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Starved for Information: The Conflict between Mobilizing Hunger Strikes and Distracting Media Frames

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Abstract:

This study considers the newspaper coverage of Irom Sharmila's on-going, 13-year hunger strike in India to question how information from the media plays a role in generation of social movement conflict. With specific attention paid to the cultural context and method of protest, the study applies theories of conflict, social movement planning, and framing to examine whether the hunger strike elicits coverage that includes salient frames generated by the movement. Such coverage could signify a potential shift in the protest paradigm applied to English-language newspapers in India. Through a quantitative content analysis, articles pertaining to Irom Sharmila's hunger strike against the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act were coded for conflict variables of stage and constructiveness; social movement frames of diagnosis, prognosis, and motivation; and political opportunity measures of access, party alignment, elite tension, and allies. Furthermore, this study aimed to compare the English-language press of several regions of India at the local and national level. Articles were drawn from nine English-language newspapers from 2002 to 2012. Ultimately, the study revealed that the press reporting on Sharmila's hunger strike does not afford robust information that could help transform the intractable conflict between Sharmila and the government and does not provide more detailed statements of the issue and proposed solution that could help legitimize the actions of the movement. No conclusive evidence was revealed to suggest that regional or local/national variations existed in the newspapers that reported on Sharmila's strike over the last decade.

Keywords: media framing, print press, protest, social movement, organizational strategy, hunger strike, conflict studies, India

STARVED FOR INFORMATION:
THE CONFLICT BETWEEN MOBILIZING HUNGER STRIKES
AND DISTRACTING MEDIA FRAMES

by

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Chapter One: Introduction

Fully conscious, Irom Sharmila has not consumed any food or water in over twelve years to protest a government policy that allows law enforcement to use preventative detention in Indian border-states. Ironically, the police force uses preventative detention principles to annually detain Sharmila on the same date and insert a nasal feeding tube in order to keep her alive for one year so that they can symbolically release her from custody just to repeat the process. Sharmila has not willingly placed any sustenance into her mouth by her own physical means since the start of her strike on November 4, 2000.

The hunger strike in India combines the revered practice of fasting in Hinduism with a protest style directly challenging Indian law against suicide (Section 309 of the Indian Penal Code). While hunger strike as a form of protest is not unique to India, the hunger strike in India reflects the nation's struggle for independence and democracy. With roots in Gandhi's fast against British colonial rule, the hunger strike points to nationalism and tradition but as a form of protest is considered antiquated and ineffective (Sengupta, 2011). The hunger strike recently arose as a tool to combat corruption in the federal government in India, filling the Indian media with news stories on the anti-corruption social movement of Anna Hazare. Debate circulated in opinion columns as to the legitimacy of the hunger strike as a form of protest or a tool for blackmail against the government, with an awakened public surprised by the use of a hunger strike after so many years since India's most famous strike by Mahatma Gandhi. However, in and out of the news, Irom Sharmila's hunger strike continues for twelve years and counting.

Although extreme, the hunger strike according to Wolfsfeld (1984) is a "conventional" form of protest for a social movement to consider for maximum media attention (p. 376). The hunger strike accelerates the pace of collective, strategic organization and resource mobilization

in a social movement. Strategic capacity, political opportunity, and resource mobilization are interrelated fields crucial to collective action. Strategic capacity implements special skills, unique knowledge, and organizational tactics to develop a structured system for a protest group to express concerns privately and publicly against opposition (Ganz, 2000, p. 1005). Political opportunity accounts for the power dynamics of a society to determine optimal conditions for demanding change (Tarrow, 2011). Resource mobilization requires politics and power to align in favor of a social movement's tactics; in this way, resource mobilization is largely embedded within strategic capacity and political opportunity, although many scholars consider it a separate organizational unit of social movements. Additionally, the media's tone in framing the social movement contributes to the success of a movement (Kowalchuk, 2009, p. 114). Hunger strikers can only maintain pressure on an institution for a limited amount of time, approximately two weeks, the survival time for humans without food or water. Thus, the social movement's choice of a hunger strike as a conflict tool possesses a short timeframe, before the striker's physical health deteriorates, to entice the media with a dramatic story.

