



An Exploratory Study On The Presentation Of News On Select Print Media Using Framing Analysis

K.Manikkam Temporary Assistant Professor (T), Part Time (Internal) Research Scholar, Department of Communication, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli.

Dr.G.Balasubramania Raja Professor & Head, Department of Communication, Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli.

Introduction:

The role of press and media is significant in providing information about incidents and events, facilitate the readers and the audiences with factual information that helps in their perception or opinion of the incidents or events which create awareness among the people and the society about the looming challenges that would seemingly intimidate harmonious living at both individual and collective level. In Print Journalism, the process of 'News-Gathering' is important since it initiates and catalyses the process of communication. News-Gathering is carried by individuals and groups depending on the intensity of the event or incident. The tactics of journalism news coverage play an important role in our perception of a protest and its legitimacy in the public agenda-setting.

Framing and "media logic" are means to presents these narratives. Framing means the processes in which journalists, who are in the dynamic process of constructing meaning, present their interpretation of subjects and events in the form of a news narrative. Framing means the process in which the journalists choose and categorize information. They choose the arguments and adopt a position. In so doing, in fact, they create a frame in the consciousness of the subscribers. It is generally associated with the term "agenda setting" in which the journalists decide "what is important". It is agenda setting that defines what is "worth reporting" for public attention. Entman, defines as the emphasis placed upon the reasons for the problem, its moral judgment, and suggestions for the best way to deal with it. Framing thus fulfills an important task in the structuring of the reality that is presented covered in interpretation using metaphors or selected connotations suited to the chosen narrative. "Media logic" refers to that the mass media gained power not only by cementing their institutional status but also by developing a commanding discourse that guided the organization of public space.

The news media play an important role in the shaping of the perception of the protest, the agenda-setting and the way these are handled for the subscribers throughout the world and in the eyes of the protestors, is an important social institution and influential player in

the battle over the public discourse. The news coverage is important for a number of main reasons: (1) the coverage has a direct effect upon the ability to mobilize people to join the demonstrations and the recruiting of the media is a necessary early stage to achieve this. (2) Coverage by the newspapers creates either the legitimation or the de-legitimation for the existence of the movement and its issues in the eyes of the political elite. The importance of the news coverage here grows because in order to realize the demonstration's goal influence has to be exerted upon the decision makers and the process of decision making. (3) This reason deals with the question of whether the social movement will manage to gain supportive coverage from the media, which will allow the creation of a situation in which people who had not been interested in the demonstration's issues up till then begin to pay attention, examine the subjects and perhaps become allies of the movement.

Media and Social Movement

The relationship between social movements and the media is complex and multifaceted. The mainstream media provides the platform for the information about the agenda of the social movements to the wider audience. There are various examples and case studies across the globe that talks about the media participation in disseminating messages propounded by social movements. In understanding the process of communication in the activity involving social movements, there are layers of communication process. The process within the perimeters of the group is different from that of the information disseminated to the wider audiences. In the present day situation, researchers estimate the alternative media is widely employed for looping information within the group (Forde, 2011; Harcup, 2013).

In work, *'Movements and Media as Interacting Systems'*, Gamson and Wolfsfeld explicate the conversing relationship between social movements and media as follows,

“Send my message,” say the activists and “make me news,” say the journalists. (Gamson&Wolfsfeld1993).

The social movements have played a pivotal role in the process of transforming or changing the communities and societies around the world. As mentioned earlier, information is vital with respect to existential and survival needs of human beings. With the emergence of new communication applications catalyzed by digital technology, social movements have versatile communication platforms at their disposal. David West (2004) explicates in his *'Handbook of Political Theory'* the role of social movements in expressing concerns and showing empathy for people in crisis, people threatened with vulnerabilities and people being pushed in the margins with their voices being suppressed. According to David West,

“The term “social movements “refers to a group of contemporary (or recent) social movements that have played a significant and, for most commentators, largely progressive role in western societies (sic)....”

However, in context like India, traditional communication medium like the Newspaper continues to reach wider audience truly the justifying itself as Mass Medium. The information that is collected and transmitted to the wider audience invariably passes through the loop in which information could be condensed or redacted. There are many noteworthy works by scholars like Jurgen Habermas who emphasized that the role of information was vital facilitating and forming public opinion in the society; in this process, it is to be noted that opinion formation depends on the factors of rational and critical thinking surrounding the information.

