

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF COMMUNICATION DEVELOPMENT



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About The Journal

The International Journal of Communication Development is a new journal devoted to the analysis of communication, mass media and development in a global context in both Indian and international perspective. Authors are encouraged to submit high quality, original works which have not appeared, nor are under consideration, in other journals.

The International Journal of Communication Development examines the way in which similarities and differences open up scope for discussion, research and application in the field of communication, mass media and development. This journal seeks innovative articles, utilizing critical and empirical approaches regarding global communication including, but not limited to, systems, structures, processes, practices and cultures. These articles could deal with content, as well as its production, consumption and effects, all of which are situated within inter- and trans-national, cross-cultural, inter-disciplinary and especially comparative perspectives.

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FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

The year 2020 changed the world. A virus took the world by storm and changed it for ever. Just as sanitizers and masks became a part of our lives, so did another concept - work from home. No industry was untouched by this, making academics no exception. In last two centuries this year saw the biggest change in the academic arena. Who would have thought schools and university campuses would become a strict no-no and e-Learning the new way of life for students and teachers. Class rooms have gone digital and so has the experience of teaching, learning and examining. Due to a global pandemic created by the novel corona virus, the change in education pattern did not exclude research and research methodologies.

E learning is probably the way forward, but limited by internet availability. 2020 also gave the world new professional norms and the global lockdown taught us to work from home, meet on google meet & zoom, say bye to seminars & conferences and get used to webinars for brain storming.

There were months when the black and white was not read all over. Print media took a back seat for the fear of paper being a carrier to the virus. And the digital media forged ahead with a tempo which has still not slowed down, rather it became more vibrant. The readership of the online media has also increased during this time. And the end of the year saw most of the print media houses subtly but surely shifting news to their existing or newly created virtual platforms.

COVID-19 has also affected research vastly. Starting from the literature review to data collection to data categorization to coding to data analysis to framing and finally writing, every step in research seemingly has undergone a change including bibliographies and references. Libraries and library sittings have now paved way for online libraries and websites. Reference books and previous editions have now become alien words till the students get back to the library buildings. The new social norms of social distancing and sanitization along with current academic scenario of e-learning have given a changed structure to research design. Data collection, compiling, editing and coding also will see changes resulting into data integrity.

But theories applicable to media research seem to be the same as the pandemic saw a rise in news on the social media which definitely see the agenda setting theory and theory of media effects being justified.

And the most important phenomenon which 2020 and the pandemic gave to the media

was narrative journalism. With the strong emergence of the online media when printing got hit, it became important to understand that controlling the narrative is the key to media sustenance.

And the most palpable progress in the media in 2020 is Citizen Journalism which was directly proportionate to the growth in the numbers of online internet platforms. Social networking, mobile phones and social media platforms have made citizen journalism not only popular but have also given it the liberty of journalistic ABCD – Authenticity, Brevity, Clarity and Direct. COVID-19 hit world did change the media's traditional face.

Dr. Durgesh Tripathi
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CHALLENGES OF THE INDIGENOUS MOVEMENTS THROUGH CINEMATIC LENS: STUDYING PRAKASH JHA'S 'CHAKRAVYUH'

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Abstract

Indian history is tainted with episodes of bigotry towards the socially, economically, and politically downtrodden indigenous. In order to perform a fair exploration on the extent of this discrimination and the rise of the movement called Naxalism, a film was produced in 2012 by Prakash Jha titled 'Chakravyuh'. The paper aims at intensively analyze the subject of the challenges of the indigenous movement in the backdrop of the film. The film puts its spotlight on the so-called Naxalites drawing parallels between the movement and the great Indian epic of Mahabharata. The film portrays that to protect what is rightfully theirs the indigenous majorly the scheduled tribes and castes as they are referred to today, have turned into Naxalites who are forced to use violence against their own countrymen in order to fight against abject poverty and relentless exploitation suffered by them for ages mutely.

Key words: Cinema, India, Indigenous movements, Naxalism, Chakravyuh

Introduction

"Politics of condemnation will not end the violence but the politics of condemning government, state government and the central government. You question the intentions of the government; you question the legitimacy of the state power, you question the objectives that government has set for itself in these anti-Naxals operations. But you won't condemn "deliberate, cruel and heartless violence" that has happened yesterday"- P. Chidambaram (to media post the 76 CRPF jawans massacre by the naxals)

"Having dispossessed them and pushed them into a downward spiral of indigence, in a cruel sleight of hand, the government began to use their own penury against them. Each time it needed to displace a large population—for dams, irrigation projects, mines—it talked of "bringing tribal into the mainstream" or of giving them "the fruits of modern development". Of the tens of millions of internally displaced people (more than 30 million by big dams alone), refugees of India's 'progress', the great majority are tribal people. When the government begins to talk of tribal welfare, it's time to worry."- Arundhati Roy (on the indigenous turned naxals).

The indigenous turned naxal rebellion and the way life is in the Red Corridor areas are today engraved in our collective consciousness. It is an issue that raises concerns about our identity

as an independent nation. Engaged in this war are India's first people, and if or why this war could be acceptable, has strained intellectuals to position themselves morally and take sides.

The social discrimination faced by the indigenous has been shaped on the basis of classicism which forms a social hierarchy stratifying the society into classes based on their occupations whose burden has been carried on for generations. These first peoples were further subjected to economic discrimination which came from a pitiable working environment, pigeonholed by unending working hours, foul labour stations, and paltry salaries. Political bias was enforced with an almost zilch representation of these discriminated classes in the legislative bodies for years to the extent, of them being called untouchables. This paper tries to comprehend how the magical quality of Indian Cinema has worked in forming people's opinions about the challenges of the indigenous movements of India studying Prakash Jha's 'Chakravayuh.' The paper argues that contemporary and popular cinema in particular, has a phenomenal quality of rendering the key issues of the indigenous and highlighting them to the masses. It is capable of playing a major role in changing mindsets and reforming societies.

The first perspective the film highlights is the Indian sovereignty represented by the security forces of the nation voiced by P. Chidambaram former home minister and the face of the Government of India and the second of the indigenous of the country turned naxals finding concern in articles of the likes of Arundhati Roy. Based on data on events retold in the film and a closer understanding of the plot of the story the work would recognize Chakravayuh as a fictional narration of historic events rather than a documentary. I accept as true that it is vital to take this extreme view since popular culture, mainly Hindi films from the Indian perspective, have the power to affect the masses in a tremendous way and at times in an unbelievable manner. Hindi films have a unique quality of influencing people's opinions and beliefs which may form or change existing opinions or beliefs of the common man about those at the margins of that society, in this case, the indigenous of the country who have taken up the course of violence for reasons they accept as true, following which they have been branded as naxals. Jha's film targets to undertake the presentation of the cause of these indigenous and the trouble faced by the security forces in combating their unlawful activities through the eyes of its maker. The film clearly specifies that the Naxals are the local indigenous whose human rights have been crushed mercilessly time and again by the government on one pretext or the other. The indigenous have thus chosen to "Do or Die" in order to protect what is rightfully theirs and claim their share in much propagated national development.

The central focus of the film is the ongoing tussle between the government and the indigenous turned naxals. The film retells some major encounters between the naxals and the security forces that have hit national headlines. In the retelling of the events, Jha's film can be

interpreted as giving voices to the two different perspectives that will be talked in the course of this paper.

The Beginning

To get a real picture of the history and the portrayal on the screen it is imperative to talk since the very beginning. The history would support the arguments as well as the film. The infamous Naxalbari incident in which peasants of this small village in West Bengal took up arms to fight their oppressors triggered the beginning of a struggle that was put on the Indian revolution agenda and has changed the Indian socio-political scene forever. Twenty years after, what some considered 'fake independence' India still found itself disillusioned. This was the time that Naxalbari happened and this was symptomatic of a larger chaos prevalent globally. Smaller countries raised major attacks at the mightier ones. In such a scenario the whole world was compelled to take sides and be a part of the great debate with either the ideology of China or that of the Soviet Union. Naxalbari was an outcome of this ideological-political commotion happening everywhere across the globe. It is more significant to note that Naxalbari restored the radical soul of Maoism on Indian grounds which had been deformed, stained and shattered by the revisionist semantics of certain political groups. Naxalbari stood as an answer to this both ideologically and virtually. Naxalites are considered far-left radical communists, supportive of Maoist political sentiment and ideology. Their origin can be traced to the split in 1967 of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), leading to the formation of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Kumar, V. (2017).

It countered the revisionist fundamentals of the Communist Party of India (CPI) and Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPM) which perceived India as a nation that was semi-feudal along with seeing it as principally a consumerist country with 'feudal remnants'. It also targeted the revisionist theory that was rampant in India which had a character that was national and that said that Indian independence was genuine. It plainly propagated the ruling capitalist class as an agent of the colony and that India was still a semi-colony. It sketched the New Democratic revolutionary platform. It found enemies of revolution in feudalism, bureaucrat capitalism, and imperialism; but friends in the peasant workers and the working class.

Strategically it stood against the 'peaceful transition' put up by the CPI and CPM, and stood by their own path of extended people's war. It forwarded the idea that the only way to liberation was the adoption of guerrilla warfare and the erection of an army of the people. The immediate goal was identified in establishing a democratic dictatorship of the people which aimed as a transition to socialism and the final goal was communism. It ideologically stood by Maoist ideas. It overthrew parliamentarism and asked for a boycott of the elections.

Though afterward the movement lost its hold given the offensive by the enemy led attacks to a short-timed setback, Naxalbari made a deep-rooted impact on the revolutionary movement in India. The movement has continued till date in its own way in time. At times things have gone out of hand from both sides. The issue had gained interest of writers, film makers and orators with their own motives. The language of film has a structure or form consisting of texts, visual cues and sound that requires special attention. Shaw, A. (2020). Prakash Jha's Chakravyuh is also one such attempt dealing with the current situation on both sides of the fence. The ubiquity of the ethnic identity in India cannot be overstated. Neither can the importance of Bollywood cinema in the cultural spectrum of the country be discounted. Roy, S. (2005).

The concept of Chakravyuh.

The film derives its name from 'Charkavyuh', which means a lotus or discus formation, which is considered of great importance in early Indian legendary warfare, often said to be the most fearsome war formation ever. Chakravyuh is best related to the blood-soaked face off in the Battle of Kurukshetra where ace archer Arjun's valiant son Abhimanyu was murdered in cold blood by supreme Kaurava warriors after being trapped in the Chakravyuh formation by none other than the great Drona and the mighty Parsurama. This brazen incident stoked utter chaos and is considered to be the turning point of the historic battle as it is the one that changed the apathetic Arjuna into a madman on an individual revenge to retaliate the death of his dearly loved son. Prakash Jha's Chakravyuh relates to a similar turmoil that has turned into a plague and which needed to be redressed urgently, failing which it could engulf the whole nation. The tribals and the small farmers are poor today in the same way as earlier times. But the significant change is that there has been change and progress in the process of exploitation. Roy, S. (2005). The crisis that Jha has selected to put his limelight on in his latest film is woven around the Indigenous turned naxal movement. Jha has been active at sketching parallels with a special favour to the Mahabharata. In the epic battle of Kurukshetra, the virtuous Pandavas were put on to fight their own cousins, the depraved Kauravas, in order to guard their rights. The Naxalite movement shares an identical start: the subjugated indigenous peasants of Naxalbari were strained to take up violence to struggle against utter helplessness and ruthless abuse. Jha's perspective comes from his in depth understanding of the Indian socio-political setup and that of his native state of Bihar - the second most prominent state in India's political parlance. Chakravyuh can be considered as the first full-fledged attempt representing naxalism in commercial Indian Cinema.

In the movie, Jha takes us on an untamed ride to the core of an indigenous settlement, makes us loathe the barbaric ways of the lives of the indigenous turned naxal and evokes in us an intimate emotion of empathy for the pathetic Naxalite dilemma.