While these restrictions on a hunger strike are not insurmountable to overcome, the resources, strategies, and opportunities that a social movement organization implements can influence the media coverage of the protest (McClusky, 2008). Aspects of resource mobilization, strategic capacity, and political opportunity included in protest news coverage can inform social movement groups of appropriate actions to adopt when instigating social change that augment legitimacy through media attention. Social movements, according to Smith, McCarthy, McPhail, and Augustyn (2001), are "politically marginalized groups that lack direct access to polity members" (p. 1398). However, as many other studies reveal, political associations and elite support are crucial to social movement success (Kowalchuk, 2009; Noakes & Johnston, 2005;

Scanlan, Stoll, & Lumm, 2008; Blondel, 2007; Rejai, 1980; Gitlin, 1980). For this study, Irom Sharmila stands in as the symbol of the larger social movement against the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA) based on media statements establishing Sharmila's hunger strike as synonymous with the movement in Northeast India. Because of her close ties with many organizations supporting her and fighting the same issue, coverage largely considers her as the leader of the larger movement.

Framing—the specific tones and characteristics of a news story that define the context for the issue— provides media with power to communicate information to the public in a way that persuades the public's perception on a topic (Entman, 1993, p. 51). The coverage that media give a hunger strike isn't guaranteed to portray the movement in a positive light. Historically, coverage tends towards negative framing or neutral expressions that detract from the issues raised by the social movement (Kowalchuk, 2009). Early studies in collective behavior and social movements address the relationship between protests and the media, expressing concern at the tone of news stories about radical groups (Turner & Killian, 1954; Gitlin, 1980). Framing research typically centers on the media's creation of information, but scholars have called for more attention on how social movements work to communicate messages that journalists then rewrite for the public (Carragee & Roefs, 2004, p. 225). As studies focus on mass media as players in the conflict arena between social movements and institutions, researchers have pinpointed principles that journalists employ in protest coverage (Di Cicco, 2010).

The paradigms by which journalists report social movements have transitioned over time. Under the protest paradigm, news coverage focuses on the participants in a social movement as deviant extremists, but the public nuisance paradigm considers the mode of protest in general as a bothersome, unpatriotic action against existing power structures (Di Cicco, 2010). Other

scholars have introduced principles in journalism to better discuss conflict in an effort to make the mass media less of an arena for conflict and more of a mediator for resolution. Thus, studies seek to understand how journalistic paradigms shift with time in the way media report social movement conflict (Lee & Maslog, 2005; Fong, 2009; Scanlan, Stoll, & Lumm, 2008).

While a plethora of studies address these various paradigms, few actually specify that the type of protest the studies focus on can determine the tone of coverage by the media. One study in particular addresses the activities of a Salvadorian social movement and the relationship to media coverage (Kowalchuk, 2009). Through a content analysis of newspaper articles on a protest against the privatization of health care in El Salvador, Kowalchuk (2009) uncovers various tactics—utilizing legislative and judicial arenas to address opposition—that garner more ideal protest coverage in favor of the social movement. This study reiterates that the norms of a country influence the reception of a type of protest by the media and the public (Kowalchuk, 2009; Wolfsfeld, 1984). However, narrowing the field to the hunger strike, little research on hunger strikes has been conducted except for an analysis of the 1981 North Ireland strike (Mulcahy, 1995), and a longitudinal study of hunger strikes in the news from 1906 to 2004 to generalize about salient characteristics of the strikes (Scanlan, Stoll, & Lumm, 2008). Mulcahy's (1995) study justifies research limited to a specific form of protest and region—hunger strike in India, for example.

The South Asian hunger strike is unique because of its connection to Gandhi's movement for *swaraj*, or self-rule from the British. Some scholars credit Gandhi with formally developing the hunger strike as a tactical mode of protest, although by no means inventing the method itself (Tarrow, 1998, p. 97; Sharp, 2005, p. 14). Gandhi's (1965) cultural context of India greatly affected the spiritual nuances he included in *Fasting in Satyagraha*. A hunger strike provides

additional intensity by connecting a protest to a religious institution because fasting typically arises as a devotional practice to a god (Wolfsfeld, 1984, p. 377). Religion enhances the tension of tradition versus modernity in how societal norms interplay with media coverage of a social movement. These societal norms signal a tension in the hegemonic order. Social movements naturally work to overturn an injustice in the ruling order of a society, and the ruling order characterizes hegemony by defining the preferred religion, race, economics, and politics of a nation. At question is how this potential tension between social protest and social norms in India plays out in the media. The institution of the Indian press begins within the nation's colonial history and independence struggle, marred in censorship by the British; conflicts from class, language, and geography; and economical failures in start-up publications. Even so, the media in India offered an arena of protest, but this research questions whether it still maintains this environment, at least in the context of a specific protest method.