The events and activities of the Social movements are communicated in the real time to the world through Internet based media. Ironically, analyzing this trend using the postulates of Gamson and Wolfsfeld, we can see that there are challenges with the information passed through New Media communication application. The issue of mobilization and validity primarily questions the tenacity of information.

In this regard, for analysis the study limits to two print media institution namely “The Hindu” and “The New Indian Express”. The selected print media channel has the attribute of the reach and coverage in terms of reaching the audiences nationally and covering regional incidents.

Objective of the study

- To analyze the news content of Koodankulam Protest in leading English dailies The Hindu and The New Indian Express of Tamilnadu.
- To measure the KKNPP protest’s news coverage in Tirunelveli and Chennai edition of The Hindu and The New Indian Express.
- To understand the convoluted relationship involved in gathering of information and presentation of the gathered information.

Review of Literature:

The perception that the importance of social movements news coverage is vested on its cover in intensity of global recognition is misconceived in the study Schiffel (1999) explores the coverage of local print media and its role in the conflict situation in Assam, the role of local media in the context of a conflict situation is very important because they are in a gainful position to influence the situation. Fishman introduced the term ‘news waves’, where the frames of local media are selected by national or international media. This indicates that the local media can become a source for national or international media by covering difficult conflicts to reach across the territory. Despite its high importance, very little research has been done on the role of local media in a conflict situation.

In his study, Lokesh (2010) explained that demonstrations in the Narmada Valley and campaigns against mining and land acquisition for industries in other areas attracted much

media attention. Despite the increase in media attention to the displacement issues of the later 2000. But after that, it is only minimal reporting. Displacement by special economic zones, mining, and power projects continued to be discussed, but such discussions were not reflected in the media. News of growth-induced displacement made up only a small percentage of the total content carried by newspapers.

Researchers have long criticized the mainstream media for marginalizing and delegitimizing protests through portraying such actions as deviant, threatening, or impotent (e.g., Boykoff, 2006; Gitlin, 1980; Small, 1995). Chan and Lee (1984) explored and articulated the concept of the protest paradigm to refer to the pattern of delegitimizing news coverage of protest and dissent. However, as a result of changes in the media environment and the field of a social movement, many researchers have noted that the contemporary news media are 'capable of exhibiting a more complex relation to the politics of protest than assumed in the past' (Cottle, 2008). The studies focusing on the concept of the protest paradigm have also begun to treat the pattern of media coverage as a variable—that is, instead of assuming or trying to prove that the mainstream media are biased against social protests, (Boyle, McLeod, & Armstrong, 2012; Weaver & Scacco, 2013).

Media can change people's opinions since they have contact with people and it is their strength. This strength can either be used constructively by educating the people or it can be used destructively by misleading the innocent people. Media plays a vital role in building our society. Most of the time, the media plays a connecting role between the governments and common people. The power media has on society, it should know their role and it is their responsibility to educate the society constructively. Few studies have shown that the news media are the most significant source of information for most people especially about environmental issues (Atwater, Salwen, & Anderson, 1985; Ostman & Parker, 1987). The media also plays a significant role in shaping and reflecting people's opinions on a wide range of social issues (Bengston, Potts, Fan, & Goetz, 2005). Pillay (2004) emphasizes that the "mass media in liberal democracies is often seen as a conduit of information and ideas that empowers ordinary citizens".

Scholars (Saif Shahin, Pei Zheng, Heloisa and Deepa Fadnis) described the media in India are very diverse, somewhat considering the sheer size of the country - it is the largest newspaper market in the world, more than twice the size of the US market (Moro and Aikat 2010) and the country's diversity and due to political and economic structures. Political parties underscore the historical legitimacy of informal political power negotiations outside the domain of organized civil society, trade unions and associations are an important structural uniqueness that shapes the country's media system. Newspapers are often out of direct government control (Srivastava 2008). Brazil, China, and India deal with different political systems: authoritarian rule in China, presidential democracy in Brazil, and

parliamentary democracy in India. The evolutionary trajectories of these media systems also vary greatly.