Plot summary

As much as Chakravayuh deals with particular historical events it does remain very much within the mainstream Bollywood cinema style through its representation of the age old commercially successful formula of the story of two best friends, one ditching the other for a cause he believes in. Adil (Arjun Rampal) and Kabir (Abhay Deol) play the leads. Adil Khan, a highly dedicated police officer takes over as Superintendent of Police, Nandighat after 84 policemen get killed in a horrifying massacre by the naxalites. He soon discovers that the area is effectively controlled by the Naxals, led by the ferocious and hypnotic Rajan (Manoj Bajpai). They are able to expeditiously baffle each of Adil's most dogged efforts. The enormous power of the position as the SP of Nandighat, fails Adil as he has never experienced such helplessness in his career.

It is then that the capricious Kabir re enters his life, a long lost friend. His friendship with Adil has been the only grapnel in his life and his loyalty to his friend is exemplary. To help Adil achieve his target, Kabir comes up with an outrageous plan. He proposes to infiltrate Rajan's group, and help Adil nail him and destroy the Naxal organization in Nandighat. Though apprehensive of the proposal, Adil agrees. Sure enough, Kabir smartly gets in and wins over the confidence of Rajan and party, as only he can. Adil's endeavors court success and he starts attacking the naxalss following information provided by Kabir. Within weeks things take a U turn and it's the Naxals who are on the back foot now with a massive cache of arms seized, an arms-training camp smashed killing 63 naxals with two top national leaders and Rajan himself trapped.

The plan hits a blow when Kabir discovers a change of heart. He realises the abject misery of the hopeless poor who have been savagely thrown out of their own homes in the name of development. They have never tasted the fruits of this development promised to them by their own government, instead the basic resources of their livelihood, their land, forest and water have been snatched from them so as to allow huge business enterprises to further exploit the area and its people. To free themselves of the humiliating poverty and desperation rises the naxal cry of anger convincing him that taking up arms is the only way left to get back his rights and fight for their honor.

To weaken his plans further Kabir starts identifying with the activists: Rajan, Babu, Venu and the others. An activist true to her cause Juhi (Anjali Patil) has seen lots of pain in her life. She can't help falling in love with Kabir. A police inspector rapes Juhi and Kabir is badly hurt. He in turn kills the inspector, the naxal way. It is then that he finds himself in a Chakravayuh from which there is no retreat. Events get the better of the Adil -Kabir friendship before Kabir makes a final impassioned effort to resolve his concerns with Adil and he chooses to support the naxals and declares war against Adil. He loses his and Juhi's life

attempting to save the lives of Rajan and Babuji (Om Puri) the lead protagonist of the film. Reha (Esha Gupta) appears as Adil's wife helping him in his endeavors.

Chakravayuh provides for a canvas through the eyes of Jha who has the propensity for lashing up a flurry of crowd sequences, mob frenzy, massive political rallies and beacon-topped government vehicles meandering their way with urgency cutting across dust filled roadways, but the strong narrative never lets loose its grip on the plot's basic theme.

Jha is in absolute command of his huge canvas, making sure that the storytelling never falls to be a slave to the political gimmicks that fans would look at. His characters do justice as they're put into roles of the outcasts, into an agitated lot of activities that highlight and somewhere arrange altogether differently the socio-political accordance of democracy of India which is mutating rapidly.

Jha easily enters an area that is dark and unexposed, which talks of the Naxalites fighting for their lost dignity and braving all odds including that of an apathetic system of governance, cops who fail in their jobs, and bureaucrats who are corrupt, a betrayal which comes from within their own Naxalite ranks and avaricious entrepreneurs who are more of land grabbers. Jha brings to life a complex setting of morally faltering world that is wayward, spoiled with treachery and stressed with issues of loyalty. The well-researched matter is culled into what is a condensed but brightly considered screenplay by Jha, Sagar Pandya and Anjum Rajbali.

The reality versus the cinematic representations of the indigenous movements.

Though fifty years post the Naxalbari rebellion the issue has found many portrayals but it is worth noticing the total nonappearance of any direct depiction of the movement in Hindi films produced during the 1970s to 1990s. It is only in the last two decade that Hindi cinema has taken up to the issue of Naxalism, or Maoism, as it is more popularly known in modern times. Films made in the backdrop of naxalism include Hazar Chaurasi ki maa, Hazaaron Khwaishein Aisi (HKA) Red Alert: The War Within, Rakht Charitra, Rakht Charitra II and Raavan and a few more. This swift surge of curiosity in the issue is majorly mysterious. Different filmmakers present the realistic situations happening around us on the screen from their perspectives showcasing the good, the bad and the ugly of the community and delivering a message through the film. Vemulakonda, S. S. (2020). A careful look into the issue may bring to light that the opus of films based on Naxalism, are directed by the likes of Prakash Jha, filmmakers who have tried to break the rules of commercial Hindi cinema though being very much a part of the system, so to speak. Also, another reason could be the quest for newer topics of interest for an ever evolving film industry like the Hindi film industry.

In a way, Chakravyuh is an important film not only because it represents the challenges of the indigenous movement from the view point that the indigenous of India turned naxals but also from that of the security forces who at times lack a free hand and have to work under political pressures. Chakravyuh shows a protagonist going amongst the tribal insurgents in order to gauge their nerve and the reason of their revolt. Khan, M. H. (2018). Repeatedly naxal activities and their outburst against the government have been talked of endlessly in the media. The film tries to make an attempt to replicate some of these incidents. The film draws 'inspiration from contemporary happenings such top CPI (Maoist) leader Kobad Ghandy's custody, the infamous massacre of Dantewada which witnessed the killing of 76 CRPF jawans and the corporate land grabbing policy and the exploitation of natural resources by business minded corporate. Naxalism has entered the discussions of the common man with Prakash Jha's Chakravyuh. The film is aimed to be a social commentary on the issues of distress of tribal people and their long negligence by the government. Mukhopadhyay, R. R (2018).

Chakravyuh is the case in point. The promotions of the film try to pose it as a film dealing with a 'grave issue' by making use of punch lines like "In the World's Largest Democracy" and "A War Has Begun". It also uses a map of the areas hit by Naxals marked out in red. Chakravyuh's advertising also ran into a hullabaloo, after Jha was served a legal notice by the Birla Group of companies over the lyrics of a song of the film.

The reviews of Chakravyuh in the media have also laid emphasis on the film being innovative, substantiating it by mentioning the cast of the film as non-mainstream and that the film carries a critical "social message". Chakravyuh constantly talks of true incidents. References in Chakravyuh to actual life events contain that of a Naxalite top gun being interviewed covering his face by a gamchha (clearly indicative of Naxal leader Kishenji), the MNC called Mahanta (a finely disguised mention to Vedanta), the personal armies of business houses (Salwa Judum) etc. Representation from the print and electronic media reports, the film exploits the common illustrations and imageries of Naxalism. This record of the frenzied political situation of modern India, as seen through the modes of popular media, has become a trademark of new 'non-mainstream' Hindi cinema a term very much a part of Bollywood. Such films based on the subject of Naxalism are marked a lot by novel strategies, but what gets ignored, is the politics of these films, perhaps every time.

In general in all these films, Naxalism is set only in the backdrop to relate conventional stories. Chakravyuh, too could not escape this and though, the film moves to contemplate the Naxalism issue; though in closing stages it turns more into a moral dilemmas of the bonds shared by the two friends. Jha sees Naxalism as ethically fascinating, being compassionate to the fundamental cause, that have lured filmgoers in all areas. Chakravyuh constantly refers to real happenings—at times even trying to fetishize the 'real', through provoking dialogues

and the way violence is portrayed even when it remains ingrained in the cinematic realism of Bollywood cinema: spinning around the tale of two friends and their emotional saga. It sets itself in rural India, where revolutionary leftist Naxalites take up violence against the policemen and politicians who are serving big businesses men to gain huge profits at the cost of displacing villages and exploiting the land and its natural resources which belong to the indigenous of these places. Like the majority of Jha movies, Chakravyuh is for the wise common man in the spectators. The film adopts a tone that is serious in its temperament and stays devoted and staunch to its subject. Chakravyuh is thus a fresh film which clearly knows that a point rings loud and obvious if it's conveyed with a spellbinding plot and appealing characters that the common man expects from conventional popular cinema.

Amidst all the fanfare of pre-release activities for Chakravyuh branding it as an issue-based political thriller, the launch of an online comic series, by Jha based on the film, Chakravyuh has not fallen prey to the action-cinema stereotypes. The film along with addressing the core issue includes all elements of a Bollywood potboiler action stereotype found in a predictable Hindi film— an honest police officer, a left-wing protagonist, a typical middle-class rolling stone who changes loyalty, crooked politicians, an insatiable industrialist and eroticized indigenous. By following the regular stereotypes, and missing out on any grey shades, the film falls prey to the commercialisation of cinema. Chakravyuh shows good and bad people on both sides but the good people stay good all along and bad people stay so. Apart from the cinematic compulsions of a commercial Bollywood film Chakravyuh acquaints its audience with more than just headlines reported in the media, and brings them face to face with the real picture of the happenings in the very heart of their nation (even quite unexpectedly citing the Arjun Sengupta Committee Report in the final voiceover), Chakravyuh can be said to be a film on 'Friendship', 'Love', 'Duty' and 'Honour' pioneering to present those facets of the indigenous movement in this cinematic representation which till now have been untouched in Bollywood.

Conclusion

To sum up, Prakash Jha's "Chakravyuh" is a stimulating cinematic representation of the challenges of the Indigenous movement. Charkavyuh is very much a quintessential Bollywood film which leaves viewers with ample food for thought. The film's heart-wrenching portrayal of the indigenous movements in India is sure to edify the masses, who till now look up to Naxalities as simply a terrorist group obsessed with violence and the challenges faced by the security forces to maintain peace and law and order in the areas of the indigenous movement. The film provides a viewpoint of the harassed indigenous and is a mouthpiece for them along with foregrounding the viewpoint of the security forces who face immense pressure from their political bosses. Both the naxals and the security forces are pitched against each other by the political mafia for petty personal benefits. The film stands as an insight for the common man to look through this sheet of illusion and understand the

real picture of the turmoil that is faced every day by the Naxals and the forces. The film though a Bollywood entertainer catches the audience's imagination and makes them ponder on the challenges that it talks of. Jha has been successful in creating hype and delivering to his fans a very relevant issue. The audience has been presented by him with a completely new dimension to look at one of the most serious internal threats to national integrity – the naxal movements in India.

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FRAMING ANALYSIS OF MEDIA COVERAGE OF PROTEST MOVEMENTS : A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF LITERATURE

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Abstract

This study provides a systematic review of scholarship exploring the coverage of protests using framing theory. Media coverage plays a very important role in determining how a protest movement will play out in the public sphere and an important method of analysing such media coverage is framing analysis. This paper looks at the literature generated by media and social researchers regarding coverage of protests using framing analysis and creates a systematic review that will be useful for further research. This paper systematically reviews 50 research papers selected through inclusion and exclusion criterias identified through PRISMA guidelines. This paper creates a typology of generic and issues based frames used in media coverage of protests. This paper also looks at the conceptual issues associated with framing theories.

Keywords

Framing analysis, protests, systematic literature review, media framing of protests.

Background

Protest movements have emerged as crucial components of the political process in today's societies. Protests are regarded as a valid means for citizens to express their ideas in democracies, while in authoritarian regimes, it is the only way to bring around social and political change. The nature and extent of protest movements are greatly influenced by the mass media. A protest's effectiveness and involvement in the broader political process are also influenced by how the media perceives and presents it.

Media and protest movements function as interdependent systems. Media attention is needed by protesters for different purposes, including mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement. To mobilise their target audience, which uses mass media, they need media attention. Protesters also need media for validation, Media affirms that protesters are significant participants and that what they have to say matters, which is another reason why protesters need the media. Additionally, they require the media to broaden their appeal and win over supporters from other political parties and members of the civil society. (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993). The relationship between protest movements and media can also be summarized as a contest of meanings or frames.