This study applies social movement theories and conflict transformation principles to the well-established field of media framing through an analysis of Irom Sharmila's hunger strike in India. The hunger strike operates in a more peaceful, non-combative environment than other protest forms like rallies and occupations. Thus, news on a hunger strike might portray the movement as more organized and relevant to the nation's political climate. If this proves true, perhaps this signals a shift in the paradigms of protest coverage towards providing more information about the ability of the movement to affect change as predicted in other studies (DiCicco, 2010). With this possibility, this research attempts to reveal an enhanced journalistic paradigm more in line with the conflict transformation goals of peace journalism. In peace journalism, journalists try to serve as mediators when they report conflicts by presenting both sides of an issue and focusing on negotiations rather than disagreements (Lee & Maslog, 2005).

Because this research only addresses the Indian context, it is outside the scope of this project to generalize about protest paradigms cross-culturally. Nonetheless, the study contributes significant research to inform future studies that also understand the importance of examining the specific cultural qualities of specific nations and their protest struggles.

In order to uncover these possibilities in hunger strike research, this study explores several research questions in a quantitative content analysis. How does media coverage of nonviolent protest methods, namely hunger strikes, present information on social movements that targets conflict transformation in terms of escalation and constructiveness? Does the method of hunger strike elicit more robust coverage—versus identifying rudimentary information—of the instigating issues of a social movement, the proposed solution to these issues, and motivational steps for the public? How do geographical barriers of news coverage change the characteristics of social movement coverage in terms of issue framing and political opportunity information?

The purpose of this study is to examine the social movement organization frames incorporated into news on hunger strikes in the Indian press. Through a quantitative content analysis, the study explores the relationship between the framing characteristics of hunger strikes and variables related to political opportunity in strike coverage in Indian English-language newspapers, and by also exploring variables that pinpoint elements of the nature of conflict between parties as reported in media stories. These variables of framing, political opportunity, and conflict address the way social movements exploit current events to gain media attention and the way the media distract from the social movement's goals. This analysis helps to understand how the press cover hunger strikes as a form of protest according to existing journalistic paradigms and develops insight into elements of coverage unique to hunger strikes in India.

This study begins with a discussion of interdisciplinary theories related to media frames, social mobilization, and political opportunity to develop an overview of common framing techniques in the press. Following the theoretical background to this research, I expand on the methodological foundation for the study through conceptual measurements used in data collection. Addressing the results of the data collection incorporates a discussion of the findings in relationship to distinctive elements of Indian political society at a pivotal time in the developing democracy.

Chapter 2: Theory

From the perspective of globalization, India lies on the cusp of full democracy and industrialization. However, the nation faces systemic bureaucratic and political corruption and abusive military zones that repress the country's ability to lead in the global economy. Scholars argue that social movements seek to pressure a government towards a more democratic society, thus attempting to remedy issues like corruption and oppression. To understand the protest culture in India, I first discuss collective behavior as it advances social movement activity, with an emphasis on hunger strikes as a method of protest and an overview of Irom Sharmila's movement. Next, I provide the historical context of the role of the press in India, with a general discussion of the media's relationship to social movements. Last, I explain the methods by which social movement organizations utilize certain resources, strategies, and opportunities to bolster their goals through various social movement theories.

Collective Behavior

Studies on collective behavior explain how individuals emulate certain behaviors to create a collective culture (Turner & Killian, 1957; Cohen & Arato, 1994; Koopmans, 2007). Collective behavior can be as simple as imitating fashions, expressions, or language; can involve the spread of rumors; or can more proactively affect change through collective action. Tarrow (1998) reasons that collective action is a direct result of democratization because collective action seeks social change, often in governance. Collective action, according to Wolfsfeld (1984) allows fringe voices to accumulate, organize, and act (p. 365). Integral to the development of collective behavior and action is the communication of ideas, both in interpersonal conversations and information from mass media (Turner & Killian, 1957, p. 166).

