes and risk preferences due to the fact that when making decisions, the individuals are supposed to pay more attention to the potential value of losses and gains instead of the final outcome (Tversky and Kahneman, 1981, p. 458).

Despite the fact that media framing is a rich and useful theoretical concept, there is no single definition of, or common approach to it (Scheufele, 1999, p. 103); Robert Entman (1993, p. 56) referred to media framing as 'a scattered conceptualization'

as researchers can apply the framing paradigm to the study of a particular issue in various academic disciplines, namely political science, social psychology, cultural studies, and sociology, by using a specific approach of this theoretical concept. Since Entman's definition of media framing is more specifically related to the field of political communication, the proposed research will refer to the following definition of media framing (Entman, 1991, p. 7; Entman, 1993, p. 52; Scheufele, 1999, p. 106):

“Framing essentially involves selection and salience. In other words, by providing, repeating, and thereby reinforcing words and visual images that reference some ideas but not others, frames work to make some ideas more salient in the text, others less so – and others entirely invisible. That is to say, 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, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.”

As explained in the Literature Review chapter, the news reports about global security issues and concerns play an important role in informing, shaping, or skewing the foreign policy debate in the Republic of India (Malone et al, 2015, p. 265). Thus, framing of the news reports in a particular way can result in the adoption, modification, or abandonment of a specific foreign policy course as the media has a potential to change the citizens' voting preferences in India (Verma and Sardesai, 2014, p. 88). The previous research conducted on analyzing media framing of the news reports illustrates that the news reporters usually frame a problem-oriented image of the issue by employing a storytelling technique that paves the way for the use of victimizing, demonizing, or emotive language (Fairhurst and Sarr, 1996, p. 23; Bansal, 2002, p. 40; Maslog et al, 2006, p. 32; Banaji and Al-Ghabban, 2006, p. 1023). On the other hand, when the journalists decide to stay neutral, they tend to avoid the use of victimizing, demonizing, or emotive language.

### 3.2 How to identify frames

I will employ an abductive approach, in other words, deduction from theory and induction from the data, to address weaknesses associated with the sole implementation of deductive or inductive reasoning. On the one hand, the implementation of priori defined operationalizations increases reliability and consistency of results (Lindström, 2017, p. 10), but on the other hand the sole use of deductive reasoning in research can result in overgeneralization of findings, which can lead to misinterpretation (Dickstein, 1980, p. 414). Moreover, it is argued that the sole use of inductive reasoning in the context of frame analysis may not be useful since it is too broad to analyze any production feature of verbal and visual texts as a possibility for news frames (Cappella and Jamieson, 1997, p. 77). Because of these reasons, the research will follow an abductive approach.

Furthermore, according to Cappella and Jamieson (1997, p. 47), a news frame must meet four criteria. First of all, a news frame must possess identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics. Secondly, it must be commonly observed in journalistic practice. Thirdly, it must be possible to be reliably distinguished from other frames. Finally, a news frame must possess ‘representational validity’, in other words, it must be recognized by others, and must not be only a figment of a researcher’s imagination (Vreese, 2005, p. 54).

On the other hand, Amber Boydstun and Rebecca Glazier (2013, p. 706) argued that because of the tremendous amount of media reports, and the varied approaches to conceptualizing and operationalizing issue frames, it is challenging to identify media frames that are generally used to inform, shape or skew the foreign policy debate. In this regard, it is argued that in order to maintain objectivity, it is necessary to use a clear systematic approach in the process of identifying the frames (Lindström, 2017, p. 25). In order to facilitate the process, the authors (2013, p. 707) offered a unified coding scheme for studying media framing of policy issues for content analysis: “The two-tiered coding system, composed of an issue-specific

coding scheme, and a generalizable coding scheme allows for the identification of latent generalizable trends in framing that issue-specific coding systems would miss, while also linking these generalizable trends to the underlying substantive shifts in framing unique to each issue.” That is to say, the unified coding scheme, also known as ‘The Policy Frames Codebook’, constitutes categories of media frames that can be applied to nearly any policy issue, and they are also relevant in any communication context.

By taking the previously mentioned statements into account, the proposed research will refer to generic frames in case of working with deductive reasoning. The following section will illustrate the predefined generic frames, as well as the identifying components of each frame assessed in the content analysis.

### 3.3 The most common generic frames

The predefined frames, namely *diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames* are based on the previous research (Benford & Snow, 1988; Benford and Hunt, 1992; Hunt et al., 1994; Gamson, 1995; Cable and Shriver, 1995; Carroll and Ratner, 1996; Klandermans and Goslinga, 1996; Nepstad, 1997; Anheier et al., 1998) and thus represent the most common generic frames in framing literature today. In addition to the identifying components of each frame assessed in the content analysis, I will also elaborate on the expectations regarding the use of these frames in the Indian media coverage.

- a. Diagnostic Frames: The questions to be considered when employing these frames, or analysing the news article: “What is the problem? How is it defined?”

By employing the diagnostic frames, the news reporters present and interpret a particular issue and event;

In order to diagnose the problems: For instance, the increasing polarization of the international politics and its potential implications for India;

And causes behind them: the identification of culpable agents (Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 615).

That is to say, the news reporters attempt to provide an analytical or problem-solving perspective on the issue, emphasizing the underlying political factors that contribute to the problem. In the process of problem identification, the news reporters may also consider the attribution of a normative or moral dimension, namely the identification of culpable agent(s) and victims, either a government, an individual or a group. These frames will also be applicable when the news reporter elaborates on the potential implications of the issue for India.

- b. Prognostic Frames: The question to be considered when employing these frames, or analysing the news article: “How do we solve the problem?”

On the other hand, by employing these frames, the news reporters attempt to articulate strategies and goals regarding possible solutions of the diagnosed problem (Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 615). In addition, in these frames, the news reporters highlight the weaknesses of the arguments from opponents in order to justify their proposed solution or solutions to that problem(s). It is important to note that these prognostic frames are based on the diagnosis of the problem, therefore the advocates of the prognostic frames have less leeway compared to the diagnostic frames (Butler, 2012, p. 51).

- c. Motivational Frames: The question to be considered when using these frames, or analysing the news article: “How do we argue for our definitions and solutions – ideology”

Moreover, by using these frames, the news reporters seek to explain the rationale for asking or encouraging the government officials, or any group or individual to take action against the diagnosed threat (in other words, ‘a call to arms’), as well as using an appropriate and effective vocabulary of motive (Butler, 2012, p. 52). In

this regard, Benford and Snow argues (2000, p. 617) that the news reporters will try to elaborate on the four vocabularies of motive when highlighting the imperative for the concrete action, namely:

**Severity** – Highlighting possible negative consequences for non-action

**Urgency** – Communicating a time limit for an action

**Efficacy** – The capability of producing a desired or intended results

And **propriety** – Supporting the foreign policy direction that has traditionally been acceptable

| Ambiguity level of media framing identified in the selected news article | Diagnostic frames  | Prognostic frames   | Motivational frames  |
|--|--|---|--|
| Under-specified (High ambiguity)   | High level of interpretive flexibility with respect to the problematic issue and the identification of culpable agent(s)                   | Open-ended solutions, high degree of flexibility in implementation, minimal concrete commitments. | Lack of urgency in the call to arms and no clear imperative for taking action against the diagnosed threat |
| Instrumental ambiguity   | Enough clarity on the core problem and culpability to avoid false connectives (emphasize commonality / avoid particularly divisive issues) | Enough specification to seed incremental change, coupled with accountability mechanism.           | A call to arms that is sufficiently temporally bounded and that clarifies the imperative for action        |
| Highly specified (Low ambiguity)   | Rigid framing of the core problem coupled with an overly pointed attribution of blame.   | Overly prescriptive template for action   | The motivational framing is too forcibly articulated   |

Table 1: The above-mentioned table was uploaded to ResearchGate by Cecile Feront (2009) who is a research fellow at the Centre for Complex Sustainability Transitions (CST) and a lecturer at the Sustainability Institute, Stellenbosch University.

## 4. Research Methodology

In this regard, I will explain the research methodology employed to answer the research question; In the following chapter, techniques and procedures used to gather and analyze the data of the newspapers and articles respectively will be discussed in detail. Since the proposed research aims to investigate the media framing of the news articles, qualitative content analysis as a research method is best suited for carrying out the study. It is worth mentioning that qualitative content analysis is one of the most frequently used methods in the study of information related to mass communication (Kuckartz and Radiker, 2023, p. 23). That is to say, the method is about the analysis of the media content, employed to understand the news reporters who prepared the content, and the message that is communicated. Therefore, in contrast to positivism, the proposed research has followed the principles of interpretivism, meaning that reality is considered socially constructed in the context of this study.