One of the most active fields of inquiry in media and communication studies is framing analysis or framing theory. Since Goffman wrote his book in 1974, "Frame analysis: an essay on the organisation of experience", framing has been used by media scholars to look at how media covers issues. Entman's seminal essay in 1993, made framing an important method. Gitlin in 1980 was the first one to use the concept of framing to analyze protest movements, since then framing has been an important methodology to look at media coverage of protests and social movements.

There is a large body of literature available in which researchers have analyzed the media coverage of protest movements by using framing theory. Through this study, the researcher examines this literature available in order to analyze the fragmented field of framing research, to identify the areas which have been focused by and neglected by previous researchers and to understand how the framing theory has emerged and evolved in the dynamic media landscape.

Framing: An Overview

People's firsthand experiences with their social and political lives are severely constrained. They use the various mass media outlets that are at their disposal to create meaning in order to make sense of the world around them. The media also shapes their thoughts and attitudes during this process. Framing is one influential process by which people's beliefs and opinions are shaped by the media.

Frames allow audience "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" the flow of information (Goffman, 1986, p. 21) They "are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual." (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7) Neuman et al. defines frames as "conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information" (as cited in Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 94), while Entman (1993) in his influential paper outlined framing as "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." (Entman, 1993, p. 52)

Altheide described frames as "super themes" which create a limit around discussing an event in the media. (as cited in Barnett, 2005)

Gamson and Modigliani define frames as interpretative package that helps in making sense of an issue or problem at hand. (as cited in Vreese, 2005)

Entman (1993) has identified four functions of framing analysis. Frames help in problem identification, interpretation of causes, moral narrative formation and suggesting solutions. (Entman, 1993)

There are two approaches to framing: inductive and deductive. Without making any assumptions, the inductive approach scans news stories and locates all possible frames that are only loosely defined in order to show larger patterns. (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) For using an inductive framing approach, the researcher should first select text he wants to analyze including news articles, videos and audio, and find out the patterns being used in this text.

As per Entman (1993), every frame is made up of three frame elements: framing devices, reasoning devices and the central frame. The most obvious aspects of a news item that help media audiences form an impression of it are called framing devices. The logical arguments that link the frame to the current circumstance being reported on are known as reasoning devices, and The idea that underlies the frame and is supported by reasoning devices is the central frame. It is activated by framing devices.

On the other hand, to code news articles in frames using the deductive approach, the researcher first discovers the frames that have been used by other researchers and often appear in the news. For using this approach, the researcher should have a prior idea about what the news is and what frames are being used by news producers. (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000)

Several deductive news frames have been identified by previous research and are being used widely in the framing analysis. They include: Conflict frame, human interest frame, economic consequence frame, morality frame and responsibility frame (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) Circus or freak show frame, riot frame, confrontation frame (Mourão, 2019)

Frames can be issue-specific and generic. Issue-specific frames are those that solely apply to the current problem. They are not applicable for every issue using framing research. The generic frames are made up of framing components that are present in most news stories and reflect a typical typology of frames. (Vreese, 2005)

Iyengar also identified two types of framing: episodic frames and thematic frames. Episodic framing is the framing of specific news events without providing any further context that would place the event in a larger social perspective, while the term "thematic framing" refers to setting the narrative within a critical and broader social framework. (as cited in Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000)

Frames have also been categorized as media frames and individual frames. The employment of specific words, visuals, and sounds by content creators while imparting information is referred to as using a media frame, while individual frames describe how a person interprets a specific circumstance. Individual frames refer to the parts of the communicated text that a person thinks are most crucial. (Chong & Druckman, 2007)

Framing is a dynamic process that involves an interplay between frame-building and frame-setting. (Vreese, 2005) Frame-building refers to the process by which media engages in framing, while frame-setting refers to the negotiation of meanings between media frames and audience's existing beliefs and attitudes. Frame-building is dependent on internal practices of media organizations, while frame-setting takes place outside the practice of journalism.

Protest movements take an active part in the framing process as well. They negotiate a frame of the topic they are presenting in order to make their message compelling and coherent in order to make their protest successful. They identify the issue they are addressing, decide who is to blame for the situation, and then come up with remedies and a plan for implementing them. (Benford & Snow, 2000) These framing tasks have been identified as three core framing tasks: diagnostic framing (defining the problem), prognostic framing (providing their set of solution) and motivational framing (rationale for action). The media also develops these central frames about a topic, much like protesters do. Media coverage of a demonstration will also depend on how the central framing of the movement aligns with that of the media.

Many patterns in the media coverage of protest movements have been observed by researchers who have analysed the coverage of those events in the news. These patterns have been collectively referred to as the "protest paradigm".(McLeod, 2007) The term was coined by Chan and Lee as a worldview that guided the journalists about how, where and what to look for.(as cited in Mourão, 2019) The protest paradigm studies have found that the media has used negative frames to represent protest movements to the audiences, its focus on spectacle, violence and conflict along with a preference for official sources and other delegitimizing devices has resulted in the demands and issues of the protesters being sidelined. (Mourão, 2019)

Objectives and Research Questions:

Through this study, the researcher attempted:

- To understand and analyse the previous researches done in analysing media coverage of protest movements using framing theory
- To identify the areas which have been focused by, and neglected by previous researchers?

- To understand how framing theory has evolved in the context of changing media landscape.

This study was driven by finding answers to six research questions:

- RQ1: What definitions of framing have been used?
- RQ2: How the frames have been selected?
- RQ3: What are the most common frames that have been used?
- RQ4: What mediums have been analyzed using framing study?
- RQ5: What methodology has been used to code the frames?
- RQ6: How does the framing research of protests relate to the protest paradigm?

Research Method and Data collection

A systematic review of the literature (SLR) was used to perform this study. This method involves collecting and organizing all existing research on a particular topic or area in order to answer specific research questions through a systematic and objective process. (Littell et al., 2008) Systematic literature review helps the researchers in making sense of large amounts of research data generated by previous researchers. Additionally, it assists them in learning about the practical issues of what does and does not work in research on a certain subject or theoretical framework. (Petticrew & Roberts, 2006) The method protects the data to reduce researcher bias. This is crucial since biases might appear in both the original study and the review. (Littell et al., 2008)

Literature Search Process

Two databases were searched for the purpose of this study: JSTOR and Science Direct. The Keywords used were “Framing Analysis” “News” or “Media” “Protest”. In JSTOR the search was limited to communication studies and social science journals. Similarly, on Science Direct, the same keywords were used but the search was limited to ‘arts and humanities’ and ‘social science’.

The framing analysis has been frequently used since 1974, therefore, a limited time frame was used. The period used was from 2001 to 2021. Nevertheless, the researcher has cited previously generated theoretical framework and methodology for the purpose of this research.

A total of 1127 search results were found, out of which only 276 were selected after reading their titles and limited abstract. The exclusion process included those papers which were not related to media or communication at all. Out of them, only those whose full text was available were downloaded. This reduced the number to 172. 41 were found duplicate. 131 papers were selected for a full text reading.

Additional 12 papers were also used, which were found by using Google Scholar. It was kept in mind to select only peer-reviewed papers in Google Scholar as it also contains non-peer

reviewed papers. These papers were selected in order to make this study more useful, as these papers were related to research questions.

Out of the papers selected, only 50 papers were found suitable for answering the research questions. The rest of the papers didn't fit in the inclusion criteria. Majority of the papers excluded were related to collective action framing of the protest movements, but had no mention of media coverage of protest movements. There were also papers which analysed media coverage of the protest movements, the rest were theoretical interventions on the framing literature, which were also not included for the purpose of this study.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria: For the purpose of refining the search results, few inclusion and exclusion criterias were used. The results were further refined by considering only those papers (a) which were related to media and communication studies, or analyzing the news coverage (b) papers which were related to protest movements or protest events only and not to general news events (c) papers which used framing analysis as their main theoretical framework.

Inclusion Criteria included studies which were:

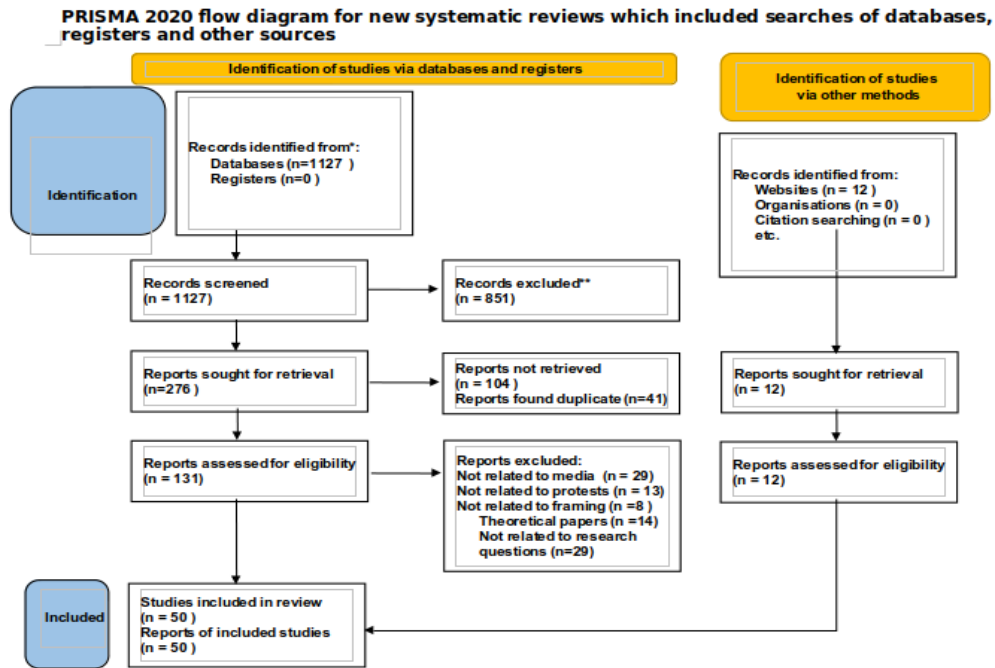
- Published between the period of 2001 to 2021
- Published in peer reviewed journals
- Written in English
- Available as full text
- Looked at media coverage of protest movements using framing theory
- Related to research questions

Exclusion Criteria included:

- Full Text not available
- Duplicate results
- Used framing, but did not analyze media coverage
- not related to protests
- Theory or review papers
- Not related to research questions.