Social movements are the epitome of collective action; they organize to address weak cultural systems (Machado, Scartascini, & Tommasi, 2011, p. 340). Collective action through protest ignites conflict with existing institutions. As a collective, communication with the opposition must be developed in various arenas because individualized interpersonal discussion is not possible with collective pressure. Media operate as an alternative conflict arena for a social movement to both challenge the existing system but offer less institutionalized practices to articulate a message (Machado, Scartascini, & Tommasi, 2011, p. 346; Wolfsfeld, 1984, p. 364). Noakes and Johnson (2005) stress how social movements organize in two ways (p. 1). Either elites embedded in the current system try to usurp power, or the public organizes resources and develops social networks to mobilize support and disseminate information (Noakes & Johnson, 2005, p. 1).

Collective action often involves what Sharp (2005) calls acute conflict (p. 14). In acute conflicts, the parties involved cannot, or will not, compromise because, in the case of social movement-generated conflict, the issues raised have significant influence on the cultural and political system, e.g., issues related to "freedom, justice, religion, one's civilization, or one's people" (Sharp, 2005, p. 14). To address acute conflict, action can follow two polar forms, violent or nonviolent. The method of action contributes significantly to how the media will report on the protest and how the public responds to the conflict. This study focuses on one example of nonviolent action among the 198 protest forms that Sharp (2005) labels as nonviolent (p. 50). Sharp (2005) outlines three motives for implementing nonviolent action: to symbolize oppression, to refuse cooperation, or to cause a disruption in the current social system (p. 19). Nonviolent action occurs in three forms: nonviolent protest and persuasion (picketing, wearing symbols, marches); noncooperation (boycotts, strikes); and nonviolent intervention (fasting,

occupation, sit-ins) (Sharp, 2005, p. 42). Depending on how a social movement chooses to

institute its protest method, the motivation for a nonviolent method can influence how the media

report about nonviolent tactics, and notably that even nonviolent protest garners media coverage

suggesting the method as a public disturbance (DiCiccio, 2010).

Hunger Strikes

While myriad forms of nonviolent actions exist, hunger strikes offer a unique way to

upset the status quo. Sharp (2005) includes the fast or hunger strike as a nonviolent intervention,

the hardest of the three forms of nonviolent action because of the challenge of maintaining

resistance and, from the opponent's side, ignoring the method (p. 62). The implicit method of

fasting unto death directly challenges normal human instinct for nourishment and survival, so

besides social issues addressed in a hunger strike movement, participants' actions directly

contradict cultural assumptions about the biological imperative for human survival (Scanlan,

Stoll, & Lumm, 2008, p. 283). This challenge to instinct has been institutionalized through laws

against suicide, thus normal behavior is conflated with socially sanctioned culture. In the

public's eye, institutions will develop a narrative of "deviance" to explain this counter-normative

behavior (Shoemaker, 1984). Mulcahy's (1995) research on the Irish prison strikes of 1981

provides the most focused scholarship on a hunger strike movement in the media, and Scanlan

and colleagues (2008) offer a more general analysis to define hunger strikes and pose future

research areas.

These latter researchers classify hunger strikes in three types: *satyagrahic* strikes, general

hunger strikes, and fast for moral pressure (Scanlan, Stoll, & Lumm, 2008, p. 278). Based on