### 4.1 Data collection and data analysis

In order to carry out the study, a sample of news articles regarding the foreign policy issue has been selected for data analysis. In this regard, I have collected the news articles from the newspapers that are regarded as the largest daily Indian newspapers (in English) in order of circulation. The selected newspapers are based on the concepts of *high-readership*, *on-line content publication* (namely accessibility) and *a range of political views*. Because of this reason, only the online newspapers that provide access to all the relevant news articles have been chosen. Moreover, the other main criteria for the selection of the newspapers for data analysis is the presence of diversity in political views in terms of the political spectrum. The presence of the different political views among the selected newspapers will help achieve the best overview possible of the popular media outlets and their framing in India.



Before carrying out the data analysis process, it is also useful to explain the importance of the English press in the country, and be aware of the differences between English newspapers and Language newspapers, namely newspapers that are published in different Indian languages (Gupta et al., 2017).

In this regard, it is argued that the English newspapers contributed significantly to the story of India's struggle for freedom by creating social awareness and insisting on the need for achieving independence (Gupta et al., 2017, p. 2; Atre et al., 2018, p. 33). This factor is also regarded as one of the main reasons for the popularity of the English newspapers in the country. In addition, as the authors stated, "the English newspapers acted as a beacon light for the regional language press by setting high standards of professionalism in reporting and packaging of their content" (Gupta et al., 2017, p. 2). That is to say, the English newspapers enjoy a high credibility due to its good style of reporting.

Nevertheless, it is highlighted that the English newspapers are mostly circulated in big cities and major towns compared to the Language newspapers that are also concentrated in the rural areas (Mass Communication Curriculum, 2020, p. 104). Moreover, in comparison with the Language newspapers, the English newspapers are primarily of interest to the 'well-educated, middle class, upper middle class and higher income groups' (2020, p. 104). Because of this reason, the English newspapers are more likely to generate a significant amount of advertising revenues; As discussed in the Literature Review, earning advertising revenues from the private sector makes it more difficult for the government to exercise pressure on the media professional.

Furthermore, as explained in the Theoretical Framework chapter, an abductive structure of analysis, in other words, deduction from theory and induction from the data, has been adopted to address weaknesses associated with the sole implementation of deductive (to minimize the risk of overgeneralization, and

therefore misinterpretation) or inductive reasoning (to avoid too broad process of data analysis). Also known as directed content analysis in qualitative research (Kibiswa, 2019, p. 2059), a deductive approach to a qualitative media analysis is about employing the predefined media frames in order to determine the extent to which these frames are present in the news (Altheide and Schneider, 2017, ch. 2, p. 2). In the Theoretical Framework chapter, I have explained these predefined generic frames in detail.

By taking the previously mentioned statements into account, I have implemented the following steps in performing the process of data analysis:

- a. Creating a question list in order to facilitate the process of identifying the generic frames mentioned in Theoretical Framework:

Please see “**Appendix A: Coding Scheme**”

In order to facilitate the process of coding in the data analysis, it was necessary to define the media frames in terms of specific themes, phrases or keywords. Therefore, a coding scheme with 11 questions was designed to determine which of the generic frames is present in the selected news articles. In this regard, it is important to note that several frames may appear in the news article. Nevertheless, the coding process was undertaken for the primary frame in the study.

- b. Selecting news articles for the data analysis from the online newspapers:

For more information, please refer to subtopics ‘4.1.1 Collection of the online newspapers’ and ‘4.1.2 Retrieval of the relevant news articles’.

In addition, please see “**Appendix B: List of articles used in analysis**”

c. Coding the selected material into the categories (the frames) by referring to the coding scheme;

I have used the NVivo software (qualitative data analysis (QDA) computer software) in order to carry out the coding process. Compared to manual coding, electronic coding, namely using the NVivo software helps organize, analyze and interpret complex, and large data sets in a structured and efficient way. That is to say, the software provides a wide range of data analysis methods, and therefore facilitates the process of identifying patterns and themes in the selected news articles.

d. The use of inductive reasoning in case it is not feasible to apply deductive reasoning, namely identifying the generic frames in the selected news articles;

The main advantage of combining a top-down or a-priori qualitative coding (in other words, deductive reasoning, derived from the Theoretical Framework) and a bottom-up or posteriori qualitative coding (also known as inductive reasoning, knowledge gained following the analysis of an issue) is that it helps deepen and refine the understanding of the selected data as the analysis progresses.

#### 4.1.1 Collection of the online newspapers

In order to carry out the data collection process, the following online newspapers have been chosen:

1. *The Times of India* - Format: Broadsheet; Political leaning: Conservative (Media Bias/Fact Check, 2022)
2. *The Hindu* - Format: Broadsheet; Political leaning: Left-leaning (Barclay et al., 2014, p. 19)
3. *Hindustan Times* - Format: Broadsheet; Political leaning: Centrist (WorldPress, 2023)

4. *The Economic Times* - Format: Broadsheet; Political leaning: Centre-right (Media Bias/Fact Check, 2022)
5. *The Daily Pioneer* - Format: Broadsheet; Political leaning: Right wing (WorldPress, 2023).

While looking through the media outlets of India, it becomes clear that the most prominent and widely read newspapers are published in the format of a broadsheet rather than a tabloid format (Barclay et al., 2014, p. 9). It is argued that in the context of newspaper production process, the journalists increasingly use the format of a broadsheet as they regard it as a necessary step for effectively implementing the approach of ‘constructive journalism’ (reporting solution-focused news) in response to the rise of tabloidization, namely sensationalist journalism, and the news negativity bias (Lindström, 2017, p. 22). That is to say, the advocates of the broadsheet format pay more attention to presenting facts by including considerably fewer pictures and long vertical pages (a standard format newspaper) as opposed to the advocates of the tabloid format that focus on attracting the audience. Because of these reasons, I have decided to select the broadsheet-size newspapers in the content analysis of the proposed study.

On the other hand, to understand the importance of paying attention to the presence of the different political views among the selected newspapers, it is helpful to refer to the book “**Subcontinental Drift: Domestic Politics and India’s Foreign Policy**” written by Political scientist Rajesh Basrur (Ganguly, 2023). In this book, the author places importance on domestic factors to explain India’s strategic behaviour, namely its foreign and security policies. In this case, Rajesh Basrur (2023, p. 181) states that the factor of political polarization poses a serious threat to the purposeful pursuit of a specific foreign policy course. For instance, it is worth mentioning that a single-minded focus on the state’s external environment is not sufficient for explaining India’s preference for non-alignment foreign policy. As the rise of political polarization can also be attributed to the fragmentation of news

media (Kubin and Sikorski, 2021, p. 188), the content analysis of media framing also helps analyze the level of political polarization in this issue.

#### 4.1.2 Retrieval of the relevant news articles

After the selection of the online newspapers, a sample of relevant news articles have been chosen for implementing the process of data collection and analysis. *The News Archive Search* (search engine) of each selected newspaper provides access to the archives of the collected media outlets. In order to access relevant news articles regarding the foreign policy debates, I have included the following search strings:

##### **Filters:**

Keywords: non alignment policy; the policy of neutrality, multi-alignment, Non-Aligned Movement

In addition, I applied the same keywords into the search engine of each media outlet.

Date Range: 24 February 2022 – 31 December 2022

Authors: Not specified

Despite the fact that the specific keywords and date range 24/02/2022 – 31/12/2022 were included in the search engine of the selected media outlets, the generated search results were considered too broad, and further steps as a part of refining the search had to be taken in order to improve the results. In this regard, I decided to conduct a manual filtering of the generated search results, in other words, the exclusion of the irrelevant news articles, along with their duplications. While looking through the news articles in the News Archive Search of each media outlet, it becomes clear that the news articles about the nature of Southeast Asian security challenges are irrelevant to the proposed study due to the fact that these security challenges stem from the decades-old problem of the ‘failed decolonization process’ in the region, in other words, the problematic nature of international borders in South Asia (Barthwal-Datta and Basu, 2017, p. 395). Furthermore, after

the implementation of the previously mentioned steps, the selected news articles consisted of opinions and editorials.

| <b>Country</b> | <b>Newspaper</b>   | <b>Format</b> | <b>Political view</b> | <b>Number of articles</b> |
|----------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| India          | The Times of India | Broadsheet    | Conservative          | 12                        |
| India          | The Hindu          | Broadsheet    | Left-leaning          | 12                        |
| India          | Hindustan Times    | Broadsheet    | Centrist              | 9                         |
| India          | The Economic Times | Broadsheet    | Centre-right          | 10                        |
| India          | The Daily Pioneer  | Broadsheet    | Right wing            | 8                         |

Table 2: The above-mentioned table illustrates the number of relevant articles retrieved for data analysis.