PRISMA

The Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA), was designed to help researcher transparently report about their review process.(Page et al., 2021)



Results

The results of the review have been summarized in the table below:

Paper	Journal	Author	Area of protest	Method of selecting frames	Frames Used	Framing Definitions used	Methodology Used	Medium Analysed
International Protest Events and the Hierarchy of Credibility: Media Frames Defining the Police and Protestors as Social Problems	Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice	(Schulenberg & Chenier, 2014)	International protest event against 2010 G20 Summit	Deductive	Economic Consequence, Conflict, Attribution of Responsibility, Human interest, Morality	Entman	Content Analysis	Newspapers
Framing Thailand’s Political Crisis: Press Coverage of Protest Movements during the 2014 General Election	Asia Pacific Media Educator	(Supadhiloke, 2015)	Domestic political protests	Deductive	Democracy, Chaos/Anarchy, Violence, Social injustice, Public disapproval, Negative impact	Goffman Entman De Vreese	Content Analysis, Textual Analysis	Newspapers
Moving Beyond the Sound Bite: Complicating the Relationship Between Negative Television News Framing and In-Depth Reporting on Activism	Sociological Forum	(Taylor & Gunby, 2016)	Comparative Analysis of Global Justice Movement and tea party movement	Deductive	Freak, Ignorance	Entman	Content Analysis	Television News

Dis/Engagement in Post-soviet Communicative Ecologies: Re-Framing the 'Chinatown' Dissent Campaign in Belarus	Protest Technologies and Media Revolutions	(Miazhevich, 2020)	Protest against Chinese investment in Belarus	Inductive	- Legal (accountability, transparency and compliance with the law) -Political (Corruption and geopolitics) - Economic (progress and prosperity, ownership) -Social (Welfare, safety, interethnic cohesion) - Environmental, - Personal Frames (well-being, passivity, powerlessness, frustration)	Entman, Benford and Snow	Content Analysis	Mainstream media vs Alternative Media
Revolution or crisis? Framing the 2011 Tahrir Square protests in two pan-Arab satellite news networks	Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies	(el-Nawawy & Elmasry, 2015)	2011 Tahrir Square protests	Inductive	Anti-Govt Media (Revolution, Unity of police and protestors, illegitimacy of government, war, victory and celebration, Pan Arab Euphoria) - Pro-Govt Media (Protest, Crisis, Foreign imperialism, Sympathy for Govt, Cautionary celebration with an anxious eye on the future frame)	Entman Gamson and Modigliani	Content Analysis, Textual analysis	Television News
Occupy Wall Street on the Public Screens of Social Media: The Many Framings of the Birth of a Protest Movement: OWS on the Public Screens of Social Media	Communication, Culture & Critique	(DeLuca et al., 2012)	Occupy Wall Street	Inductive	- Right Leaning (Usual Suspects, Revolutionaries, Mob, Delegitimized protestors, drain on society, dangerous, violence) - Left leaning (Grassroots, populist, Nonviolent, law-abiding, unclear message, circus like atmosphere, hacktivist)	Gitlin, Goffman, Pan & Kosicki	Content Analysis	Newspapers, Blogs
Time to #Protest: Selective Exposure, Cascading Activation, and Framing in Social Media	Journal of Communication	(Aruguete & Calvo, 2018)	2016 Protests in Argentina	Inductive	-Pro-govt (civic duty, economic management, responsibility, corruption and economic mismanagement of previous govt) -Anti-Govt (Social costs, social fairness, activism, fear)	Benford and Snow, Entman	Network Mapping, Keyword Searching	Newspapers; Social Media

News framing of the Euromaidan protests in the hybrid regime and the liberal democracy: Comparison of Russian and UK news media	Media, War & Conflict	(Liu, 2020)	Ukraine 2013 protests	Deductive	- Generic Framing (Conflict, Human Interest, Economic Consequence, Morality, Responsibility, Nationalisation) - Diagnostic Framing (Political causes, Socio-economic causes, Human rights violations, Religious prescriptions, Global Dimensions) - Prognosis Framing (Military Action, Change in Govt, Financial Intervention, Internal Reforms, Dismantling military weapons, External assistance)	Entman	Content Analysis	Mixed media
The Long 2015 in Germany: Activists' Pro-Refugee Frames and Media Counter Frames	Sociological Research Online	(Fadaee, 2021)	Refugee Crisis	Inductive	- Diagnostic (critique of Germany's policy of open borders) - Prognostic (Border Controls, Concrete policy regarding refugees)	Entman	Content Analysis	Newspapers
News media and the racialization of protest: an analysis of Black Lives Matter articles	Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal	(Leopold & Bell, 2017)	Black Live Matter	Deductive	Riot, Public Nuisance, Carnival	Entman	Textual Analysis, Content Analysis	Newspapers
Rebel with a cause: the framing of climate change and intergenerational justice in the German press treatment of the Fridays for Future protests	Media, Culture & Society	(von Zabern, 2021)	Environmental (Fridays for future)	Inductive	- David vs Goliath, Intergenerational Justice, Truancy, Threat, Activists without activism, Activism without activists, Hamelin, Proxy Debate	Entman, Scheufele	Content Analysis	Online Newspapers
Media framing and social movement mobilization: German peace protest against INF missiles, the Gulf War, and NATO peace enforcement in Bosnia	European Journal of Political Research	(Cooper, 2002)	Anti-War protests, Peace protests	Inductive	Pro-intervention, Anti-intervention	Entman, Iyenger	Content Analysis	Newspapers
'Peaceful protesters' and 'dangerous criminals': the framing and reframing of anti-fracking activists in the UK	Social Movement Studies	(Muncie, 2020)	Anti-Fracking, Environmental	Combination of Inductive and Deductive	- Good Protester/Bad Protester - Legitimate Protest/Law Breaking - The respectable/the dangerous	Entman, Goffman, Gamson and Modigliani	Content Analysis, Semi-structured interviews	Newspapers

Framing the Anti-War Protests in the Global Village: A Comparative Study of Newspaper Coverage in Three Countries	International Communication Gazette	(Zengjun Peng, 2008)	Anti-War protests, Peace protests	Inductive	- Peaceful/Organized - Conflict between protesters, police and pro-war groups -Deviant social actions involving vandalism	Entman, Gitlin	Content Analysis	Newspapers
Framing protest: News media frames of the million man march	Critical Studies in Media Communication	(Watkins, 2001)	Anti-Racist, Black Pride	Inductive	- Legitimacy of political expression/Deviance - controversial leadership - Inclusiveness -Black Advocacy -Anti-Semitic/Anti-white	Entman, Gitlin	Content Analysis	Television News
Looking for Mr Hyde: The protest paradigm, violence and (de)legitimation of mass political protests	International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics	(Trivundža & Brlek, 2017)	Slovenia Political Protests	Inductive	The Dichotomy between protesters: The people vs dangerous masses - Rational vs irrational protesters	Gitlin, Hertog and Mcleod	Content Analysis; Qualitative Multimodal Analysis; Visual Analysis	Television News
Dominant and Emerging News Frames in Protest Coverage: The 2013 Cypriot Anti-Austerity Protests in National Media	International Journal of Communication	(Papaioannou, 2020)	2013 Cyprus anti-austerity protests	Deductive	- law and order frame - national sovereignty - social injustice - acceptance of austerity policies	Gitlin	Content Analysis	Mixed Media
Framing Dissent: Mass-Media Coverage of the Global Justice Movement	New Political Science	(Boykoff, 2006)	Global Justice Movement	Deductive	- Violence Frame - Disruption Frame -Freak Frame -Ignorance Frame - Amalgam of Grievance Frame	Snow and Benford, Entman	Content Analysis	Mixed Media
Social media and protests: An examination of Twitter images of the 2011 Egyptian revolution	New Media & Society	(Kharroub & Bas, 2016)	Egyptian uprising	Deductive	-Newspapers (conflict frame, human interest, responsibility, economic consequence). -Social Media (Human interest, responsibility)	Not used	Content Analysis	Newspapers, Social Media
Constructing police legitimacy during protests: frames and consequences for human rights	Policing and Society	(Bonner & Dammert, 2021)	2019 Chilean uprising	Inductive	- police action is legitimate because of the criminal threat -protesters are criminals - police are under attack -police action conforms to police protocols - Rotten apples -Legally sound protocols -Context based police violence -police action conforms to law -criminal threat -human right	Goffman, Benford and snow	Qualitative Frame analysis	Newspapers

How do the news media frame crises? A content analysis of crisis news coverage	Public Relations Review	(An & Gower, 2009)		Deductive	Human Interest, Conflict, Morality, Economic consequences, Attribution of Responsibility, Level of Responsibility (Group vs individual)	Knight	Content Analysis	Newspapers
From Mass to Elite Protests: News Coverage and the Evolution of Antigovernment Demonstrations in Brazil	Mass Communication and Society	(Mourão, 2019)	2013 anti government protests in brazil	Deductive	Circus or Freak Show, Riot, Confrontation, protest, Thematic/Episodic	Gitlin	Content Analysis	News Articles
Agenda-Building role of state-owned media around the world: 2014 Hong Kong protest case	Journal of Public Relations Research	(Zhang et al., 2017)	2014 Hong Kong Protests	Deductive	Conflict Frame, Cooperation, problem definition, proposed solution, attribution of responsibility, human interest, consequences and outcomes, morality and motivation to take actions	Entman	Content Analysis	Newspapers
The Story of Two Big Chimneys: A Frame Analysis of Climate Change in US and Chinese Newspapers	Journal of Intercultural Communication Research	(Xie, 2015)	Climate change	Deductive	Audience based frames (Conflict, Human Interest, Morality, Economic, Responsibility), Attribution of Responsibility	Entman	Content Analysis	Newspapers
COMMUNICATING INJUSTICE?: Framing and online protest against Chinese government land expropriation	Information, Communication & Society	(Pu & Scanlan, 2012)	Chinese land right movement	Inductive	Grievance Frame	Entman	Virtual Ethnography	Online news websites
Feminists Shaping News: A Framing Analysis of News Releases From the National Organization for Women	Journal of Public Relations Research	(Barnett, 2005)	Women's Movement: National Organization of Women	Inductive	Vigilance(maternal protector, fighter), Unity (fighting discrimination) , Deviance (casting opponents as contemptuous, irrational, dishonest, and radical)	Goffman, Entman, Altheide	Textual Analysis	Press Releases
Media Portrayals of Hashtag Activism: A Framing Analysis of Canada's #IdleNoMore Movement	Media and Communication	(Moscato, 2016)	Canada's #IdleNoMore movement	Inductive	-Newspapers (Technology/social media as benchmark of a protest movement, changing demographics: Gender and youth, Canadian Geography and Constitution, #IdleNoMore as a long term movement in Canada) - Magazine (Fear of Escalation and Confrontation, Jobs and the economy, Colonial History, Cause Celebre)	Entman	Content Analysis	Newspapers, magazine

The Save KPK Movement: A Framing Analysis of Coverage in Indonesian News Media Surrounding the KPK and Police Dispute	Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences	(Jamil & Doktoralina, 2016)	Indonesian Anti-corruption movement	Deductive	Conflict, Consequences, Responsibility, Morality, Human Interest	Entman, Scheufele & Tewksbury, Yousaf	Descriptive Analysis	Newspapers
NGOs in India's elite newspapers: a framing analysis	Asian Journal of Communication	(de Souza, 2010)	2004 Indian NGOs	Inductive	The do-good frame, Protest frame, Partner with govt frame, Public accountability frame	Goffman, Tuchman, Entman	Content Analysis	newspapers
The battle for Seattle: protest and popular geopolitics in The Australian newspaper	Political Geography	(McFarlane & Hay, 2003)	Anti WTO protests seattle	Deductive	freak show frame, violence frame, anarchy and violence frame Romper Room or deviant, idiots at large frame, public opinion frame	Goffman, Gitlin, Entman	Content Analysis	Newspaper
Multimodal framing devices in European online news	Language & Communication	(Alonso Belmonte & Porto, 2020)	2018 Palestinian protests against US embassy	Inductive	conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility	Goffman, Entman, Pan & Kosicki	Content Analysis; Visual analysis	newspapers, website
Framing of FeeMustFall students' protest by Daily Dispatch Newspaper and the effect on readers' perceptions	Heliyon	(Ayodeji-Falade & Osunkunle, 2021)	South Africa FeeMustFall protest	Deductive	conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility	Goffman, Entman, Fourie	Content Analysis, Focus Group Discussions	newspapers
Revisiting the Protest Paradigm: The Tea Party as Filtered through Prime-Time Cable News	The International Journal of Press/Politics	(Weaver & Scacco, 2013)	Tea Party Movement	Deductive	Motives, Appearances and mental ability, public opinion, counterdemonstrations, legitimization, marginalization	Entman, Nelson and Druckman, Chong and Druckman	Content Analysis	Television News
Protest Paradigm in Multimedia: Social Media Sharing of Coverage About the Crime of Ayotzinapa, Mexico: Protest Paradigm in Multimedia	Journal of Communication	(Harlow et al., 2017)	Ayotzinapa protests	Deductive	Riot, confrontation, spectacle, debate, violence, peace	Gitlin	Content Analysis	Social media
The Indignados protests in the Spanish and Greek press: Moving beyond the 'protest paradigm'?	European Journal of Communication	(Kyriakidou & Olivas Osuna, 2017)	Indignados protest	Deductive	Spectacle frame, media technology frame, political frame	Entman	Content Analysis	newspapers