The coverage of nuclear issues is an important aspect of public discourse. This is especially so because of the key role of media is to inform the public and educating them on subjects that cause many fears, such as nuclear issues. Newspaper coverage of nuclear issues is therefore important because past research has established that in times of nuclear accidents like the Chernobyl nuclear accident, the majority of people resorted to the media as the primary source of information to the detriment of the formal information sources. Coverage of nuclear issues has been primarily linked to risks of technological hazards with a significant impact on politics, legal issues, economics, environment, public health, and psychological effects (Kim & Bie, 2013).

According to the statement of Bruggemann (2014) the news media frames issues in so many ways. Frames normally suggest what the controversy is about, and the essence of the issue. The study elaborate frame can be said to the central organizing ideas for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration. Frames are devices used in the news making processes like headlines, leads, and catchphrases. The use of frames is known as framing and it occurs in different locations. Journalists frame their news stories and audience frame information received from the media (Bruggemann, 2014; Gamson, 1992). Frames represent cognitive structures and form an important element of public discourse.

Methodology

This study is conceptualized as a comparative approach using qualitative research methods through a content analysis approach that explores the in-depth process of the mainstream print media coverage of the Koodankulam nuclear power projects protest. The scope of this study lies in trying to understand the nuances of mainstream print media coverage of peoples protest and how they have framed their everyday protest against the Koodankulam nuclear power. The emergence of protest movements against the nuclear power projects in Koodankulam and how the central and state government response towards the protests and the media coverage of framing perspective between two newspapers coverage of to be explored largely. According to Gupta (1998) cultural constitution of the state that is, how people perceive the state, how their understandings are shaped by their particular locations and intimate and embodied encounters with state processes and officials, and how the state manifests itself in their lives.

In this regard, the protest processes through –the state|| is declined the peoples protest and the major result of hegemonic processes that should not be taken for granted. In this study, the state describes different agencies like Atomic Energy Regulatory Board (AERB), Nuclear Power Corporation Limited (NPCIL), Department of Atomic Energy, Police,

Paramilitary, Coast Guard, Army, Courts, other central and state government departments such as Ministry of Environment, and political parties. The protesters and protest movement group not falling any group they are a collective forum of fisher folks, framers, public, and social activists the group also represents the main banner under the People Movement Against the Nuclear Energy (PMANE) and political group. This study engages the qualitative content analysis method using framing theory as the theoretical framework for this study. Framing theory was developed by Canadian-American sociologist Erving Goffman in his classic work *Frame Analysis* (1974) (Haynes, Merolla & Ramakrishnan, 2016). Gaye Tuchman (1978) written in his book “Making News” and describes her ideas of —news as a frame,|| she also uses frames as a method to describe media’s handling of news stories— their usage of words, images, and presentation style of events, whereas Goffman used it to describe an individual’s cognitive understanding of an event (Druckman, 2001).