Sharp's (1973) extensive analysis of nonviolent action in which he considers *the fast* as a broader

protest tactic, Scanlan and colleagues (2008) define the *satyagrahic* strike, the hunger strike, and

the fast for moral pressure on a continuum of morality. According to Gandhi's development of *satyagraha*, the fast should invoke moral pressure on the opposition and aim not only for the material reward sought in the protest but also to transform the conscience of the opponent through the human suffering in starvation (Scanlan, Stoll, & Lumm, 2008, p. 278). The hunger strike, using Sharp's (1973) term as a subset of the fast in protest, implements coercion to place shame and blame on an opponent for the suffering of the striker (Scanlan, Stoll, & Lumm, 2008, p. 278). The hunger strike in this case disregards the conscience of the opponent and only seeks the tangible reward but in the process attempts to rally moral sympathy from the public to pressure the opposition. Finally, the fast for moral pressure in a sense combines the *satyagrahic* fast and the hunger strike while imposing less life threatening measures to gain an objective (Scanlan, Stoll, & Lumm, 2008, p. 278). The fast for moral pressure is meant to change the moral attitude of an opponent but with less coercive means and without total moral transformation. The classifications are not mutually exclusive, and in all categories some level of moral decency targets either the opposition to respond or the public to further pressure the opposition.

Beyond this specific focus on moral pressure, hunger strike movements must operate under more stringent requirements in order to successfully instigate change. Whereas other forms of protests can organize and enact protest as a surprise, a hunger strike must issue a declaration to inform outsiders that something is happening because of the quiet, individualistic nature of the protest form (Scanlan, Stoll, & Lumm, 2008, p. 279). The timeframe of a hunger strike influences the amount of pressure the movement can exert. Thus, if the movement wants demands to be met by the opposition, a strike unto death will force not only the social issue on the agenda but also the survival of the striker (Scanlan, Stoll, & Lumm, 2008, p. 280). As a

symbolic struggle, the hunger strike can determine a start and finish date, but this tactic does not place the urgency of resolve that a fast unto death does.

The hunger strike pushes nonviolent intervention on the movement's opponent to an extreme limit bordering on coerciveness. Sharp (2005) explains that the intervention can have psychological, social, physical, and economic effects, and the hunger strike occupies the realm of psychological intervention (p. 403). However, it is not limited to the psychological realm. The hunger strike, when successful in reaching goals set by a social movement, only forces the opponent to respond rather than actually transforming the opinion and issue by reaching common ground for change (Sharp, 2005, p. 404). Often, a social movement turns to the method of hunger strike as a last resort against an oppressive system threatening civilian identities and exploiting vulnerabilities (Scanlan, Stoll, & Lumm, 2008, p. 310; Walsh & Tsilimpounidi, 2012, p. 93). In two ways, the method affects the opposition and the public. For the opposition, coercive pressure comes from the double bind: either the hunger strike is successful and the opposition is defeated, or the protester publically dies (Peterson, 2001, p. 77). To negotiate these negative repercussions, oftentimes the opposition will instigate the repression of the hunger striker (Sharp, 2005, p. 410). The public may witness this act of repression through media coverage of the conflict and increase pressure on the opposition, calling for an intervention to the conflict (Sharp, 2005, p. 410). However, the public might also respond in support of the opposition, seeing the repressive response as a life-saving effort to counter the protester's destructive behavior against the "normal" physiological tendency of self-preservation.

Indian Hunger Strike

The hunger strike is historically successful in India as a protest method (Koopmans, 2007). Gandhi (1965) developed criteria under which the hunger strike would be an appropriate

form of political protest. Accordingly, firm religious faith is crucial to successfully undergoing a fast unto death for social change (Gandhi, 1965, p. 7). Unlike as previously noted the necessity of media coverage of a hunger strike, Gandhi (1965) believed the strike should be a quiet, non-aggressive form, asserting that publicity defeats the purpose of the fast, unless the fast is in reaction to imprisonment or governmental suppression (p. 29). While Gandhi asserts moralistic terms for the hunger strike, the government adopts a more pragmatic definition of the fast-unto-death as a threat to human life and has institutionalized the nonviolent action as an attempt to commit suicide. Under Section 309 of the Indian Penal Code, an attempt to commit suicide can receive a maximum of one year of incarceration (Mathur, 2012, p. 39). Reasoned as a way to protect its citizenry even from itself, it is seen as a repressive law against nonviolent action like the hunger strike (Mathur, 2012, p. 39). However, historically, the charges against hunger strike protesters tend to be negotiated with the government. The government might grant the hunger striker two weeks to fast on the grounds of free speech rights and in the interim search for feasible compromises to propose to the social movement.