## 5. Results

In this chapter, I will present the detailed results from the qualitative content analysis of the news articles in the Indian newspapers concerning India's policy of non-alignment (24 February 2022 – 31 December 2022). In this regard, the findings from the analysis of the news articles in the selected newspapers will be presented in the following sequence:

(5.1.1). The Times of India

(5.1.2). The Hindu

(5.1.3). Hindustan Times

(5.1.4). The Economic Times

(5.1.5). The Daily Pioneer

No specific criteria have been defined for following the above-mentioned sequence of the selected newspapers as the findings from the five Indian newspapers will be presented separately. The aim of conducting the directed content analysis (with the help of the pre-constructed coding scheme) was to search for indicators that facilitate the process of identifying the primary frame used in the media coverage.

All the articles used for carrying out the data analysis have been listed in chapter 9 – Appendix B. Because of the lengthy titles of the selected news articles, I have decided to code the titles (can be found listed in chapter 9), and refer to the selected news articles by their given code while presenting the results of the data analysis. For instance, the news articles in 'The Times of India' have been coded TI1, TI2, TI3 etc.

## 5.1 India

As mentioned previously, India has traditionally been regarded as a non-aligned country that has never been permanently pro-west or pro-east; Because of this reason, the media coverage with regard to the proposed research topic was expected to be rather favourable towards India's foreign and security policy of non-alignment. In the following sections, I will present and evaluate the study findings of the selected newspapers, namely, the Times of India, the Hindu, Hindustan Times, the Economic Times, and the Daily Pioneer respectively.

### 5.1.1 The Times of India [TI]

As mentioned in the Research Methodology chapter, The Times of India is regarded as a conservative media outlet, the political position that is often associated with the traditional right-wing politics of India. While looking through the relevant source ("The Indian Conservative: A History of Indian Right-Wing Thought", Jaitirth Rao, 2019), it becomes clear that the conservatives advocate India's traditional policy of non-alignment under the Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the Hindu nationalist who has promised to pursue an 'India first' policy. Thus, the selected newspaper articles of The Times of India were expected to support India's current foreign policy discourse in the face of the growing military and political instability in the world stemming from the Russian Federation's full-scale military invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. The following paragraphs will present the detailed results from the qualitative content analysis of the news articles.

In this regard, it is worth mentioning that the diagnostic frames appear to be the most used frames in the selected newspaper articles of The Times of India. Put simply, the diagnostic frames were used as the primary frame in 5 of the selected newspaper articles. In addition, the prognostic frames appear to be the primary



frame in 4 of the articles, and the motivational frames were used as the primary frame in 3 of the selected newspaper articles.

For instance, in the article (TI7), the author discusses the potential implications of the Russia-Ukraine war for India. It is stated that Washington wants New Delhi to abandon its long-term history of non-alignment. It is argued that since the relationship between two countries is based on the democratic values (India's condemnation in the United Nations Security Council of the Bucha killings and its support for an independent investigation are highlighted) and strong defence partnership, India is expected to move away from the policy of non-alignment. Nevertheless, the news reporter does not put enough clarity on the culpability. Therefore, the diagnostic frames used in the selected article indicate under-specified high ambiguity, meaning that there is a high level of interpretive flexibility with respect to the identification of culpable agent.

In the article (TI8), the authors Jeffrey Gettleman and Mujib Mashal provide an analytical perspective on the diagnosis of the problem and causes behind it, instead of adopting a descriptive perspective on the reporting of the issue and event. That is to say, they discuss whether India could help broker peace in Ukraine by using its unique leverage as a friend to both East and West. Nevertheless, it is argued that even though India is regarded as a neutral third party, the role of India in peacemaking efforts is very limited as Russia and Ukraine are far from negotiating with each other. Despite the fact that the news reporters put enough clarity on the core problem, there is not enough clarity on the culpable agent.

In the opinion article (TI1), the author Swaminathan S Anklesaria Aiyar discusses the potential implications of the ongoing Russia-Ukraine war for India as the way Ukraine war ends is considered crucial for the country's foreign and security policy decisions regarding the policy of non-alignment: "A quick compromise for Russia may fall short of Putin's original aims but it will leave him with substantial gains. For India this is bad news since it will encourage China". In this regard, the United

States is regarded as the culpable agent due to its limited military aid to Kyiv as it is argued that this situation may cause the US to be involved directly in the conflict. Compared to the previous news articles, there is enough clarity on both the core problem and the culpable agent, meaning that the diagnostic frames selected in this article demonstrate instrumental ambiguity.

The article (TI4) discusses the importance of staying neutral in the increasingly polarized world stemming from Russia's aggression in Ukraine. The author compares Switzerland and India in terms of their neutrality status, and analyses how India has become a more neutral nation than Switzerland. In this regard, the author uses a background image that illustrates the current Prime Minister Narendra Modi staying on a balance swing and observing the world map that places more emphasis on the United States of America, the Russian Federation and the Republic of India. As the author puts enough clarity on the core problem and culpability in order to avoid false connectiveness, the diagnostic frames used in this article indicate instrumental ambiguity.

Last but not least, in the article (TI12), the author explains why Russia is working against India's interest, therefore regards Russia as the culpable agent. It is highlighted that even though most Indians supported India's decision on abstaining from voting at the UN General Assembly resolution and the UN Security Council vote condemning Russia, "Russia may not be as close a friend to India as most think." Thus, the news reporter puts enough clarity on the core problem and culpability in order to avoid false connectives.

Furthermore, the second most prominent frames among the selected newspaper articles are the prognostic frames. In the article (TI2), the author Ravi Shanker Kapoor highlights the weaknesses of the arguments (one of the criteria for identifying the prognostic frames as mentioned in the coding scheme) from the Congress leader Manish Tewari who recommends to the government to go back to the policy of strategic autonomy and the Nehruvian principles of non-alignment. In

this regard, it is argued that the current government never abandoned strategic autonomy and the policy of non-alignment, which alienated India from the US-led West for long periods. On the other hand, the author Chetan Bhagat stresses the importance of remaining neutral in any context, whether it is a human relationship conflict or a battle between nations. Therefore, it is argued that India is right in staying out of Russia-US fight (instead of calling it Russia-Ukraine fight).

In addition, the author Sanjaya Baru discusses India's potential to bridge east-west and north-south divide that is widening as a result of the weaponization of global economic linkages and disruption of global economic institutions by developed economies. In the article, the author uses a background image that illustrates India trying to deal with the widening gap between east-west and north-south regions, which is caused by "China, the United States of America and the European Union". Nevertheless, there is open-ended solutions to the diagnosed threat, a high degree of flexibility in implementation of the proposed solutions, and minimal concrete commitments. Thus, the prognostic frames used in the selected newspaper articles indicate under-specified high ambiguity.

### 5.1.2 The Hindu [H]

As mentioned in the Research Methodology chapter, The Hindu has a left-leaning political outlook. Before conducting the qualitative content analysis of the selected newspaper articles, I have sought to find the answer (in order to make predictions about the study findings) to whether there is such a thing as a leftist foreign policy and what the advocates of the left-leaning political position might think generally about the world abroad since the research topic is related to India's foreign and security policy of non-alignment in the increasingly polarized world. While looking through the relevant source ("A Foreign Policy for the Left", Michael Walzer, 2018, Yale University Press), Michael Walzer's statements about the left-leaning politics drew my attention:

“...The best foreign policy is a good domestic policy. How many times have we argued against foreign adventures and unnecessary wars by insisting that our fellow citizens would do better to focus energy and resources on injustice at home?... neutrality is a nice way of having a foreign policy that doesn't require a foreign policy and leaves maximum room for domestic advance.”

That is to say, the selected editorial and opinion articles of *The Hindu* were expected to advocate for the policy of neutrality and abstention in the context of India's stand in the Russia-Ukraine conflict. In this regard, the following paragraphs will present the detailed results from the qualitative content analysis of the news articles of *The Hindu*.

In one article (H8), the author Kallol Bhattacharjee uses the human impact frame as the primary frame in one of the editorial articles; In this regard, the author tries to draw the readers' attention “by using an emotional angle in reporting, and putting a human face to the presentation of the event”. That is to say, the author pays close attention to reporting the destructive impacts of the Russia-Ukraine war, namely the food crisis and the death of thousands of soldiers, civilians, and states that India can help in finding a peaceful end to the conflict.

Despite the fact that the diagnostic frames are also present in the selected opinion articles (H1; H3), the authors use the prognostic frames as the primary frame. When using the diagnostic frames, the author puts enough clarity on the core problem and culpability to avoid false connectives. For example, in the article H1, the United States of America is regarded as the culpable agent in the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict because of having to deal with ‘the most important global crisis’ since the end of the Cold War. On the other hand, the author of the article H3 regards Russia as the aggressor in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war, and emphasizes the phrase ‘the biggest security crisis’ since the end of the Cold War.