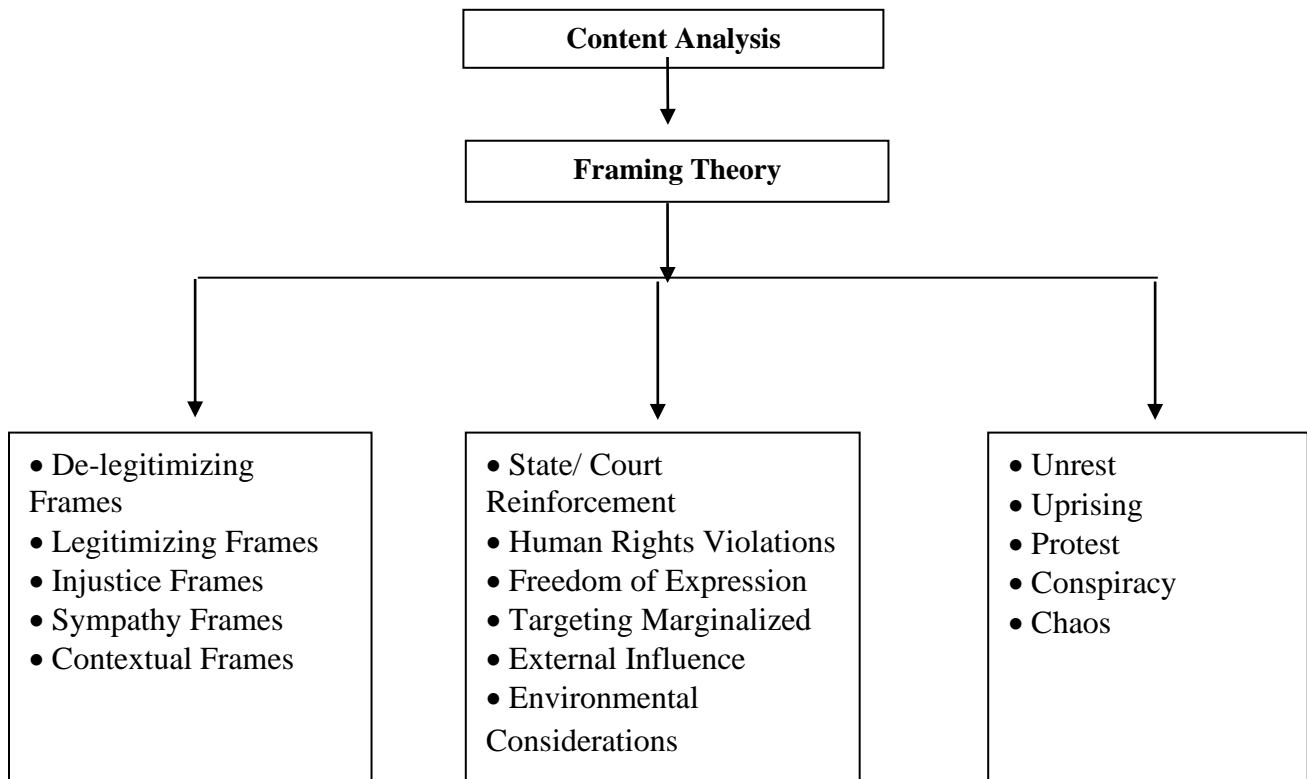
This study employs a qualitative and quantitative method of content analysis and operates on the concept of the study. Qualitative content analysis is commonly used for analyzing qualitative data such as image, text, visuals, interviews, and web content. In quantitative content analysis defines as —a highly selective and structured method, which is based on the principles of social science of measuring and counting||. The content analysis aims to examine the different media content through descriptively interprets the contents and analyzes the content through static methods.

The content selection of this study, the newspapers contains Koodankulam protest news, and any other related news during the study period (September 01 to September 30, 2012) was collected. The content analysis involved examining two newspapers (The Hindu and The New Indian Express).

Framing Theory

Media framing is the way in which information is presented to its audiences. Goffman was the first to concentrate on framing as a form of communication and defined “framing” as a “schemata of interpretation” that enables individuals to locate, perceive, identify and label|| occurrences or life experiences (Goffman, 1974). Robert Entman modernized this definition by specifying that “to frame a communicating text or message is to promote certain facets of a perceived reality and make them more salient in such a way that endorses a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or a treatment recommendation” (Entman, 1993). According to Entman, news can be framed in multiple ways (Entman, 1993). Scholars use several common themes to explain media coverage: emphasizing the conflict, emotional aspect of the news, and the economic consequences of the conflict (Entman, 1993). These themes are common because they can define the problem and a diagnosis of the reason.

A sample of mainstream media news coverage between 01 and 30 September 2012 was examined. The content analysis involved examining two newspapers (The Hindu and The New Indian Express). These newspapers were chosen because they were among the most circulated newspapers and they dominate the domestic news coverage in Tamilnadu. First researcher collected the newspaper coverage about KKNPP protest news. Then the news was categorized as frames, the framing categories were conceptualized by reviewing the literature. News media play an important role in the life and death of social movements; the news media can shape a protest message for an audience, through determining the decision of printing or broadcasting news of social protest, the choice of sources being used, and above all, how to frame the issue (Ashley & Olson, 1998: 263).



According to Van Gorp (2009), each frame offers a viewpoint, which can help in understanding issues. In this, the intent of frame analysis should always depend on identifying a pluralistic report of alternative frames.