Indian hunger strike movements have not abided by Gandhi's principle of the quiet, reflective fast, and in recent years, social movements have launched media blitzes surrounding their hunger strikes. The hunger strikes of Anna Hazare against political corruption in 2011-12 best demonstrate the media frenzy around the nonviolent interventionist fast. Kumar (2004), in explaining the journalistic news-gathering practices in India, notes that among a list of stories that makes news, a fast-unto-death draws the journalist packs (p. 70). Major news outlets provided daily health updates and op-eds questioning the legitimacy of the method of hunger strike and the feasibility of his proposed anti-corruption legislation. Other fasts-unto-death have demanded the end of dam construction in the Northeast states, the formation of new states on

linguistic bases, and the end to military rule. Anna Hazare's fast created a media narrative for nearly one month (from the announcement of nonviolent action to the compromise reached by the government and its aftermath), but meanwhile Irom Sharmila's hunger strike has surpassed the world record as the longest fast-unto-death and, though largely outside the media's constant gaze, occupies some news space each year. Irom Sharmila instigated her hunger strike on November 4, 2000, against the national government's military policy in Manipur and other states known as the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958. In the decade to follow, Sharmila's dogged strike is symbolically covered once a year, around the time of her arrest.

The hunger strike of Irom Sharmila

As Machado, Scartascini, and Tommasi (2011) point out, corruption in the government creates an ideal conflict arena for protests to organize for social change. The Indian military notoriously engages in allegedly corrupt practices. The army presence dominates the political and social environments in the border regions in India's northeast and northwest corners where disputes over land rights derive from myriad conflicts: border wars with China and Pakistan; refugee influx from Bangladesh, Burma, and Bhutan; threats of secession by insurgent groups; and cases of ethnic cleansing due to economic aid to tribal communities (Mathur, 2012, p. 36; Chakravarti, 2010, p. 47, 51). The Indian government has administered martial law in these regions that the government labels "disturbed," or so dangerous as to require military intervention for local governance, under the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 (AFSPA) (Mathur, 2012, p. 35). Preventative detention is part of the special powers conferred to the military that concern targeting suspicious persons and seizing weapons before "crimes" are committed. Therefore, the armed forces can use whatever means necessary to detain suspicious individuals, including fatally shooting, without an official warrant. In finding and destroying

weapons, the military can search property without warrant and destroy any property suspected as a store for weapons (Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958). Other provisions of the act require army officers to turn over arrested people to the local police, an effort to allow local governance to remain functional. Finally, AFSPA institutes restrictions on civilians, namely criminalizing the gathering of more than five people in public.

Sharmila's fast-unto-death sparked from an incident partially derived from this latter provision. The Malom Massacre on November 2, 2000, involved the army shooting ten civilians at a local bus stand and in nearby fields, instigated by a non-fatal detonation at the Assam Rifles base and on suspicion of terrorist activity in the illegal gathering of ten people (Mathur, 2012, p. 38). Two days later, Sharmila declared her intention of an indefinite fast against AFSPA (Dobhal, 2009, p. 254), and two weeks later, government repression set in when Sharmila was arrested for attempt to commit suicide (Dobhal, 2009, p. 249). Sharmila demands for the complete repeal of AFSPA from Manipur and any other Indian states and has become during her decade of fasting and noncompliance ever more unwilling to discuss a compromise (Dobhal, 2009, p. 254). Because she maintains her fast while imprisoned, the government has resorted to force-feeding Sharmila through a nasal feeding tube (Mathur, 2012, p. 39) and housing her in solitary confinement in a local hospital ward (Gaikwad, 2009). She is conscious and mentally and physically able to function because of the force-feeding, so Sharmila continues to promote the campaign from her confinement. The progression of the movement follows an annual cycle in which Sharmila completes the maximum sentence under the IPC's Section 309, the government releases Sharmila, Sharmila continues her hunger strike in a public place, and the government promptly rearrests her. Her hunger strike is promoted, supported, and organized by several local NGOs, most prominently the Just for Peace Foundation (JFP).