In terms of using the prognostic frames, the articles mention the possible solutions to the diagnosed problems:

The article H1 stresses the importance of adhering to the policy of neutrality.

Nevertheless, the article H3 emphasizes the significance of implementing the multi-directional partnerships.

In this regard, the authors highlight the weaknesses of the arguments from the opponents in order to justify his proposed solution to the diagnosed problem. For instance, in the article H1, Stanly Johny explains the political, economic and strategic reasons why the countries, namely South Africa, the United Arab Emirates, Israel and Turkey that refused to join the sanctions regime has not come under the kind of pressure and public criticism that India has. In the article H3, it is stated that high-profile officials from the West press New Delhi to cut back on trade with Russia, the country that is regarded as a traditional strategic partner of India. Based on these reasons, the author highlights that India retains the right to make decisions based on pragmatic realism and its core national interests. To summarize, the authors put enough specification in order to seed incremental change, coupled with accountability mechanism; Therefore, the prognostic frames used in the selected newspaper article indicates instrumental ambiguity.

Moreover, the author of the opinion article (H7) Kallol Bhattacharjee also uses the prognostic frames as the primary frame by highlighting the weaknesses of the arguments from the opponents who criticize New Delhi's 'precarious tightrope walk' on ties with Moscow, namely carrying on oil and defence trade with Russia. In this regard, the author presents India as a good model for the implementation of multilateral engagements, in other words, a function of a sophisticated foreign policy. In addition to this argument, it is stated that India has refused to join any military alliance with Russia, China or the United States. Furthermore, the author of the selected opinion article (H10) stresses the need for following the policy of neutrality and strategic autonomy in a changing world as India is believed to have developed the capacity to transact with competing and conflicting sides. Put simply, Anuradha Mitra Chenoy also praises the policy of implementing multilateral

engagements, namely India's capacity to use its leverage to negotiate with multiple sides.

The author of the newspaper article (H12) Arun Maira provides an analytical perspective on the diagnosis of the problem and causes behind it, instead of adopting a descriptive perspective on the reporting of the issue and event. In other words, the diagnostic frames are used as the primary frame in the selected article. For instance, the author analyses the failure of the institutions of global governance to unite the world due to their undemocratic characteristics. In this regard, it is highlighted that the Russia-Ukraine war seriously challenges the boundary-less global economy. However, it is argued that the members of the Security Council is not democratic enough to be able to solve the issue as the institution denies the democratic will of the Assembly. In the increasingly polarized world, India's responsibility as the chair of the G-20 is also highlighted. Therefore, the diagnostic frames used in this article indicate instrumental ambiguity, meaning that there is enough clarity on the core problem and culpability in order to avoid false connectives.

In another article (H11), the author Chinmaya R Gharekhan discusses the potential negative implications of the Russia-Ukraine war for India. Despite the fact that India's stand of non-alignment is regarded as the pursuit of the principle of national interest, it is also argued that maintaining the non-aligned position for long becomes extremely challenging due to the rising scale of civilian casualties in Ukraine. In addition, Russia is regarded as the culpable agent because of its violation of international law. The diagnostic frames used in this article indicate instrumental ambiguity as there is enough clarity on the core problem and culpability in order to avoid false connectives.

It is also worth mentioning that news reporters use motivational frames as a primary frame in the rest of the selected newspaper articles. For example, the author of the editorial article (H2) calls upon the government officials of India to take action

against the diagnosed threat, namely the endangerment of nuclear facilities by the Russian Armed Forces, and its risks for public health and environment; In this regard, the editorial article clearly explains the imperative for taking action against the diagnosed threat, in other words, the critical importance of nuclear safety. Thus, the motivational frames used in the article indicate instrumental ambiguity, meaning that ‘a call to arms’ is sufficiently temporally bounded and clarifies the imperative for the action.

In addition, the author Suhasini Haidar communicates a time limit for formulating a long-term strategy in a world that is becoming increasingly uncomfortable with the growing polarization and the disruption due to the Russia-Ukraine war – “It is time for New Delhi to seize the moment for leadership...reassuring those worried by the brinkmanship of the West on one side and Russia and China on the other.”, in contrast with committing to only a defensive strategy. The author also highlights the possible negative consequence for non-action, meaning that the risk of armed conflicts is expected to increase in the future, which may jeopardize India’s national security.

### 5.1.3 Hindustan Times [HT]

As mentioned in the Research Methodology chapter, Hindustan Times has a centrist outlook, a political position that involves the acceptance or support of equality in times of the tectonic shifts in global power equations, in other words, advocate for democratization of International Relations and India’s role in this context; Therefore, the selected newspaper articles of Hindustan Times were expected to pay close attention to explaining the growing inequalities in the world order stemming from Russia’s war in Ukraine, and advocating India to act as a leader of developing nations in their quest for equity and autonomy.

In this regard, the authors of the selected newspaper article (HT1) Yamini Aiyar and Angshuman Choudhury use the motivational frames as the primary frame while discussing India's foreign and security policy in the increasingly polarized world stemming from Russia's war in Ukraine, calling upon the government officials to find effective solutions regarding the security crisis, namely the possibility of a new Cold War.

In addition, the authors clearly explain the imperative for taking action against the diagnosed threat. It is highlighted that there is considerable frustration with inequities and growing pessimism in the current world order to respond to the strategic, economic and social interests. In the context of the Russia-Ukraine war, the authors emphasize the importance of feeling discomfiture in picking sides by referring to the case of several countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that have taken similar actions.

Moreover, when highlighting the imperative for the concrete action, the authors stress the four vocabularies of motive (the coding scheme: Appendix A, chapter 8, motivational frames), namely:

Severity – the authors highlight the possible negative consequences for non-action. That is to say, China is regarded as a security threat to India and its strategic interests due to “the country's emergence as a key developmental partner in Asia and Africa - countries in Asia and Africa are simultaneously economically dependent and actively seeking to create a bulwark against overreliance on China”.

Urgency – Because of China's rise and its implications for India, the authors communicate a time limit for an action.

Efficacy – the authors discuss the capability of the suggested solution on producing a desired or intended results. It is argued that “there is a glaring absence of leadership to credibly respond to global crises; By taking on a leadership role and representing the interests of developing nations, India can serve its own quest for genuine strategic autonomy and major power status.”



Propriety – the authors support the foreign policy direction that has traditionally been acceptable. Nevertheless, it is also argued that the policy of non-alignment needs to be adjusted to the new realities in the changing world: “The call to a renewed non-alignment is in part a consequence of frustrations with current inequities in the world order.”

Furthermore, the author uses the prognostic frames as the primary frame in the selected newspaper article (HT2). In this regard, the article mentions possible solutions to the diagnosed threat, namely the rise of China (stemming from the isolation of Russia as a consequence of the war in Ukraine) which is regarded as a serious threat to India’s interests. Therefore, Indrajit Roy presents the strategy and goal regarding possible solutions of the diagnosed problem. In addition, the author highlights the weaknesses of the arguments from opponents in order to justify the proposed solutions to that problem: “Indian policymaking has often been criticized for its moral indecisiveness, diplomatic reticence, and ideological confusion (**opponents’ arguments**). Such criticisms fail to observe the subtle shifts in Indian foreign policy from non-alignment to multi-alignment (**highlighting the weaknesses of the arguments from the opponents**). India’s multi-alignment strategy (**the strategy**) offers it crucial leverage against China, with which it seeks to compete militarily and economically (**the goal**), but recognizes its weaknesses: India’s military budget (**the strategy is believed to compensate for the weak side**) is just over a quarter of China’s, and its Gross Domestic Product slightly over a third. India’s multi-alignment strategy allows it to compensate for its weaker capacities relative to China without overtly relying on alternative power.” Nevertheless, the author does not state in detail the process of implementing or committing to the solution of the diagnosed problem.

On the other hand, the diagnostic frames appear to be the primary frame in the selected newspaper article (HT8). The news reporter provides an analytical perspective on the diagnosis of the problem and cause behind it. It is argued that violence and increased tension, namely a sense of deepening polarization in the

diaspora (due to the Ukraine war) can negatively affect India's foreign policy relations with the countries involved (discussing the potential implications of the issue for India). Nevertheless, there is a high level of interpretive flexibility with respect to the problematic issue and the identification of the culpable agents.