The news stories from both newspapers (The Hindu, The New Indian Express) were analyzed by each above-mentioned frame.

Analysis and Interpretation

Framing can affect both individuals and society at large (D'Angelo, 2002). It is described by different phrases: framing building, frameset, and individual and social consequences of framing (Scheufele, 2000). News framing is an important concept to study because, usually, audiences have no other source of information, and so mainstream media coverage affects their decisions about events (Entman, 1991). According to Entman (1993), the mainstream media constructs a message with certain frames. He summarizes the frame concept as follows:

“to frame is to select some aspect 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. (p. 52)”

As Entman suggested, the mainstream media highlighted or excluded some aspects of the koodankulam protests. Moreover, it defined the problem and diagnosed the reasons for the event, but because mainstream media has a fractured (polarized) environment, we assumed that there would not be a homogenous coverage of the protests. The news was categorized as frames, the framing categories were conceptualized by reviewing the literature. According to Entman, news can be framed in multiple ways (Entman, 1993). Scholars use several common themes to explain media coverage: emphasizing the conflict, emotional aspect of the news, and the economic consequences of the conflict (Entman, 1993). These themes are common because they can define the problem and a diagnosis of the reason.

Based on the frames quantitative measurements were made to highlight the different frame in terms of empirical evidence.

The t-test results of two newspapers' scores related to Dominant frames

	Papers	N	Frequenc y	Percentag e	Mea n	SD	MD	p-value
De- legitimizing	Indian Express	93	48	50	.51	.50	.13	.031
	The Hindu	70	27	38	.38	.49		
Injustice	Indian Express	93	22	24	.23	.43	.01	.812
	The Hindu	70	16	23	.22	.42		
Sympathy	Indian Express	93	07	08	.08	.26	-.13	.000

	The Hindu	70	15	21	.21	.41		
Legitimizing	Indian Express	93	13	14	.14	.35	.03	.124
	The Hindu	70	07	10	.10	.30		
Contextual	Indian Express	93	03	03	.03	.18	-.04	.022
	The Hindu	70	05	07	.07	.25		

Source: Primary data

$p \leq .05$ SD-Standard Deviation, MD-Mean Difference.

The above table explains the newspaper wise percentage distribution of De-legitimizing by the newspaper The Indian Express and The Hindu. Thus according to the De-legitimizing by the newspapers, all the news contents were suggested and analyzed. Thus, it can be found from the result that (50) 51% of the news was reported without any Dominant frames at all.

The above table indicates the mean score value of The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers regarding the analysis of frames. The mean score value of The Hindu and The Indian Express using the De-legitimizing frame are $M=.51$ and $M=.38$. Mean difference=.13, $p>0.05$. The p-value is less than 0.05. This shows that there is a significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the De-legitimizing frame.

While analyzing The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers regarding the Injustice frame are $M=.23$ and $M=.22$. Mean difference=.01, $P>0.05$. the p-value is greater than 0.05. This shows that there is no significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the Injustice frame.

The average mean score of The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers using the Sympathy frame are $M=.08$ and $M=.21$. Mean difference=-.13, $p < 0.05$. The p-value is less than 0.05. This shows that there is a significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the Sympathy frame.

The mean score of The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers using the Legitimizing frame are $M=.14$ and $M=.10$. Mean difference=.03, $p > 0.05$. The p-value is greater than 0.05. This shows that there is no significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the Legitimizing frame.

The mean score of The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers using the Contextual frame are M=.03 and M=.07, Mean difference= -.04, p< 0.05. The p-value is less than 0.05. This shows that there is a significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the Contextual frame.

From the above table, the **t-test** was used to test the significant difference between the two newspapers. It is clear that there is a significant difference between The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers regarding De-Legitimizing, Sympathy, Contextual frames and there is no significant difference among injustice and legitimizing frames.