Framing Ferguson: The interplay of advocacy and journalistic frames in local and national newspaper coverage of Michael Brown	Journalism	(Mourão et al., 2021)	Black lives matter	Deductive	frames of protest (confrontation, riot and legitimizing) frames of advocacy (race, police militarization, police brutality and economic inequality)	Gitlin	Content Analysis	newspapers
Overcoming the Protest Paradigm? Framing of the 2013 Cypriot Protests in International Online News Media	The Cyprus Review	(Papaioannou, 2015)	2013 Cypriot protests	Deductive	NYT (Spectacle frames, invocation of negative public opinion, Delegitimization frames), BBC(Sympathetic frames, Invocation of sympathetic public frames and legitimization frames)	Goffman, Entman	Content Analysis	News websites
Framing Chevron Protests in National and International Press	Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences	(Coman & Cmeciu, 2014)	Romanian protests against gas exploration	Deductive	attribution of responsibility, conflict, economic consequences, human interest and morality, emotion as frame	Noakes & Johnston, Gitlin, Gamson & Modigliani	Content Analysis	Newspapers
Overthrowing the Protest Paradigm? How The New York Times, Global Voices and Twitter Covered the Egyptian Revolution	International Journal of Communication	(Harlow & Johnson, 2011)	Egyptian Revolution	Inductive	Injustice frames, sympathy frames, legitimizing frames, delegitimizing frames, accountability frames, spectacle frames, contextual frames	Goffman, Entman	Content Analysis	News articles, Tweets
Framing Protest: The Chicago Tribune and the New York Times during the 1968 Democratic Convention	Atlantic Journal of Communication	(Brasted, 2005)	Protests during 1968 democratic conventions	Deductive	trivialization, polarization, emphasis on internal dissension, marginalization, disparagement by numbers, disparagement by movement's effectiveness	Goffman, Entman, Gitlin	Content Analysis	newspapers
Framing the Women's March on Washington: Media coverage and organizational messaging alignment	Public Relations Review	(Nicolini & Hansen, 2018)	2017 women's march	deductive	Diversity, Resistance, Activation., Solidarity	Gamson & Modigliani, Entman	Content Analysis	Newspapers, Television News
Framing social conflicts in news coverage and social media: A multicountry comparative study	International Communication Gazette	(Ahmed et al., 2019)	Little India riot in singapore	Inductive	attribution of responsibility and problem definition (riff-raff, failure of authorities, failure of immigrant incorporation, racial conflict and social conflict)	Goffman, Gamson, Pan and Kosicki	Content Analysis, Automated Linguistic Analysis	News Articles, Tweets
Do Black Lives Matter?: A content analysis of New York Times and St. Louis Post-Dispatch coverage of Michael Brown protests	Journalism Practice	(Elmasry & el-Nawawy, 2017)	Black lives matter	Deductive	Positive (peacefulness and order), Negative (lawlessness and deviance)	Entman, Scheufele and Tewksbury	Content Analysis	newspapers

From Seattle 1999 to New York 2004: A Longitudinal Analysis of Journalistic Framing of the Movement for Democratic Globalization	Social Movement Studies	(Rauch et al., 2007)	Anti-Globalization movement	Inductive	Legitimizing (denoting influence, mentioning support, articulating goals) delegitimizing (activists' appearance, behaviour, and attitudes)	Goffman, Gitlin, Entman	Content Analysis	newspapers
Protest News Framing Cycle: How The New York Times Covered Occupy Wall Street	International Journal of Communication	(Gottlieb, 2015)	Occupy Wall Street	Deductive	Economic Grievances(economic inequality, financial regulatory failure, wall street greed, poverty and unemployment) Conflict	Entman	Content Analysis	newspapers
Evolution of News Frames During the 2011 Egyptian Revolution: Critical Discourse Analysis of Fox News's and CNN's Framing of Protesters, Mubarak, and the Muslim Brotherhood	Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly	(Guzman, 2016)	2011 Egyptian revolution	Inductive	U.S. Friend/ U.S. Enemy	Gitlin, Entman	Critical Discourse Analysis	Television News
Framing Feminism: News Coverage of the Women's Movement in British and American Newspapers, 1968–1982	Social Movement Studies	(Mendes, 2011)	Women's Movement: National Organisation of Women	Inductive	Support for feminism, opposition to feminism, feminism as a contradictory or complex movement	KitZinger, Philo	Content Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis	Newspapers
Comparing Online Alternative and Mainstream Media in Turkey: Coverage of the TEKEL Workers Protest Against Privatization	International Journal of Communication	(Doğu, 2015)	TEKEL workers protest against privatization	inductive	Struggle for rights, ideology, political approach, economic balance	Jensen, Scheufele & Tewksbury	Content Analysis	mainstream and alternative websites
Counterframing Public Dissent: An Analysis of Antiwar Coverage in the U.S. Media	Critical Studies in Media Communication	(Klein et al., 2009)	Anti-Iraq war protests	Inductive	Counterframes (this war is illegal, this war is immoral, this war is based on lies)	Entman	Content Analysis	Newspapers, Television News
Framing Occupy Wall Street: A Content Analysis of The New York Times and USA Today	International Journal of Communication	(Xu, 2013)	Occupy Wall Street	Inductive	public disapproval, show, negative impact, ineffective goals and lawlessness	Goffman, Gitlin, Entman	Content Analysis	Newspapers

Discussion

RQ1: What definitions of framing have been used?

Frame definitions are crucial since the operationalization of frames depends on their definition. Even though some definitions do not offer precise operational definitions of frames, they are nonetheless significant because the definition of frames continues to serve as

the main concept in framing. The most popular definition based on this study is Entman's, followed by Gitlin and Goffman. These three form a large chunk of theoretical foundations of framing. Benford & Snow, Scheufele & Tewksbury have been used multiple times followed by Pan & Kosicki and Gamson & Modigliani definition of framing. This shows that general definitions of framing rather than precise operational definitions of framing are more frequently used by researchers. Framing definitions have previously been shown to be "vague" and extremely challenging to convert to empirical data. (Matthes & Kohring, 2008)

Definitions Used	
Author	Number of times
Goffman	13
Gitlin	14
Entman	35
Scheufele & Tewksbury	4
Gamson	2
Pan & Kosicki	3
Gamson & Modigliani	3
Benford & Snow	4

RQ2: How the frames have been selected?

The selection of frames can be done inductively or deductively. By first reviewing media texts and identifying frequent patterns in the media texts, inductive framing is achieved. If the researcher wants to use issue-specific frames, this kind of selection is immensely useful. Deductive framing uses frames identified by previous framing studies that fit their requirements. The researcher must be familiar with the issue and media coverage in order to use deductive framing. Out of the 50 studies examined in this paper, 24 studies (48%) used inductive framing, while 25 studies (50%) used deductive framing. 1 study used a combination of inductive and deductive framing. The high use of deductive frames points to a difficulty in identifying new and emerging frames, while most of the inductive approaches are unable to clearly define frames. It is difficult to get reliability from a newly identified inductive frame.

Methods of selecting frames	
Inductive	24
Deductive	25
Mixed Methods	1

RQ3: What are the most common frames that have been used?

The most generic frames that have been used in framing research are attribution of responsibility, conflict, morality, human interest and attribution of responsibility. The same frames have also been used in framing research of protest movements. The popular negative frames in the framing of protests are violence, lawlessness, ignorance, chaos, anarchy, public disapproval, negative impact, riot, public nuisance, usual suspects, law and order and national security. The positive frames used are David vs Goliath, law-abiding, social justice, respectable citizens, solidarity, resistance, support for protesters and struggle for rights.

RQ4: What mediums have been analyzed using framing study?

Newspaper was the most used medium for framing studies, followed by television news and online news. Few researchers also used a combination of two or more mediums. Social media was also analyzed using framing, although in smaller numbers. One research also analyzed press releases.

Medium Analyzed	
Medium	Number of times
Print	32
TV	8
Online News	8
Mixed Media	4
Social Media	5
Press Releases	1

RQ5: What methodology has been used to code the frames?

The most used methodology for framing analysis was content analysis. About 88% of the studies used content analysis for analyzing frames in media content. This was followed by textual analysis (8%), Visual Analysis (4%) and critical discourse analysis (4%).

Methodology used for framing analysis	
Method	Count
Content Analysis	44
Textual Analysis	4
Network Mapping	1
Keyword Searching	1
Semi-structured Interviews	1
Visual Analysis	2
Qualitative Frame Analysis	1
Virtual Ethnography	1
Descriptive Analysis	1
Focus Group Discussions	1
Automated Linguistic Analysis	1
Critical Discourse Analysis	2

RQ6: How does the framing research of protests relate to the protest paradigm?

Out of the 50 research papers analyzed for this study, 20 papers (40%) used the theoretical framework of protest paradigm. Out of these 20 papers, 10 papers (50%) found that their result are similar to the framework of protest paradigm, 4(20%) papers did not accept protest paradigm in their results, and 6 papers (30%) found mixed results, out of them 4 papers found different results for different mediums, and 2 found that protest paradigm does not work in their particular situations.

Protest Paradigm		
Accepted the paradigm	Rejected the paradigm	Found mixed results
10	4	6

The protest paradigm has provided evidence of how protests are portrayed negatively in the media. However, some academics argue that occasionally in-depth reporting about the demonstrators is combined with negative framing. While analyzing the Global Justice Movement(GJM) and the tea party movement, researchers found that freak and ignorance frames are accompanied by sound bytes and quotes of the protesters which takes their demands and grievances to wider audiences (Taylor & Gunby, 2016) Other research on GJM's media framing did not find any significant correlation between GJM's negative framing and in-depth coverage. (Boykoff, 2006) Another research analyzing longitudinal coverage found that riot, circus and confrontation frames persisted in the longitudinal coverage of GJM. (Rauch et al., 2007)

Following the Black Lives Matter movement in 2014, researchers found that American newspapers were more likely to use a sympathetic frame which suggests protests are peaceful and orderly. (Elmasry & el-Nawawy, 2017) The researchers claim that it is an interesting stopping point for mass media researchers. Researchers found that news articles use riot, public nuisance, carnival and invocation of public opinion as dominant frames and heavily follow the protest paradigm. (Leopold & Bell, 2017) Another research on BLM's coverage in 2014 shows that the media focused on the confrontation between police and protesters and followed the protest paradigm. (Mourão et al., 2021)

In Analyzing the Tea Party Movement's news coverage, some researchers have argued news coverage of protest movements cannot be discussed in terms of broad ideas if the legitimization or delegitimization frames change depending upon ideology of the protest in the partisan media climate. (Weaver & Scacco, 2013)

Discussion

Framing is a popular, but fragmented area in the study of mass communication. There are so many conceptions of framing and it is used interchangeably with the themes of news stories, the dominant ideas behind news stories. Some researchers have altogether urged scholars to "abandon the general "framing" label altogether and rely on more specific terminology" (Cacciatore et al., 2016, p. 9) and go back to focusing on the original theoretical foundations of framing. Broad definitions of framing have also contributed to an aura of framing, where framing effects appear to be far more strong than they actually are, according to researchers.

(Cacciatore et al., 2016) The framing research now, Cacciatore et al, (2016) suggest, can be used to explain every phenomenon appearing in mass media research.

Besides the operational difficulties of framing, framing is also facing a difficulty adjusting to the new media environment. Out of the papers screened and reviewed for this study, the researcher found that most of the studies related to traditional media, and even in the studies of the new media where framing analysis was involved, it was not sufficient enough to form the theoretical foundations on its own. The new media environment is increasingly fragmented, and the effects of the media have become very limited as people prefer to consume news which fits into their prior beliefs. The framing analysis also becomes difficult in new media environments due to the word limits of the social media platforms, and the time limit in case of video platforms. It is difficult to do a framing analysis of a 15 second video or a 240 word tweet.

As shown in this study, the most popular method used by previous studies in analyzing framing is content analysis. This also points to a limit of framing researchers in engaging with visual and new media research. Only 4% of the research analysed in this study used visual analysis as their method. Content analysis has not proved to be an effective method in analyzing the social media content because of the huge amount of data available. If the framing research has to survive in future, it has to be used with new methods which are capable of analyzing huge amounts of data.