While conducting the qualitative content analysis of the selected newspaper articles (HT3; HT6), it becomes clear that by referring to the young respondents of the ORF (Observer Research Foundation) Foreign Policy Survey, the authors seek to justify their opinion about why India must rethink its stand on Ukraine, aligning more with the West in order to countervail China. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that the prognostic frames appear to be the primary frame in the articles. However, the author does not state in detail the process of implementing or committing to the solution of the diagnosed threat ("Russia's utility in helping India deal with China is diminishing daily"); Therefore, the ambiguity level of the selected frame seems to be high, in other words, the authors offer open-ended solutions, and there is a high degree of flexibility in implementation, and minimal concrete commitments.

Furthermore, the authors also use the prognostic frames as the primary frame in the selected newspaper articles (HT4; HT5). That is to say, in the article (HT4), the author Harsh V Pant highlights the weaknesses of the arguments from the opponents in order to justify the proposed solutions to the diagnosed threat to India's interests. For instance, it is highlighted that because of the weakening of Russia (as a result of the Russia-Ukraine war), challenges from China persist. Therefore, the officials will find it challenging to implement India's new multi-alignment strategy. Despite the fact that India maintains good relations with the West, New Delhi has been criticized for not siding with the West in publicly condemning Russia. Nevertheless, it is also argued that the government of India has shifted India's stance on the Russia-Ukraine war from "framing the issue of Russian aggression around the United Nations (UN) charter, international law and territorial sovereignty to Prime Minister Narendra Modi publicly exhorting Russian President Vladimir Putin that this was not the time for war".

In addition, the newspaper article (HT5) states explicitly or in detail the process of implementing or committing to the solutions of the diagnosed problems (the prognostic frames with instrumental ambiguity). In other words, the article discusses the opportunities available for India to contribute to strengthening the Indo-Pacific region's various dimensions, namely in the field of:

Energy and Environment – mobilisation of emerging technologies, such as green hydrogen;

Economy and Trade linkages – the article pays close attention to the importance of historic diaspora network;

Security – pay attention to cybersecurity, maritime security and human security;

Science and technology – collaboration on data, digitisation and earth observation satellites

The diagnostic frame appears to be the primary frame in the selected newspaper article (HT7) that discusses the potential implications of the geostrategic challenges of the war in Ukraine for India. In this regard, it is argued that bipolar world seems unlikely, and a multipolar world is in the making. In addition, the author Mohan Kumar highlights the importance of strategic hedging in the increasingly polarized world. It is important to note that there is enough clarity on the core problem and culpability to avoid false connectives; China is regarded as the chief strategic threat to India.

Finally, the author Harsh V Pant uses the motivational frames as the primary frame in the selected newspaper article (HT9). In this regard, it is argued that India has a potential to respond to emerging global challenges, such as global inequities in the structural realities of contemporary global politics that disproportionately impact the global South. The author stresses the call to arms that is sufficiently temporally bounded and that clarifies the imperative for action. Thus, the motivational frames used in the selected newspaper article indicate instrumental ambiguity.

#### 5.1.4 The Economic Times [ET]

As mentioned in the Research Methodology chapter, The Economic Times has a centre-right outlook; Therefore, the selected newspaper articles of The Economic Times were expected to pay more attention to the use of the economic frames, namely highlighting the positive aspects of India's non-alignment policy to the country's economy in the face of the growing military and political instability in the world stemming from the Russian Federation's full-scale military invasion of Ukraine in February 2022.

Nevertheless, while carrying out the qualitative content analysis of the selected newspaper articles of The Economic Times, it becomes clear that the author Nalin Kumar Mohapatra uses the human impact frame as the primary frame in one of the editorial articles (ET1); In this regard, the author tries to draw the readers' attention "by using an emotional angle in reporting, and putting a human face to the presentation of the event". In other words, the author uses a background image that illustrates the displaced persons from Ukraine who wait for transportation at the Polish border, regarding Russia as an aggressor. In addition, it is also highlighted that India is participating in the provision of massive humanitarian assistance to Ukraine, and repeatedly urging Russia to provide humanitarian corridors to the individuals from the war-torn zone.

Moreover, the authors use the prognostic frames as the primary frame in the two newspaper articles, but the ambiguity levels of the selected frames seem to be different. That is to say, the prognostic frames used in the article ET6 indicate under-specified high ambiguity compared to the prognostic frames used in the other newspaper article ET10 which indicate instrumental ambiguity. In order to understand the differences in the ambiguity levels of these prognostic frames, it is useful to refer to the coding scheme and the Table 1 explained in the Theoretical Framework chapter while analyzing the content of the editorials and opinions.

In the article (ET10), the author explains why it is not easy following the policy of neutrality in the increasingly polarized world, but the news reporter also highlights the weaknesses of the arguments from opponents who criticizes India for the country's abstentions in votes on Russia's invasion of Ukraine and not associating itself with the majority on the Security Council, in order to justify the continuation of the policy of non-alignment. In this regard, the author refers to the case of elections in France: 'many voters' in France who were likely to abstain at that time; and Barack Obama who abstained on nearly 130 votes during his short stint in the Illinois state Senate.

In addition, in the article (ET6), the author Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury highlights the importance of India's multi-alignment policy in the increasingly polarized world. Nevertheless, the author does not state explicitly or in detail the process of implementing the multi-alignment policy. Thus, the prognostic frames used in this newspaper article indicate under-specified high ambiguity: offering an open-ended solution, explaining the process of implementation which has high degree of flexibility, and minimal concrete commitments.

Furthermore, the authors use the diagnostic frames as the primary frame in the three newspaper articles, but the ambiguity levels of the selected articles seem to be different. Put simply, the diagnostic frames used in the two articles (ET3; ET8) indicate instrumental ambiguity in contrast to the diagnostic frames used in the other article (ET4) which indicate under-specified high ambiguity.

For instance, in the article (ET8), the author Seema Sirohi discusses the potential implications (the consequences) of the Russia-Ukraine war for the developing countries in terms of food shortages, high energy prices, supply chain disruptions and an increasing debt burden. Therefore, it is argued that India is trying to be the voice of the global South, but at the same time the government officials are also seeking to maintain good relations with 'Western friends' in times of growing

uncertainties, and competition with China. That is to say, there is enough clarity on the core problem and culpability (China as a culpable agent) in order to avoid false connectives. It is also worth mentioning that the author does not distinguish between the concepts of the non-alignment and multi-alignment policy. In addition, in the article (ET3), the author Pankaj Saran (Economic Times Contributor) also regards the rise of China as a serious threat and highlights the strategic challenge emerging in the Indo-Pacific region.

On the other hand, the article (ET4) discusses the potential negative consequences of adhering to the policy of non-alignment (Non-Alignment Movement) considering ongoing military operations by Russia on Ukraine. The diagnostic frames used in this articles indicate under-specified high ambiguity, meaning that there is a high level of interpretive flexibility with respect to the problematic issue (the author does not state in detail the potential negative consequences) and the identification of culpable agents.

Finally, the authors use the motivational frames as the primary frame in the rest of the selected newspaper articles, and all the motivational frames used in the editorial and opinion articles indicate instrumental ambiguity. In other words, the authors communicate a time limit for an action ‘in a complicated splattered Earth scenario’, highlighting a call to arms (to take action) that is sufficiently temporally bounded. In addition, the news reporters clearly explain the imperative for taking action against the diagnosed threat.

For example, in the article ET2, the author communicates a time limit for clarifying India’s ambivalent position of strategic autonomy during its engagements with Western powers. The imperative for taking this action is explained by referring to China’s efforts ‘to push the Asia and the world narrative to isolate India from the West’, meaning that the case of a stronger China and a weaker Russia is regarded as not being desirable for India. Therefore, the author calls upon the government

officials of India to leverage the country's neutrality stance to end the Russia-Ukraine war.

In addition, the author of the editorial article (ET5) calls upon the government officials to adhere to the policy of refusing to take sides in the ongoing war in Ukraine. The author communicates a time frame that is sufficiently bounded and that clarifies the imperative for taking this action: "It is time India showed the mirror to the West, and the United States in particular." It is also stated that as a result of following the same approach as India did (focusing internally while the rest of the world involved in wars), the United States rose to the position it is today.

Even though the human impact frames are also present in the selected newspaper articles (ET7; ET9), the authors use the motivational frames as the primary frame. The importance of India's G-20 presidency in the era of mutual mistrust, and therefore the threat to the existing world order are highlighted. In this regard, the authors call upon the G-20 (as India assumes the Presidency) to strive for a human-centric order. At the same time, it is also stated that the country adheres to the principles of the non-alignment policy, denounces warmongering, and calls upon the developed countries to grow without pushing a global arms race.