The t-test results of two newspapers' scores related to Causes frames

	Papers	N	Frequenc y	Percentag e	Mean	SD	MD	p- valu e
State/ Court Reinforcemen t	Indian Express	93	31	33	.33	.47	.04	.192
	The Hindu	70	20	29	.29	.45		
Human Rights Violations	Indian Express	93	16	17	.17	.38	.10	.003
	The Hindu	70	19	27	.27	.45		
Freedom of Expression	Indian Express	93	30	32	.31	.47	.08	.007
	The Hindu	70	16	23	.23	.42		
Targeting Marginalized	Indian Express	93	09	10	.10	.30	-.04	.172
	The Hindu	70	10	14	.14	.35		
External Influence	Indian Express	93	01	01	.01	.10	-.02	.095
	The Hindu	70	02	03	.03	.17		
Environment al Consideratio ns	Indian Express	93	06	06	.06	.25	.02	.231

The Hindu	70	03	04	.04	.20
--------------	----	----	----	-----	-----

Source: Primary data

p≤ .05 SD-Standard Deviation, MD-Mean Difference.

The above table explains the newspaper wise percentage distribution of State and Court Reinforcement by the newspaper The New Indian Express and The Hindu. Thus according to the State and Court Reinforcement by the newspapers, all the news contents were suggested and analyzed. Thus, it can be found from the result that (31) 33% of the news was reported without any causes frames at all.

The above table indicates the mean score value of The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers regarding the analysis of frames. The mean score value of The Hindu and The Indian Express using the state/court reinforcement frame is M=.33 and M=.29. Mean difference=-.04, p>0.05. The p-value is greater than 0.05. This shows that there is no significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the state/court reinforcement frame.

While analyzing The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers regarding the Human Rights Violations frame are M=.17 and M=.27. Mean difference= -.10, p<0.05. The p-value is less than 0.05. This shows that there is a significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the Human Rights Violations frame.

The average mean score of The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers using the Freedom of Expression frame are M=.31 and M=.23 Mean difference=-.08, p <0.05. The p-value is less than 0.05. This shows that there is a significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the Freedom of Expression frame.

The mean score of The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers using the Targeting Marginalized frame are M=.10 and M=.14. Mean difference=.011, p > 0.05. The p-value is greater than 0.05. This shows that there is a significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the Targeting Marginalized frame.

The mean score of The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers using the External Influence frame are M=.01 and M=.03, Mean difference= -.02, p > 0.05. The p-value is greater than 0.05. This shows that there is no significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the External Influence frame.

The mean score of The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers using the Environmental Consideration frame are M=.06 and M=.04, Mean difference=.02, p > 0.05. The p-value is greater than 0.05. This shows that there is no significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the environmental consideration frame.

From the above table, the **t-test** was used to test the significant difference between the two newspapers. It is clear that there is a significant difference between The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers regarding state/court reinforcement, Targeting Marginalized, External Influence, and the environmental consideration frames and there is no significant difference among Human Rights Violation and Freedom of Expression frames.

The t-test results of two newspapers' scores related to Definitions frames

	Papers	N	Frequenc y	Percentag e	Mea n	SD	MD	p- valu e
Unrest	Indian Express	93	20	21	.21	.41	.00	.981
	The Hindu	70	15	21	.21	.41		
Uprising	Indian Express	93	12	13	.13	.34	.03	.313
	The Hindu	70	11	15	.16	.37		
Protest	Indian Express	93	33	35	.35	.48	.14	.000
	The Hindu	70	15	21	.21	.41		
Conspirac y	Indian Express	93	16	17	.17	.38	.07	.008
	The Hindu	70	07	10	.10	.30		
Chaos	Indian Express	93	12	13	.13	.34	-.18	.000
	The Hindu	70	22	31	.31	.47		

Source: Primary data

p≤ .05 SD-Standard Deviation, MD-Mean Difference

The above table explains the newspaper wise percentage distribution of Protest by the newspaper The New Indian Express and The Hindu. Thus according to the Protest by the newspapers, all the news contents were suggested and analyzed. Thus, it can be found from the result that (33) 35% of the news was reported without any definitions frames at all.

The above table indicates the mean score value of The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers regarding the analysis of frames. The mean score value of The Hindu and The Indian Express using the Unrest frame are $M=.21$ and $M=.021$. Mean difference = $.00$, $p > 0.05$. The p-value is greater than 0.05. This shows that there is no significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the Unrest frame.

While analyzing The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers regarding the Uprising frame are $M=.12$ and $M=.15$. Mean difference = $.03$, $P > 0.05$. The p-value is greater than 0.05. This shows that there is no significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the Uprising frame.