Framing researchers have also not focused on the effects part of the framing. Out of the 50 papers analyzed in this study, only 3 supplemented the framing with an audience based research. The lack of focus on the audience's individual frames and framing effects have made it redundant in the media effects and audience research paradigms.

There is also little research on framing in the competitive and diverse media environments. While conducting this review, the researcher came across several studies which compared frames between alternative and mainstream media, national and international media, and found that different media outlets used different kinds of framing, and some are in opposition to each other. Chong and Druckman have pointed out that little is known about what happens when media frames compete. (*as cited in Borah, 2011*)

Conclusion

Researchers have used framing analysis to learn more about how the audience interprets messages from the media. Our analysis of past and present research "framing" implies that this theory will continue to have an impact for some time to come. The theory identifies media content patterns that potentially account for a wide range of mass communication scholarship on how protest movements are framed by the media.

The findings presented here range from simple descriptions of the frames utilized in media accounts of protests to theoretical concepts of framing analysis. Since Gitlin (1980) utilised it to evaluate the new left movement, framing research has advanced significantly. While certain aspects of framing theory have been given importance, certain aspects have been ignored by previous researchers. Researchers have not focused on creating specific definitions to operationalize frames, which lead to framing including every aspect of the news story within its framework, and creating an impression of framing being very powerful effects.

Due to the massive volume of data produced, framing analysis has limitations when applied to new media settings. Content analysis, the primary approach for coding frames, has limitations when applied to new media settings. In addition, there has been a lack of emphasis on visual framing.

This study also indicated a disregard for audience-specific framing elements. To detect frame setting in competitive media situations, future researchers should combine framing study with audience research. Framing study should also include frame competition across news platforms and frame negotiation between the collective action frames of a protest movement and media frames.

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FROM PASSIVE TO ACTIVE: THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA METRICS IN TRANSFORMING AUDIENCE ENGAGEMENT VIS-À-VIS NEWSROOMS

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Abstract

The paper is aimed at understanding the changing dynamics of the newsrooms with the availability of the real-time data of the audiences' choices and preferences. It also explores how audiences are increasingly becoming an important stakeholder in the process of news selection. It also analyses the transformation of the 'passive' audience of the news media to the 'active' audiences who actively engage with the news content through the options provided by social networking sites such as share, comment, like, retweet or post. This new intervention and active engagement by the audience has an impact on the editorial autonomy in the newsroom. These changes will also impact the gatekeeping idea of journalism with the editor and senior editors had full autonomy of choosing the content and may also affect the social responsibility of the media in a democracy. The paper tries to analyse the changing structure of the Indian newsrooms and how it impacts the media at a macro level.

Keywords: Social Media Metrics, Audience Engagement, Gatekeeping theory, Active Audience

Introduction

Traditional understanding of "audience" is undergoing a dramatic yet refreshing shift due to social networking sites. Audience of the news media are no longer 'passive' as per the conventional understanding of mass communication and have transformed into an 'active' audience with multiple choices from both mainstream and alternative media. Thereby ushering a need for audience engagement by the newsrooms in India. Web analytics and social media metrics have forced news media outlets to re-discover their 'audience' with the help of data and understand their preferences and choices for specific themes, topics, and areas of interests for enhanced TRPs or readership. The active audiences are now determining the choice of news content, its distribution networks through posts, reposts or sharing of news stories and their virality in the digital age. Newsrooms are no longer the sole bastions of the editors rather audience are increasingly being involved in the processes of journalistic decision making, editorial choices and content due to the almost immediate and real time feedback opportunities far different from the earlier days of letters to editors being published or aired. Such a transition to active audiences favours participation over inherent paternalism (Thomas, 2016).

Though, Audience engagement is not a new aspiration for the newsrooms yet, quantification of the audience behaviour through likes, shares, comments, subscriptions, retweets is an emerging area for traditional newsrooms in India. Earlier there were only qualitative audience feedback to be understood and analysed by the news editors. Anderson (2011) has asserted that there has been a significant intensification of audience quantification in the contemporary times that is bound to bring structural shifts to the roles, jobs, and overall structure of the traditional newsrooms.

Earlier, traditional newsrooms had ombudsman or public editors who were entrusted with the responsibility of looking into reader's complaints or feedback from the audiences, however,

new age newsrooms require editors who would navigate through audience data to make informed editorial decisions. Audience oriented editors must mediate between the data analytics and civic considerations of journalism. Wurff and Schoenbach (2014) believes that journalism is an endeavour based on civic responsibilities of the media that demands a fine balance between what a citizen needs to know and what they may desire to know.

Data driven journalistic choices is also altering the conventional gatekeeping theory and risks the civic foundations of the journalism and its rich legacy. Legacy of India's vibrant journalism goes back to the pre-independence times when most prominent nationalistic leaders were the editors of the newspapers and inspired the nation towards national struggle. Even though Gatekeeping Theory considers the 'audience' as important socio-institutional influence on the news values and news selection (Shoemaker and Vos, 2009), the social media has altered the dynamics and power equations present in the newsrooms due to the availability of the plethora of information and statistics regarding their audiences.

Such paradigm shift has led to the generation of newer forms of journalism in a more organised fashion such as citizen journalism which may also be referred to as 'reciprocal journalism' (Goode, 2009). Social networking sites have completed to altered the scenario as journalists no longer work for an 'imagined audiences' and have consider their social responsibility as well as a constant quest for how their news stories would affect their audiences. However, data driven journalism has its own perils as newsrooms are increasingly under pressure to create a balance between editorial autonomy and audience desires (Usher, 2013) to keep the journalistic values alive and thriving.

Data in the newsrooms is a double-edged sword where the journalists have the luxury to track, record, and quantify their audiences' digital footprints however, it may hamper the stories that may not align with their audience choices and restrict the scope of stories pertaining to the audiences who are digitally not active. Data provides a faster, automated, comprehensive, and more inclusive understanding of the audiences. It has also led to evolution of newer revenue models and revenue streams in the news organisations and enhanced role of the marketing professionals and sales team in the newsrooms who are well trained to analyse the metrics and key performance indicators of the news stories and bulletins and aid the process of content creation. Though, real time digital communication has facilitated a two-way symmetrical communication between audience and journalists facilitating the dialogic flow and greater engagement between the two important stakeholders of news.

At the conclusion, the publishers and editors remain critical to the newsroom functions yet their roles are becoming less central as distributors and gatekeepers and audiences now enjoy far greater and diverse choices for their media diet. The media diet of the new age audiences are increasingly determined by the social media, messaging applications and search engines (Bell et al 2016, Nielsen and Ganter 2017). But, the skewed scope for the gatekeeping of the news stories has given an impetus to the fake news, misinformation, disinformation, and fabricated information. Circulation of such false information has impacted the opinion formation process and enhanced the skepticism towards media credibility.

Research Questions

1. Understanding the various debates and discourses on ‘active audiences’ of the news media.
2. Understanding the difference between Gatekeeping and Gatewatching process and its impact on journalism.

Discourses and debates of ‘Active Audiences’ of the News Media

Users have been involved in the process of news production (eg. Letters to Editors) even before the advent of Web, though the feedback mechanism remained delayed. However, the active audiences have now ease of access, creation tools and sharing of the news through various social networking sites thereby leapfrogging from the ‘former audiences’ to being co-creators in the news production process (Goode, 2009).

Participation of the audiences has remained an important issue in news media and communication studies yet, most recent work has been related to participatory journalism (Singer et al., 2011), audience material (Wardle and Williams, 2010), reciprocal journalism (Levis et. al, 2014). These ‘active’ audiences are being facilitated by the Web 2.0 tools that enable and empower citizens to participate and engage with the news content in a more effective, real-time and easier manner. Such a proposition has disrupted the long-established relationship between the sender-receiver and has even impacted the functions and responsibilities of professional journalism including the requirement to view and understand the agenda setting theory, gatekeeping theory and framing (Goode, 2009; Peters and Witscghe, 2014). The direct citizen participation or ‘active’ audience has also impacted the concept of mediated participation which has been continuing since the inception of the profession.

The change in the dynamics of the relationship due to the changing nature of mediated participation has resulted into a debate between the cyber optimists and cyber pessimists. The scholars deemed as cyber optimists believe in the emancipatory capacity of the social networking sites and other Web 2.0 tools (Jenkins, 2006) whereas other believe that increased engagement helps to enhance the civic power of the audience thereby opening new possibilities and potential for opinion formation and deliberations (Dahlgren, 2013). Dahlgren (2013) also believes that such a participation by the audiences is a changing the nature of professional journalism along with being a democratic asset. Similarly, Manosevitch and Tenemboim (2017) believe that it Web 2.0 tools enables the citizens to access public spaces and public debates more effectively and goes much beyond the traditional role of the media i.e. informing the citizenry.

On the other hand, cyber pessimists argue that there is a limited potential of the civic engagement by the audiences as the institutions and centres of power involved in the news making process are extremely powerful such as the journalists, media owners, interest groups and advertisers and they decide the organisational structure and communication structure (Van Djick, 2009). Though scholars like Anderson (2011) believe that such a participation by the active audience has compelled the news media to re-negotiate their gatekeeping powers as well as taking advantage of these technological tools available. Singer (2014) believes that

real time participation by the audiences have raised questions on the power shift as well as changing dynamics of user-agency and pushing the boundaries of journalism (Carlson and Lewis, 2015).

Carpentier (2011) distinguishes between the participation through the media and participation in the media where the former means that media provides a platform to the citizens through which they could participate in the public debates and voice their opinions and the latter where audiences are co-decision making is important and participation is conducted through professional and managerial decisions. It is significant to note that Carpentier (2011) has also given a AIP model which defines three different levels/phases of user agency: Access-Interactivity-Participation. Though, participatory journalism overcoming the structural hierarchy of the communication and newsrooms seems like a utopian concept.

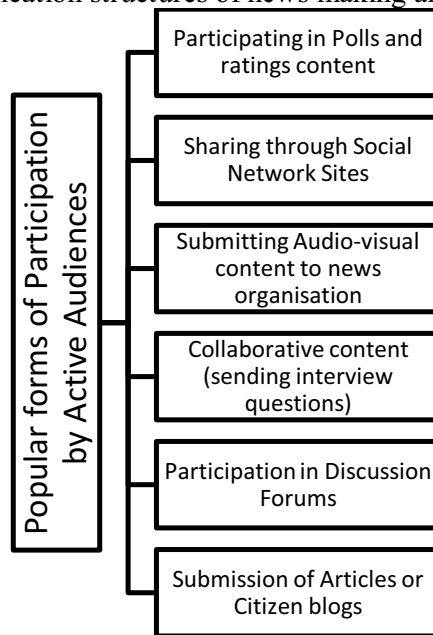
Various studies have been conducted to understand the motivations and intentions of the users to participate and create user generated content (UGC). Leung (2009) research pointed out that content generation may be directly linked to the cognitive, social and entertainment needs of an individual user and found that those with higher needs for recognition and gratification are more likely to be active on blogs, YouTube among other platforms. Mitchelstein (2011) believed that participation in blogs is linked to discussion and socialisation needs and many users posted comments on online newspapers and websites for self-expression. Ekdale et. al (2010) emphasis that the top three motivations of the most active political bloggers was to provide a counter narrative to the mainstream media, informing the fellow citizens and influencing public opinion. Even Naaman (2011) validated the claims that contributing comments on the news websites is for information-centric needs as well as assertion of personal identities. Whereas Springer et. al (2015) found that comments on news through online mediums may have cognitive needs as well as an urge to interact and discuss their stance and opinions with the journalists or authors of the news story. Whereas analysing the Swedish audiences, Bergstrom (2008) believes that user generated content is created as a leisure and fun activity rather than being perceived as a democratic exercise or civic engagement.