#### 5.1.5 The Daily Pioneer [P]

As mentioned in the Research Methodology chapter, The Daily Pioneer, also known as The Pioneer, has a right wing outlook; Therefore, the selected newspaper articles of the Daily Pioneer were expected to support India's current foreign policy discourse in the face of the growing military and political instability in the world stemming from the Russian Federation's full-scale military invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, in other words, India's traditional policy of non-alignment under the Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the Hindu nationalist who has promised to pursue an 'India first' policy. Despite the low amount (while comparing with the

other newspapers) of the selected newspaper articles in The Daily Pioneer, it was not challenging to conduct a proper analysis.

While analyzing the article (P4) with the help of the coding scheme and the table mentioned in the Theoretical Framework chapter, it becomes clear that the news reporter Banshidhar Rukhaiyar provides an analytical perspective on the diagnosis of the problems and causes behind them, instead of adopting a descriptive perspective on the reporting of the issue and event.

In this regard, it is worth mentioning that the article definitely discusses the potential implications of Russia's full-scale military invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 for India. According to the author, India's increasing proximity with Russia is considered a cause of concern for 'the US-led NATO'. Because of this reason, it is argued that the continuation of India's traditional policy of non-alignment becomes more challenging in the face of the growing military and political instability in the world.

In addition, the author attributes the responsibility of the problems and causes of security crisis to a country, or a government. Despite the fact that the author regards the military invasion of Ukraine as a serious security concern, the article attributes the responsibility and causes of the security crisis in the Indo-Pacific region to China as China's emergence as a global power and the isolation of Russia is considered a cause of concern for the author. Thus, the news reporter puts enough clarity on the core problem and culpability in order to avoid false connectives. That is to say, the diagnostic frame with instrumental ambiguity appears to be the primary frame in the article.

Furthermore, the author of the article (P5) Sonal Shukla highlights the weaknesses of the arguments from the opponents that advocate India's traditional policy of non-alignment in order to justify his proposed solution to the diagnosed problem:



“Post-Independence India was known for its idealistic foreign policy: The famous “non-alignment”. Did it best serve the Indian interest at the time? Did India receive the support of the international community on Kashmir, and China or Pakistan wars? Under Indira Gandhi, India’s diplomacy turned realistic; if the Indian help in the Independence of Bangladesh was a smashing success, alienating the US was the cost.”

The news reporter presents strategies and goals regarding the possible solutions of the diagnosed problem, namely the security crisis. In this regard, the author definitely distinguishes between non-alignment and multi-alignment, and advocates the current Prime Minister’s stance on following the multi-alignment policy because the continuation of the multi-alignment policy is believed to pave the way for “a wider alignment with Washington, and adoption of its China containment Indo-pacific policy, without surrendering autonomy over other issues, like relationship with Russia; and creating strategic issue-based convergences with different nations, including China”.

In addition, the author states explicitly or in detail the process of implementing or committing to the solution of the diagnosed problem. On the other hand, the template for action is not overly prescriptive. Therefore, it can be concluded that the prognostic frame with instrumental ambiguity appears to be the primary frame in the selected article.

On the other hand, while conducting the qualitative content analysis of the selected article (P7), it becomes clear that the author Hiranmay Karlekar uses the human impact frame as the primary frame which was identified by Amber Boydston and Rebecca Glazier by constructing ‘The Policy Frames Codebook’ (also explained in the Theoretical Framework chapter). In this regard, the author compares the scope of aggression toward humans happened during the world wars and the war that Ukraine is currently experiencing, resulting in significant casualties and displacement. Additionally, the author refers to the quote of The Greek historian

Thucydides (460-400 BC) said in his History of the Peloponnesian War in order to justify the solutions that aim to strengthen India's military power:

“Right, as the world goes, is only in question between equals in power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must.”

Moreover, in the article (P8), the news reporter Kumardeep Banerjee provides an analytical perspective on the diagnosis of the threat, namely the growing proximity between Russia and China, and causes behind them, instead of adopting a descriptive perspective on the reporting of the issue and event. In this regard, the article discusses the potential implications of the Russia-Ukraine war for India. That is to say, it is argued that the growing dependency of Russia (due to the sanctions) on China for its survival is a worrying issue from India perspective, which in turn makes the continuation of the non-alignment policy more challenging.

It is also argued that because of this reason, “Russia may have to back up China's imperialist aggression into another sovereign's rightful territory which is huge threat for India”. The author attributes the responsibility of the problems and causes of the security crisis to the countries, namely the European nations, the US and the UK due to the imposition of the severe financial sanctions on the Russian Federation. Put simply, the news reporter puts enough clarity on the core problem and culpability in order to avoid false connectives. Thus, it can be stated that the diagnostic frame with instrumental ambiguity appears to be the primary frame in the selected article.

Despite the fact that the diagnostic frames also appear in the selected newspaper article (P6: Foreign Policy in Fluid World Order), the author employs the prognostic frame with high ambiguity as the primary frame, which indicates open-ended solutions to the diagnosed problems, a high degree of flexibility in the implementation of the proposed solutions, and minimal concrete commitments.

While analyzing the newspaper article, it becomes clear that the author Kumardeep Banerjee uses the concept ‘the policy of neutrality’ instead of the concept ‘the non-alignment policy’. In this regard, it is argued that it is important for India to keep the policy of neutrality due to the security environment in the Indo-Pacific region (an open-ended solution), but on the other hand the government “has clearly outlined to the US officials the need to be suitably empowered (a high-degree of flexibility in the implementation of the proposed solution) or in other words compensated (a minimal concrete commitment) for gradually moving away from its long standing friend Russia in the long run.”

In the two articles (P2; P3), the authors Gwynne Dyer and Makhan Saikia seems to have used the diagnostic frames as the primary frame, but the ambiguity levels of the diagnostic frames are different. While analyzing the contents, it becomes clear that the authors advocate the continuation of the non-alignment policy in the face of the growing military and political instability in the world as India is believed to have the military capacity to defend itself from any military aggression. Regarding the ambiguity levels of the selected newspaper articles, there is a high level of interpretive flexibility with respect to the problematic issue and the identification of culpable agents in the article (P3). On the other hand, the news reporter puts enough clarity on the core problem and culpability in order to avoid false connectives in the article (P2).

## 6. Discussion and conclusion

The aim of this research was to find out how the popular media outlets of India have framed India's policy of non-alignment in the face of the growing military and political instability in the world stemming from the Russian Federation's full-scale military invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. After carrying out the qualitative content analysis of the editorial and opinion articles, it becomes clear that the motivational frames appear to be the primary frame in only one newspaper, namely The Economic Times. Moreover, the diagnostic frames were used as the primary frame in two of the selected newspapers, such as The Times of India and The Daily Pioneer. Furthermore, the prognostic frames appear to be the primary frame in the rest of the selected newspapers, namely The Hindu and Hindustan Times.

It is important to note that the articles retrieved from The Times of India generally discuss the pragmatic ways of dealing with the potential implications of the Russia-Ukraine war for India as the way Ukraine war ends is considered crucial for the country's foreign and security policy decisions regarding the policy of non-alignment. In most cases, the authors explain the importance of maintaining good relations with the United States (and the West), and discuss India's potential to bridge east-west and north-south divide.

In most cases, the articles retrieved from The Hindu present India as a good model for the implementation of the multilateral engagements, namely one's capacity to use its leverage to negotiate with multiple sides in the face of the growing military and political instability in the world since India is believed to have developed the capacity to transact with competing and conflicting sides. In this regard, India's responsibility as the chair of the G-20 is also highlighted.

It is also worth mentioning that the articles retrieved from Hindustan Times generally discuss the pragmatic ways of dealing with the potential threats from China, which is driving India and the United States of America (and the West)

closer together. That is to say, the authors seek to justify their opinion about why India must rethink its stand on Ukraine and therefore its policy of non-alignment, aligning more with the West in order to countervail China.

Furthermore, the authors of the selected articles of The Economic Times generally advocate India's adherence to the principles of the non-alignment policy, in other words, they call upon the government officials of India to adhere to the policy of refusing to take sides in the ongoing war in Ukraine. In addition, the authors call upon the government officials of India to leverage the country's neutrality stance to end the Russia-Ukraine war as the case of a stronger China and a weaker Russia is regarded as not being desirable for India.

Finally, the authors of the selected articles of The Daily Pioneer generally advocate for the continuation of the non-alignment policy in the face of the growing military and political instability in the world as India is believed to have the military capacity to defend itself from any military aggression. Nevertheless, it is also argued that as a result of the imposition of sanctions, the growing dependency of Russia on China for its survival is a worrying issue from India perspective due to the challenging security environment in the Indo-Pacific region, which in turn makes the continuation of the non-alignment policy more challenging.