The average mean score of The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers using the protest frame are $M=.35$ and $M=.21$. Mean difference = $.14$, $p < 0.05$. The p-value is less than 0.05. This shows that there is a significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the Protest frame.

The mean score of The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers using the conspiracy frame are $M=.17$ and $M=.10$. Mean difference = $.07$, $p > 0.05$. The p-value is greater than 0.05. This shows that there is a significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the Conspiracy frame.

The mean score of The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers using the Chaos frame are $M=.12$ and $M=.31$, Mean difference = $-.18$, $p < 0.05$. The p-value is less than 0.05. This shows that there is a significant difference between The Hindu and The Indian Express newspapers regarding the Chaos frame.

From the above table, a **t-test** was used to test the significant difference between the two newspapers it is clear that there is a significant difference between The Indian Express and The Hindu newspapers regarding Protest, Conspiracy, and Chaos and there is no significant difference among Unrest and Uprising frames.

Conclusion

The study on news framing in leading English news dailies in Tamilnadu aimed to find the level of coverage of KKNPP protest by the mainstream media.

The finding and inferences of the method of analysis categorically showed that the mainstream print medium covered the news of the state/court reinforcement at beginning of the prime period of the protest (September 2012). The shift turned towards the protesters after the incident of human chain formation. This is evident in the framing level from state/court reinforcement dominance to human rights violations and freedom of expression frames.

References:

- Ashley Laura , Olson Beth (1998), "Constructing Reality: Print Media's Framing of the Women's Movement, 1966 to 1986" Sage Publications, Volume: 75 issue: 2, p 263
- Atwater, T., M.B. Salwen, and R.B. Anderson. 1985.-Media agenda setting with environmental issues. *Journalism Quarterly* 62:393-397.
- Bengston, D. N., Potts, R. S., Fan, D. P., & Goetz, E. G. (2005). An analysis of the public discourse about urban sprawl in the United States: Monitoring concern about a major threat to forests. *Forest Policy and Economics*, 7(5), 745-756.
- Boykoff, J. (2006). *The suppression of dissent*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Boyle, M. P., McLeod, D. M., & Armstrong, C. L. (2012). Adherence to the protest paradigm: The influence of protest goals and tactics on news coverage in U.S. and international newspapers. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 17(2), 127-144.
- Brüggemann, M. (2014). Between Frame Setting and Frame Sending: How journalists contribute to news frames. *Communication Theory*, Volume 24, Issue 1 pp 61-82.
- Chan JM and Lee CC (1984) The journalistic paradigm on civil protests: A case study of Hong Kong. In: Arno A and Dissanayake W (eds) *The News Media in National and International Conflict*. Boulder, CO: Westview, pp. 183-202.
- David B. Mitchell (1994), Distinctions between Everyday and Representational Communication, *Communication Theory*, Volume 4, Issue 2, Pages 111-131
- Entman, Robert M. 1993. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication* 43 (4): 51-8.
- Forde, S. (2011). *Challenging the news*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Gupta, A. (1995). 'Blurred boundaries: the discourse of corruption, the culture of politics and the imagined state', *American Ethnologist* 22(2).
- Gamson, W. and Wolfsfeld, G. (1993) 'Movements and Media as Interacting Systems', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 528, No. 1, pp. 114-125.
- Harcup, T. (2013). *Alternative journalism, alternative voices*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Kim, J. & Bie, B. (2013). A dangerous neighbour : the news frames of the radiation effects of the Fukushima nuclear accident. *Risk Management* 15, 180-198.
- Lokesh, H.S. (2010). *Dams, development and displacement*. Bangalore: Open press.
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49, 103-122.
- Shrivastava, K. M. 2008. "India: Media System." In *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*, ed. Donsbach, Wolfgang , 2204-2208. Malden: Blackwell.

- Shahin S, Zheng P, Sturm HA, Fadnis D. Protesting the Paradigm: A Comparative Study of News Coverage of Protests in Brazil, China, and India. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 2016; 21(2):143-164.
- Van Gorp, B. (2007) 'The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In', *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 57, pp. 60–78.