Spyridou (2019) has developed the sub-categories of participation instead of using the umbrella term 'interactivity' to understand the participation of the audiences on the news websites. The categories defined are:

1. **Very Low Participation:** It entails to participation by the audiences in the polls and ratings content which requires minimal effort.
2. **Low Participation:** It requires commenting or participation in the discussion forums on the news websites, and it may impact the published content and requires a little more effort than the previous category.
3. **Medium Participation:** It requires to submit multimedia content to the news organisation or a collaborative endeavour, however, the media organisation has autonomy to publish or not publish the content. Though, this stage may be unique as the organisation is willing to involve the audience in the planning stage of the content itself.

4. **High Participation:** It would require the users to submit full blogs or articles and allows the users or audiences to have full autonomy over the content being published.

Though, Spyridou (2019) believes that ‘sharing’ the news content on the Social Networking has immense potential but do not require any creative effort on the part of the audiences, however, Singer (2014) calls it as secondary gatekeeping from the audience’s perspective. Scholars like Marwick and Boyd (2011) have theorised social networking sites as networked public spaces consider sharing as the contribution towards discussion of important public matters and news making, they also believe it has the potential to reorient or disrupt the existing professional communication structures of news making and meaning making.



Transition from Gatekeeping to Gatewatching

“Freedom of the Press is guaranteed only to those who own one. Now, millions do”

(Original Quote Liebling, 1960; Transformed by Bowman & Wills, 2003)

The original statement is “Freedom of the Press is guaranteed only to those who own one” by A J Liebling issued in 1960 which was transformed by Bowman and Wills in 2003 to reflect upon the changing nature of media ownership with the advent of Web 2.0 tools and its widespread acceptance and usage by citizens to create and publish their own reports. Jay Rosen (2006) believes that the citizens who earlier constituted the category of ‘audiences’ have started to publish their own news reports, commentaries, blogs and opinion pieces related to current affairs on the virtual platforms and there seems to be a reduced dependence on the mainstream news flow structures for accessing news and opinion formation. Thus, there seems to be shift from the gatekeeping towards gatewatching phenomenon. With the enhanced internet penetration resulting into a multitude and plethora of information sources,

the citizens no longer rely on the journalists to either get news or its interpretation and get information which seems relevant to themselves and their wider personal and community interest leading to the phenomenon of gatewatching (Bruns, 2005). Though, it should be highlighted that news agencies and media organisations kept a watch on government and corporate organisations with the intent of larger public interest, whereas scholars have often criticised citizen journalists and gatewatching phenomenon as ‘random acts of journalism’ (Lasica, 2003) which may only be catering to their personal or narrow concerns.

Though, gatewatching differs significantly from the gatekeeping process, as citizen journalists often deal with the process of information discovery whereas gatekeeping process entails a much elaborate process. The process of gatekeeping involves selection of the news amongst various current affairs and events (McQuail, 2005; Shoemaker, 1991) at the input stage. It is important responsibility of the editors and journalist to select the news that the newspaper or television bulletin would cover. The second fundamental question in the gatekeeping is addressed in the gatekeeping process is regarding the presentation of the news i.e. which facts to be included, hook/angle to be brought into the prominence and the sequence or the slot in which the story would be presented (Front page story or the first story in the TV bulletin). The last crucial aspect of the gatekeeping aspect would be regarding the small fraction of the feedback to be covered in terms of ‘Letters to the Editor’ or call-in in the tv bulletins from the audience thereby having editorial selection regarding the feedback to be covered.

The gatewatching endeavour is different from traditional journalistic practice and news gathering process, here the citizen journalists only involves themselves in information discovery and then present it without accessing and analysing the development from a multiple sources and perspective and then providing a coherent news report with sources of information, backgrounders and comments from relevant stakeholders to provide balance, objectivity and neutrality. The report present by citizen journalists is not complete and can be called as a summary of a particular event or information gathered or accessed which is not complete and is open for other citizen to contribute through their comments, addition of information, providing background information, debunked, criticism thus, leading to a distributed collaborative effort. Gatewatching can be classified into two categories i.e. open which is widely available to all and can be edited and contributed by any of the citizenry while there are website that constitute internal gatekeeping as a means of sorting information and material discovered through gatewatching. Thus, one could easily conclude that the news stories produced by the gatewatchers are not a static product rather an ever-evolving product with the more and more information being added by the co-creators with the development or interest in the stories commonly known as ‘produsage.’ It marks an important shift from the passive consumption of media products to the active involvement who are participating at various levels to create, distribute and further amend the stories that interests them or concern them without mediators.

Though, there have criticism and denouncement of such practises and citizen journalists themselves as they have been dubbed as ‘amateurs’ providing low quality content or rookie

journalists with untrustworthy content. However, news organisation needs to re-calibrate such an approach and re-invent and re-imagine their relationship with their audiences.

Conclusion

The rise of social media has transformed the traditional understanding of audiences, creating an active audience with multiple choices of mainstream and alternative media. This shift has resulted in a need for newsrooms to engage with their audiences and understand their preferences and choices through data analytics and social media metrics. Data-driven journalistic choices are altering the conventional gatekeeping theory and risking the civic foundations of journalism. Journalists now consider their social responsibility and the impact of their stories on audiences. Data in newsrooms is a double-edged sword that provides a comprehensive understanding of audiences, but may also restrict the scope of stories that do not align with audience choices. The role of publishers and editors is becoming less central as audiences have greater and diverse choices for their media diet, but the skewed scope for gatekeeping has given an impetus to fake news and misinformation.

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COMMUNICATING THROUGH MUSIC IN A NON-TECH WORLD: TRACING THE PUBLIC PERFORMANCES OF INDIAN CLASSICAL MUSIC IN 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY

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Abstract

Classical performing art forms of India have always been the most ancient communication forms and have nourished under the shelter of either the religious centers or the court of the rulers. The aesthetic pleasure of enjoying a classical performance was not accessible to common people. The situation changed around 19th Century when some classical music connoisseurs started organizing classical music programmes outside the vicinity of princely courts and temples. There may have been many reasons to do so. Some of them had the motto of reviving and upholding heritage of Indian art forms and through it propagating and holding to Indianness among the British ruled Indian people. Some did so simply out of love for these art forms. Whatsoever were the mottoes of these people, their efforts resulted in wide propagation of Indian Classical Music and Dance. This paper has tried to document some of the prominent and popular mass scale Music festivals that have not only been efficient tools of communicating with the masses but have also kept our country vibrant with the sound of music, and thus uphold the age-old heritage of intangible art form – the Indian Classical Music.

Key words – Communication through music, Indian Classical Music, Performance, Sannelan, Music Festival, Music Conference, concert

Introduction

The 19th century in India became the reformatory period for all kinds of performing arts. Some of the connoisseurs started institutionalizing music and dance in the line of music and dance institutions in Britain; whereas some others started organizing Music conferences and concerts open to general public. This created a renewed interest among the general people in these art forms. Not only the Rajas and Nawabs took interest in organizing the concerts but others viz. political leaders, dewans, religious leaders, and distinguished citizens from different walks of life along with the common people came hand in hand to hold small soirees or big conferences of Classical Music in the north as well as in South. Such shows and concerts played an integral role in communicating important messages to the masses to create awareness, as a call for action or to educate them on important matters of national and political concern.

One such pioneer, popularizing classical music in the south was the Mysuru king Shri Chamaraja Wadiyar (1868 – 1894). He started placing loudspeakers on the palace grounds to

allow the general public to enjoy Carnatic music, which used to be performed inside the court, through its broadcast via public address systems.

Apart from the rulers of the states some of the nobilities and wealthy people started organizing musical soirées in their homes. This way the common householders started coming closer to the court music or classical music. Among many other people Pt. Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande and Vishnu Digambar Paluskar in Mumbai and Raja Sourindra Mohan Tagore in Bengal took huge steps in this regard. Bhatkhandeji with the help of court of Baroda started organizing All India Music Conferences, the first of its kind, where musicians from different 'riyasats' came to participate in the performances. These conferences have special standing in the history of Indian classical music, as musicologists across the country were invited too to discuss various principles of Indian Music which formed the foundation of our music system. Distinguished Rajas, Nawabs and Dewans sent their court musicians to flaunt the caliber of these prized possessions. The artistes also took pride in flaunting various medals and ornaments which they won as a token of recognition of their talent and caliber. The first All India Music conference took place in 1916 at Baroda under the patronage of the ruler of Baroda. It was a huge effort to put the artistes of different gharanas on one stage that too in the purview of general public. It was almost a revolution that took place in the arena of Indian Classical Music. A permanent body by the name "All India Music Conference Working Committee" was established with Pandit Bhatkhande as its General Secretary during the conference. Under his guidance a list of action plan was prepared in view for the development and upliftment of Indian Classical music. It was also decided to hold similar Music conferences once in every year. Among many other eminent musicians and musicologists Rabindranath Tagore also attended this conference.

Though it was decided that henceforth the conference would be organized every year but due to financial constraints it could not be executed. So, the second All India Music Conference was held at Delhi in December 1918, under the presidentship of the Nawab of Rampur. Consecutively third All India Music Conference was held in December 1919 at Benares and fourth All India Music Conference was held in January 1925 at Lucknow. In this conference a decision was taken to open an Institute of Indian Classical Music at Lucknow, originally named "All India College of Hindustani Classical Music". Later the name was changed named after the name of Sir William Marris. Thus, a new form of festival was added to the yearly calendar of those Indian citizens who were connoisseur of Indian Classical Music.

India, though being a vast country, was going through a period of cultural renaissance across its length and breadth around the latter half of 19th century. Similar ideology floated among the citizens of all over India. Like Pt. Bhatkhande many other music loving people came forward to propagate Indian Music and music concerts seemed to be the most befitting way to do so. Later in the early 20th century, Pandit Vishnu Digambar Paluskar started giving

ticketed public performances in open air pavilions. Following in his footsteps, the other contemporary musicians like Abdul Karim Khan also started singing in ticketed concerts. Among the female performers, Hirabai Barodekar was the first to give public performances and she made it very popular. Due to the popularity of Hirabai Barodekar, the other female singers also started getting noticed and earning respect in the society. This encouraged common people to let the women of their family to learn and perform music on stage.

We will now have a look at some of the important music festivals of India which have helped to uphold the Indian Classical Music and the musicians.

Objectives of the study

The broad objective of the paper is to look at the progress of Hindustani classical music through a lens assessing its proliferation in the common masses and meeting all sections of the society without staying gripped as an extraordinary medium of communication for the top echelons of the society.

The specific objective was to document the efforts made by these traditional schools of music in reaching out to the masses to become a medium of initiation of discussion in the public sphere while creating awareness, and igniting the need for self-expression.

Methodology

Since this is a historical study, it demanded the administration of documentation and descriptive method over any other methodology used for primary and secondary data collection. The researcher who is also a practitioner of Hindustani classical music has made an effort to bring the gist of culmination and progress of the important schools of music in India, their propagation and spread as a communication medium among masses. This paper has attempted to document all efforts in the past two centuries and beaded them together in the realm of a paper by making it more descriptive in nature so that the history of such an important and ancient art form is not lost to the younger generations of researchers in India and abroad.

Discussion and Findings

The study analysed how festivals of music in different parts of the country became a prolific means of propagating it. The following is a discussion of the important seminars and festivals that made this effort possible in the past two centuries:

1. Harballabh Sangeet Sammelan

This Festival came into being much before Bhatkhande's systematic approach to propagate Indian Classical Music. Baba Harballabh was born in the later part of 18th Century in village Bajwara, District Hoshiarpur (Punjab). His maternal grandfather brought him to Jullundur when he was in his teens. There in a temple at Devi Talab Swami Tulajagiri used

to sing Bhajans in Dhrupad style in his daily prayers. Harballabh's grandfather would attend these prayers regularly taking young Hari Vallabh along with him. This left a deep impact on the mind of sensitive Harballabh. Instead of playing with other children of his age he would sit for hours on the steps of Devi Talab singing Bhajans. Seeing his interest in singing Pandit Duni Chand was engaged to give formal lessons in music to the young Hari Vallabh.