The study is a humble contribution to the field of media framing research. Since research on examining the countries, including India that regard themselves as not formally aligned with or against any military blocs is still lacking, a larger scale investigation can be suggested for further research on the topic as comparing the findings of the previous and future studies with the findings of the proposed research would help researchers gain a deeper understanding of how context matters in the framing.

## 7. References

- Agrawal, A. K., & Kumari, M. (2021). Globalization And Its Impact On The Media Management In India. *Elementary Education Online*, 20(1), 4150-4161.
- Alberque, W., & Schreer, B. (2022). Finland, Sweden and NATO Membership. *Survival*, 64(3), 67-72.
- Altheide, D. L., & Schneider, C. J. (2017). *Qualitative Media Analysis*. SAGE Publications Ltd. London.
- Anheier, H. K., Friedhelm, N., & Wolfgang, V. (1998). Movement Cycles and the Nazi Party: Activities of the Munich NSDAP, 1925–1930. *American Behavioral Science*, 41, 1262–1281.
- Atre, S., Raut, G., & Palsule, V. (2018). *History and Political Science: Mass Media and History*. Maharashtra State Bureau of Textbook Production and Curriculum Research. Pune.
- Banaji, S., & Al-Ghabban, A. (2006). ‘Neutrality Comes From Inside Us’: British-Asian and Indian Perspectives on Television News after 11 September. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(6), 1005-1026.
- Banerjee, R. (2022). 75 years of Independence: Looking back, looking forward on how social media evolution has touched lives. *Financial Express*. Retrieved from <https://www.financialexpress.com/blockchain/75-years-of-independence-looking-back-looking-forward-on-how-social-media-evolution-has-touched-lives/2630168/>
- Bansal, K. (2002). International News Coverage in Four Indian Newspapers: A Content Analysis Study. *Media Asia*, 29(3), 31-40.
- Barclay, F. P., Pichandy, C., & Venkat, A. (2014). Indian Elections, 2014: Political Orientation of English Newspapers. *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, 24(1), 7-22.
- Barthwal-Datta, M., & Basu, S. (2017). Reconceptualizing regional security in South Asia: A critical security approach. *Security Dialogue*, 48(5), 393-409.
- Basrur, R. (2023). *Subcontinental Drift: Domestic Politics and India's Foreign Policy*. Georgetown University Press. Washington, DC.

- Benford, R. D., & Hunt, S. A. (1992). Dramaturgy and Social Movements: The Social Construction and Communication of Power. *Social Inquiry*, 62(1), 36-55.
- Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611–639.
- Bortnik, R. (2022). New Non-Aligned Movement Amid Rising Global Instability. *Ukrainian Policymaker*, 10, 4-10.
- Boydston, A., & Glazier, R. (2013). A Two-Tiered Method for Identifying Trends in Media Framing of Policy Issues: The Case of the War on Terror. *The Policy Studies Journal*, 41(4), 706-735.
- Butler, M. J. (2012). *Selling a 'Just' War: Framing, Legitimacy, and US Military Intervention*. PALGRAVE MACMILLAN. New York: NY
- Cable, S. & Shriver, T. (1995). Production and extrapolation of meaning in the environmental justice movement. *Sociological Spectrum*, 15(4), 419-442.
- Cappella, J. N., & Jamieson, K. H. (1997). *Spiral of Cynicism: The Press and the Public Good*. Oxford University Press. New York: NY
- Carroll, W. K., & Ratner, R. S. (1996). Master Frames and Counter-Hegemony: Political Sensibilities in Contemporary Social Movements. *Canadian Review of Sociology*, 33(4), 407-435.
- Chandra, V. (2017). Modi Government and Changing Patterns in Indian Foreign Policy. *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*, 21(2), 98-117.
- Dickstein, L. S. (1980). Inference errors in deductive reasoning. *Bulletin of the Psychonomic Society*, 16(6), 414-416.
- Eagan, J. L., & Munro, A. (2013). Media Freedom. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/media-freedom>
- Entman, R. M. (1991). Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents. *Journal of Communication*, 41(4), 6-27.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.

- Fairhurst, G. T., & Sarr, R. A. (1996). *The Art of Framing: Managing the Language of Leadership*. Jossey-Bass Publishers. San Francisco.
- Freedom House, (n.d.). Media Freedom. *Freedom on the Net*. Retrieved from <https://freedomhouse.org/issues/media-freedom>
- Gamson, J. (1995). Must Identity Movements Self-Destruct? A Queer Dilemma. *Social Problems*, 42(3), 390-407.
- Ganguly, S. (2023). How India's Domestic Politics Impede Its Foreign Policy. *Foreign Policy Journal*. Retrieved from <https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/02/05/india-foreign-policy-drift-modi-politics-basrur/>
- Ghosh, P. S. (1994). Foreign Policy and Electoral Politics in India: Inconsequential Connection. *University of California Press*, 34(9), 807-817.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Northeastern University Press. New York: NY
- Gupta, R., Shobha, M., Rahim, A., Malhan, M., & Sriwastava, K. M. (2017). The Role of the English Press in India. *The Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU)*. Retrieved from <https://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/7323/1/Unit-1.pdf>
- Hunt, S. A., Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (1994). Identity Fields: Framing Processes and the Social Construction of Movement Identities. *New social movements: From ideology to identity*, 185-208.
- Iyer, P. (2020). Understanding the Indian Public Opinion - Foreign Policy Relationship. *ORF (Observer Research Foundation) Occasional Paper*, 284, 1-24.
- Kapur, D. (2009). Public Opinion and Indian Foreign Policy. *India Review*, 8(3), 286-305.
- Kibiswa, N. K. (2019). Directed Qualitative Content Analysis (DQICA): A Tool for Conflict Analysis. *The Qualitative Report*, 24(8), 2059-2079.
- Klandermans, B., & Goslinga, S. (1996). *Media discourse, movement publicity, and the generation of collective action frames: Theoretical and empirical exercises in meaning construction*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.



- Kubin, E., & Sikorski, C. (2021). The role of (social) media in political polarization: a systematic review. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 45(3), 188-206.
- Kuckartz, U., & Radiker, S. (2023). *Qualitative Content Analysis: Methods, Practice and Software*. SAGE Publications Ltd. London.
- Lindström, L. (2017). Media Framing of Immigration: A comparison of newspaper coverage in Sweden and the United Kingdom during the 2016 Brussels terrorist attack. *LUP Student Papers*, 1-52.
- Malone, M. D., Mohan, C. R., & Raghavan, S. (2015). *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy*. Oxford University Press. New York: NY
- Mandloi, M. (n.d.). Non Aligned Movement. *Legal Service India*. Retrieved from <https://legalserviceindia.com/legal/article-9259-non-aligned-movement.html>
- Maslog, C. C., Lee, S. T., & Kim, H. S. (2006). Framing Analysis of a Conflict: How Newspapers in Five Asian Countries Covered the Iraq War. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 16(1), 19-39.
- Mass Communication Curriculum. (2020). LANGUAGE PRESS IN INDIA. *Indian Institute of Mass Communication*. Retrieved from [https://www.nios.ac.in/media/documents/srsec335new/335\\_Mass\\_Communication\\_Eng/335\\_Mass\\_Communication\\_Eng\\_L8.pdf](https://www.nios.ac.in/media/documents/srsec335new/335_Mass_Communication_Eng/335_Mass_Communication_Eng_L8.pdf)
- Mohan, C. R. (2009). The Re-making of Indian Foreign Policy: Ending the Marginalization of International Relations Community. *International Studies*, 46(1-2), 147-163.
- Nepstad, S. E. (1997). The Process of Cognitive Liberation: Cultural Synapses, Links, and Frame Contradictions in the U.S.-Central America Peace Movement. *Social Inquiry*, 67(4), 470-487.
- Plagemann, J., & Destradi, S. (2019). Populism and Foreign Policy: The Case of India. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 15, 283-301.
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 103-122.

- Sharma, M. (2014). Indian Mass Media, Development and Globalisation. *International Journal of Information Technology and Knowledge Management*, 8(1), 11-24.
- Tversky, A., & Kahneman, D. (1981). The framing of decisions and the psychology of choice. *Science*, 211(4481), 453–458.
- Verma, R., & Sardesai, S. (2014). Does Media Exposure Affect Voting Behavior and Political Preferences in India? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 49(39), 82-88.
- Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal*, 13(1), 51-62.
- World Newspapers and Magazines: India. (2023). *WorldPress*. Retrieved from <https://www.worldpress.org/newspapers/asia/india.cfm>

## 8. Appendix A: Coding scheme

I have constructed the coding scheme before implementing the process of data analysis, and referred to the scheme when identifying the most generic frames in the selected news articles. I have formulated questions for each frame in order to facilitate the identification process in the content analysis of the selected material, and determine which frame was most prominent in the news articles.