Later Baba Tulajagiri, a great saint, Sanskrit scholar, an exponent of Dhrupad style of classical music and the 'mahant' of Baba Hemgiri's 'Gaddi', took Harballabh under his wings and started imparting him training of classical music along with the holy scriptures and Sanskrit. It is said that soon Hari Vallabh grew to become a great singer of Bhajans in Dhrupad style. His music mesmerized people. Recognizing the extra ordinary qualities in his disciple, Baba Tulajagiri named Baba Harballabh as his successor to the 'Gaddi'. After the death of Baba Tulajagiri in 1874 Harballabh thought of holding a memorial ceremony to pay homage to his guru on his first death anniversary. He invited the Sadhus and saints to sing devotional compositions at the Samadhi of his guru. This congregation of two days was held in the month of December. Gradually this congregation became a yearly affair. After the death of Baba Harballabh, Baba Tola Ram, a disciple of Baba Harballabh succeeded to his Gaddi. He took significant efforts to continue this congregation and named it Harballabh Sangeet Sammelan. He also started inviting eminent Classical Musicians along with the sadhus and saints. In due course because of this Sangeet Sammelan Jullandhar gained the status of an important seat of Indian Classical Music. This Sammelan is now 147 years old. A regular committee was set up to look after the matters for organizing this sammelan in the year 1922. It is interesting to note that despite the biting cold in the month of December listeners continue to flock around with their warmers and bedding to experience the feast of music throughout the days and the nights for those three days till date.

2. Thyagaraja Aradhana Festival

This festival is celebrated in Thiruvaiyaru every year on the death anniversary of Thyagaraja under the auspices of Sri Thyagabrahma Mahotsava Sabha at the saint composer's samadhi at [Thiruvaiyaru](#) in Tamil Nadu.

The first music congregation at the Samadhi of Thyagaraja took place almost after 58 years of his death. After the death of Thyagaraja in 1847, his mortal remains were buried on the banks of river Kaveri. After constructing a small memorial on the particular spot all his disciples went back to their native places. Due to neglect the memorial soon got dilapidated. Around 1903 two of his last surviving students Umayalpuram Krishna Bhagavatar and Sundara Bhagavatar returned to Tiruvaiyaru and had it renovated.

From the next year onwards, efforts were made by musical stalwarts to observe the anniversary at Tiruvayyaru. In 1905 a ceremony was conducted with feeding of the poor and worship at the memorial as per Vedic tenets. But the following year, the relation between the two Tillaisthanam brothers turned sour and each began conducting a parallel Aradhana Utsav. Musicians associated themselves with one or the other brother and soon two rival factions came into being. The younger brother started celebrating five days before the Aradhana and concluded on the Aradhana day, whereas the elder brother began on Aradhana day and continued for four days after that. Both groups organized music performances and feeding of the poor and so the public was the real beneficiary during the nine days. But both the groups had one thing in common. They never allowed women to perform during the Aradhana. They also did not permit 'Nadaswaram, performances.

In 1921, Bangalore Nagarathnammal, a rich temple dancer, residing in Madras, decided to dedicate her life's earnings to the cause of immortalizing Tyagaraja's memory. Seeing the rampant factionalism and discrimination against women, she decided to take action. In 1925, she bought the land on which the memorial stood and constructed a temple over the memorial. She also installed an idol of Tyagaraja in front of the memorial and finally dedicated the temple in early 1926. However, both the rival groups did not let her perform Harikatha in front of the idol of Thyagaraja she had installed. Not flinching Nagarathnammal began a third front which conducted its own music programs at the rear of the shrine. This third front featured many women artistes and thus soon became very popular. Its popularity affected the viewership of the other two Aradhanas Utsav-s. Finally in 1940 on the requests of Mr. S Y Krishnaswami all three parties convinced to be united and from 1941 onwards the Tyagaraja Aradhana Festival started to be celebrated the way it is known to be celebrated. Muthiah Bhagavatar selected five pancharatnas which were considered the best to be rendered in a group so that a common homage by all became possible and thus this became an integral feature of the Aradhana.

3. Chembai Sangeetolsavam

As a part of the Ekadasi festival, an eleven-day Chembai music festival is organised, at Guruvayur Temple in Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala in the month of September every year. An incredible array of some two thousand Carnatic musicians take part in this festival to show their respect to the veteran Carnatic Music artiste Late Chembai Vaidyanatha Bhagavatar who was a great devotee of Lord Guruvayurappan. This festival is celebrated almost similar to the Thyagraja Aradhana Festival held at Thiruvaiyaru, where amateur as well as the established artistes both pay homage to the doyen of Carnatic music through their music.

A group concert marks the end of the festival on the night of Ekadasi which includes five of Chembai's most favorite songs. The chorus is led by several leading artists on the Dashami Day and the entire audience also joins the chorus.

4. Chennai Music Festival

'Margazhi Sangeet Utsavam' or Chennai music festival is celebrated in the city of Chennai every year from December to January. The festival is organized to commemorate the foundation day of Music Academy in Chennai. The academy came into being as a result of a resolution passed in an All India Music conference that took place in Chennai or the then Madras, way back in 1927. This festival was organized by a political body 'Indian National Congress' with a motto to popularize Carnatic Music and Dance among the common people and thus inducing pride for their cultural heritage. This festival gained a lot of popularity from its inception and gradually several other organizers started holding concerts and music conferences around the same time. What used to be a seven day's affair has now extended upto two months long festival. According to the Journal of The Music Academy 2014, Volume 85 in a period of 30 days as many as 80 Music Concerts were scheduled by the Music Academy Madras alone. And there are more than 50 such organizations who hold chain of concerts during this period. No place in world holds so many music concerts in one city for so many days and involving so many organizations.

5. Music Conferences in Kolkata

In British India Kolkata was one of the most important cities from the point of social and cultural reforms. In 1932-33, Dakshinaranjan Bhattacharjee held a music conference at Allahabad. This inspired Bhupendra Nath Ghosh of Pathuria Ghata at Kolkata to organize the 'All Bengal Music Conference' in 1934.¹ The conference was aided and supported by royalties, music lovers, film-music directors Raichand Baral and Damodardas Khannah which was held till 1953. The first All Bengal Music conference was held in the Calcutta University Senate Hall in 1934 which was inaugurated by none other than Rabindranath Tagore. Later the theatres viz. Shri, Roxy, Star and Minerva were used to be the venues for this conference. It was a ticketed conference and those who could not buy tickets would sit all night on the pavement outside the theatres to listen to their favourite musicians. The last session was held at Rangmahal theatre in 1953.

Apart from this Sarba Bharatiya Sangeet Sammelan was also a big attraction for listeners of Classical music.

6. Dover Lane music festival or The Dover Lane Music Conference is an annual Hindustani classical music festival in the months of December and January in Dover Lane, Ballygunge area of Kolkata. The festival was started being held in 1952. Many stalwarts of

Indian classical music have performed in the festival. Throughout the years, the festival has undergone many changes. Instead of the original venue of Dover Lane, this annual event is now organized at the Nazrul Mancha and lasts for 6 days

Besides the performance of the established singers, the youngsters are also encouraged to participate and show their talents.

The performances were originally scheduled at night, however, now it has changed to day-time and evening-time. The Dover Lane Music Festival has become culturally one of the most important events of the year with the presence of a number of eminent music maestros from all over the country.

7. Tansen Sangeet Sammelan

The city of Gwalior, being the hometown of the famous Indian musician Miyan Tansen, occupies a special position in history of Indian music. It is one of the places that has witnessed remarkable developments in Hindustani Classical Music.

After the death of Tansen in 1589 he was buried in Gwalior and a tomb was constructed on the site. It is said that his followers started paying homage to this legendary musician by performing on his tomb. This gained so much popularity that the ruler of Gwalior started patronizing the event. At present it is managed by the cultural Department of the government of Madhya Pradesh. This has also now grown to be a mega music festival of five days and night, where connoisseurs of Indian classical Music from all over the world gather to witness the festival.

Apart from the concerts, seminars on classical music, a heritage walk, and an exhibition of traditional instruments are also organized during the festival. The prestigious Tansen Samman award is also presented to deserving musicians in the field of classical music during the festival by the government of Madhya Pradesh.

8. Sankat Mochan Festival

The Sankat Mochan Temple dedicated to the monkey god Hanumaan is said to be founded by the famous saint poet Tusidas in Varanasi. To commemorate the birth of Hanumaan a Music Festival is celebrated in the temple.

Artists from all over India congregate to perform music and drama. Maestros of Indian classical music often perform voluntarily in this festival, providing a rare chance for those who might not otherwise be able to afford to hear them perform.

9. Shriram Shankarlal Music Festival

Shriram Shankarlal Music Festival is one of the earliest Indian Classical music events held in Delhi for the past six decades. The Sarmelan began as a small soiree with an informal gathering of musicians at the house of Sumitra Charat Ram, at Curzon Road in Delhi. Over the past sixty years it has now become a forum for the talented youth along with the most authentic traditional musicians. The concert became so popular that the venue had to be shifted to the grounds of Modern School in Barakhamba Road in Delhi and the concert continued throughout the night. But after 84's riots security reasons forced the organizers to shift the venue of the concert again to the present kamani Auditorium in Copernicus Marg at Delhi.

10. Sawai Gandharva Sangeet Mahotsav

The Sawai Gandharva Sangeet Mahotsav is one of the most prominent and sought-after Indian classical music festivals in Western India. This festival was started to commemorate the death anniversary of legendary Classical Vocalist Sawai Gandharva in the year 1953 at Pune in Maharashtra. The festival was founded by the Arya Sangeet Prasarak Mandal and was led by Pt. Bhimsen Joshi until 2002. After celebrating the golden jubilee concert in 2002 Pt. Bhimsen Joshi retired from the committee. Since then, Shrinivas Joshi, Pt. Joshi's son and disciple, and Shrikant Deshpande have been organizing this event.

The festival was initially intended to display artists of the Kirana Gharana only, later artistes of all the gharanas were included to showcase their expertise in front of the aesthete audience.

11. Gunidas Sangeet Sarmelan

An internationally known music festival Gunidas Sangeet Sarmelan was first presented under the patronage of Maharashtra Lalit Kala Nidhi way back in 1977 by the legendary Hindustani classical vocalist Pandit C. R. Vyas in memory of the famed classical music doyen of the Agra gharana, Pandit Jagganath Buwa Purohit.

Top classical musicians of India, both vocalists and instrumentalists perform in this festival. One of the most patronized and popular sangeeta sarmelans, it started in Mumbai and now is held in Mumbai, Kolkata (in December) and Delhi (in February) every year.

12. Akashvani Sangeet Sarmelan

After independence when royal patronage ceased to be there for encouraging the Indian Classical Music and other performing art forms, Government of India started patronizing these art forms from its various platforms. One of these platforms was All India Radio. The artistes and connoisseurs both were benefited through its daily broadcasts of classical music. When Dr. B. V. Keskar became the Information and Broadcasting Minister, he took the initiative to start a programme on national network, in which a particular artist could be heard at same point of time through-out India. His efforts culminated in the form of the

National Programme of Music which started in 1952. This programme is still broadcast on every Saturday from 9.30 PM to 11.00 PM. Success of this programme encouraged Kesarji to initiate another new programme in 1954 in the form of Radio Sangget Sammelan, later, known as Akashvani Sangeet Sammelan. The concerts of Akashvani Sangeet Sammelan before invited audiences are held on various venues all over the country on the same day. More than 50 prominent artistes take part in concerts held at major stations before a live audience. These recordings are later broadcast as a season of around a month through November and December. Lately, the government of India has renamed it as “Bharat Ratna Pandit Bhimsen Joshi Akashvani Sangeet Sammelan” on the occasion of Pandit Bhimsen Joshi’s Centenary Commemorative celebration on 6th February 2021. ⁱⁱ

Conclusion

To conclude, this paper has focused on the ways the Hindustani classical music has proliferated and made its space in today’s world of technology aided performers and lovers of music. While technology has started having its way in this antient art form as well, yet the flavour and uniqueness of it remains for the younger generation to relish, learn from and preserve as a legacy.

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