### Diagnostic Frame

1. Does the news reporter provide an analytical perspective on the diagnosis of the problem(s) and causes behind them, instead of adopting a descriptive perspective on the reporting of the issue and event?
2. Does the article discuss the potential implications of the issue for India?
3. Does the author attribute the responsibility of the problem(s) and causes of security crisis to a country, a government, or any group or individual?
4. Does the news reporter put enough clarity on the core problem and culpability in order to avoid false connectives?

### Prognostic Frame

5. Does the article mention possible solutions to the diagnosed problem(s)?
6. Does the news reporter present strategies and goals regarding possible solutions of the diagnosed problem(s)?
7. Does the author state explicitly or in detail the process of implementing or committing to the solution of the diagnosed problem(s)?
8. Does the author highlight the weaknesses of the arguments from opponents in order to justify their proposed solution or solutions to that problem(s)?

### Motivational Frame

9. Does the author call upon the government officials, or any group or individual to solve the diagnosed problem(s) regarding security crisis?
10. Does the news reporter clearly explain the imperative for taking action against the diagnosed threat?
11. When highlighting the imperative for the concrete action, does the author stress the four vocabularies of motive, namely:
  - ‘Severity’ – Highlighting possible negative consequences for non-action
  - ‘Urgency’ – Communicating a time limit for an action
  - ‘Efficacy’ – The capability of producing a desired or intended results
  - ‘Propriety’ – Supporting the foreign policy direction that has traditionally been acceptable

## 9. Appendix B: List of articles used in analysis

In this appendix, I will list the news articles used in analysis, by stating the title of the article, the date the article was published, the page number, and the name of the author when applicable. The articles were retrieved from the time period 24 February 2022 – 31 December 2022. In the main text, I refer to these articles by their *individual codes*, which can be found above each article.

### **The Times of India (12)**

[TI1]

“Imperial Russia will be bad for India, good for China; Why the way Ukraine war ends is critical for India” June 2, 2022, Swaminathan S Anklesaria Aiyar

[TI2]

“Modi follows Nehru’s non-alignment” April 20, 2022, Ravi Shanker Kapoor in TOI Edit Page, politics, TOI

[TI3]

“Why India is right in staying out of Russia-US fight” April 24, 2022, Chetan Bhagat

[TI4]

“How India became a more neutral nation than Switzerland” March 31, 2022, Team TOI Plus

[TI5]

“India maintaining its non-aligned policy: Jaishankar” May 28, 2022, PTI

[TI6]

“Opposition backs government's non-aligned stand on Putin’s war” April 6, 2022,  
SUBODH GHILDIYAL

[TI7]

“US wants India to move away from its long-term history of non-alignment” April  
10, 2022, TNN & Agencies

[TI8]

“Can India help broker peace in Ukraine?” November 7, 2022, Jeffrey Gettleman  
and Mujib Mashal

[TI9]

“How India can bridge east-west and north-south divides”, April 27, 2022, Sanjaya  
Baru

[TI10]

“Why India did not vote against Russia at the UN”, February 26, 2022, Team TOI  
Plus

[TI11]

“Russia backs India, Brazil for permanent membership in UN Security Council”,  
September 25, 2022, PTI

[TI12]

“Why Russia may not be as close a friend to India as most think”, April 4, 2022,  
Team TOI Plus

## **The Hindu (12)**

[H1]

“Ukraine and the anatomy of India’s neutrality” April 8, 2022, STANLY JOHNY

[H2]

“Neutrality and abstention: On India’s stand in the Russia-Ukraine conflict”  
October 6, 2022, The Hindu Editorial

[H3]

“In the time of war: On India’s ties with Europe without upsetting Russia” May 5,  
2022, The Hindu Editorial

[H4]

“Words from Bandung to relive in Bali and Delhi” July 7, 2022, SUHASINI  
HAIDAR

[H5]

“Russia ‘quite effective’ in pushing Ukraine war narrative in India and other  
countries: Latvia State Secretary Andris Pelss” May 18, 2022, KALLOL  
BHATTACHERJEE

[H6]

“The return of the great power rivalries: The post-Cold War period of peace in  
Europe is more an aberration than norm in the continent’s history of conflicts” May  
30, 2022, STANLY JOHNY

[H7]

“Is India in a bind over its relations with Russia?” October 7, 2022, KALLOL  
BHATTACHERJEE

[H8]

“Ukraine’s deepening engagement with India revealed in high-level letters: Ukraine  
has gradually intensified diplomatic and security conversation with India and given

the dialogue a structured shape especially in the last three months” December 28, 2022, KALLOL BHATTACHERJEE

[H9]

“The ‘India pole’ in international politics: New Delhi detests falling in line and those who wish to work with India on the global stage must learn to deal with ‘India as a partner’ rather than ‘India as a cheerleader’” November 23, 2022, HAPPYMON JACOB

[H10]

“The Global South’s assertion in geopolitics: The Global South has new agency in a changing world, with several countries finding that neutrality and strategic autonomy have become a viable option” September 24, 2022, ANURADHA M. CHENOY

[H11]

“The Ukraine war, India and a stand of non-alignment: New Delhi’s present position apart, the only lasting principle in foreign policy is the principle of national interest” March 2, 2022, CHINMAYA R. GHAREKHAN

[H12]

“India’s role in a disordered world: New Delhi can play an important role in shaping a new, more democratic, world order” April 11, 2022, ARUN MAIRA

### **Hindustan Times (9)**

[HT1]

“India’s key role in 21st century non-alignment”, August 24, 2022, Yamini Aiyar and Angshuman Choudhury

[HT2]



“Decoding India’s new multi-alignment plan”, August 2, 2022, Indrajit Roy

[HT3]

“Why India must rethink its stance on Ukraine” June 28, 2022, Atman M Trivedi and Rhone Grajcar

[HT4]

“What 2023 holds for India’s foreign policy”, December 28, 2022, Harsh V Pant

[HT5]

“India in the Indo-Pacific: Pursuing prosperity and security”, November 28, 2022, Hindustan Times

[HT6]

“What do the young think of India’s foreign policy?”, November 12, 2022, Harsh V Pant and Aditya Gowdara Shivamurthy

[HT7]

“All major powers face two-front challenges”, October 19, 2022, Mohan Kumar

[HT8]

“Decoding how the Indian foreign policy is navigating Ukraine war”, October 17, 2022, HT Correspondent

[HT9]

“India is at the heart of global governance shifts”, September 29, 2022, Harsh V Pant

### **The Economic Times (10)**

[ET1]

“View: NATO, Russia-Ukraine war and the logic of “security dilemma”” March 8, 2022, Nalin Kumar Mohapatra

[ET2]

“Neutrality, a foreign policy power tool: India’s position is complicated – at least as complicated as the messiness ‘out there’” April 4, 2022, ET Bureau

[ET3]

“View: NATO expansion won’t solve problems, will increase tension” July 1, 2022, Pankaj Saran

[ET4]

“Russia-Ukraine Crisis: India could face consequences on treading back to NAM policy, says Manish Tewari”, February 26, 2022, ANI

[ET5]

“View: What India can learn and unlearn from America’s rise to power” March 12, 2022, ET CONTRIBUTORS

[ET6]

“India’s multi-alignment policy can provide an answer to current geo-politics: CICA head” April 30, 2022, Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury

[ET7]

“View: India’s G-20 presidency will set the tone for a human-centric order” December 22, 2022, Ambassador J.K. Tripathi, Dr. Sandeep Tripathi, ET CONTRIBUTORS

[ET8]

“More friends, more flexibility: How India's growing participation in global events going to benefit the country” September 25, 2022, Seema Sirohi

[ET9]

“View: India can lead G20 as a movement for Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam”

November 21, 2022, Amarjeet Sinha, ET CONTRIBUTORS

[ET10]

“The awkwardness of being an abstain nation” April 2, 2022, ET Prime

### **The Pioneer (8)**

[P1]

“NATO faces two-front geostrategic challenges” July 7, 2022, Nishtha Kaushiki

[P2]

“Farewell neutrality: Sweden and Finland” May 20, 2022, Gwynne Dyer

[P3]

“Concerns over Finland, Sweden joining NATO” May 22, 2022, Makhan Saikia

[P4]

“Paradigm shift in India's foreign policy” September 20, 2022, Banshidhar Rukhaiyar

[P5]

“Indian foreign policy comes of age” August 7, 2022, Sonal Shukla

[P6]

“FOREIGN POLICY IN FLUID WORLD ORDER” October 14, 2022, Kumardeep Banerjee

[P7]

“Perennial shadow of apprehensions” December 31, 2022, Hiranmay Karlekar

[P8]

“Shrinking foreign policy space for India”, March 4, KUMARDEEP BANERJEE