Sharmila's hunger strike demonstrates Sharp's (2005) concept of "political ju-jitsu" in acts of nonviolent intervention (p. 406), and the government's reaction of force-feeding Sharmila may have furthered Sharmila's strategic coercion. Sharmila now embodies the oppression of the government in Manipur through her permanent feeding tube lodged in her nasal cavity. However, while her fast was meant to persuade the government to finally reexamine the military state they had created years ago for security that created a miserable culture of fear and violence, it failed to coerce the government to act and repeal the law because of their repressive response. At this point, public pressure will have to intervene in the conflict between Sharmila and the government, but the public must be informed. Media attention has been called upon, and lamented, in disseminating information about AFSPA and Sharmila's fast (Lacina, 2009, p. 1019; Raginibala & Hanjabam, 2011, p. 2; Mathur, 2012, p. 36, 39)

Conflict

The protest strategy of hunger strike engages in contentious politics, but an important aspect in understanding the conflict surrounding the movement notes that the hunger strike does not inherently create an intractable conflict situation against an opponent. Conflicts exist in a cycle (Tidwell, 1998, p. 72; Kriesberg & Dayton, 2012, p. 8), and contention can play a role in the entire process. The most basic iteration of this cycle is a moment of emergence that then escalates into a seemingly intractable conflict that eventually will deescalate from some implemented process and then transforms to later reemerge in some other form of conflict (Kriesberg & Dayton, 2012, p. 8).
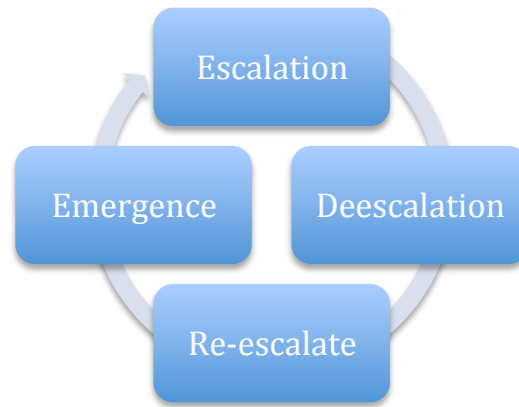
Figure 1

A social movement as a conflict situation against a government entity can, for example, be either an instigator of the conflict or a party interested in transforming an existing conflict. Raising an issue against the government, the social movement can emerge to escalate the tension in an attempt to force the government to react; for example, Occupy Wall Street spotlighted a dormant tension in the social system of the United States and attempted to escalate a conflict against the government to inspire a change in economic and social policy. On the other hand, a social movement can emerge at a volatile moment in an already existing conflict as a way to try to deescalate the conflict and instigate constructive conflict negotiation. War protests can represent this second type of movement, an attempt to step in to an existing combat conflict in order to try to deescalate warfare. However, war protests can seem aggressive and combative, perhaps confusing the idea of de-escalation. This pinpoints an important consideration of these two steps in conflict transformation. Escalation isn't always negative, and de-escalation isn't always positive. Conflict transformation scholars refer to two classifications: constructive and destructive (de)escalation.

As mentioned above, conflicts involve multiple parties, and media almost always play a role as third parties, if not a main party to some conflicts. Social movements must cautiously

implement media relations in their strategy for their benefit (Wolfsfeld, 1984, p. 364; McCluskey, 2008). While the social movement organization can provide valid and substantive information regarding the conflicting issues to the media, the media possess the freedom to frame the information in ways that cater to the media organizations' views or to government agendas (Gitlin, 1980, p. 251). In this way, media ought to serve as a mediator to conflict transformation and bypass the idea of neutrality in reporting. Similarly, media might be responsible to represent the underdog social movements against the powers in contest (Mulcahy, 1995).

In analyzing coverage of the Irish hunger strike, Mulcahy (1995) was concerned by the lack of direct support expressed in the extensive, critical coverage of the strike and the government's reaction (p. 463). This conclusion raises questions as to how the hunger strike may pose unique modes of coverage to allow journalists to articulate support. No matter which stance a journalist should take in his or her coverage, in order to recommend a journalistic routine for how to handle conflicts involving social movements, an examination of how journalists are currently covering social movement conflicts can set the bar for change. Most importantly and emphasized throughout this research, the cultural context should be clarified because, while Shoemaker and Cohen (2006) found that journalists in various countries actually agree on what should make the news, this does not necessarily translate into a universal routine for reporting (p. 337).

As Matthes (2009) finds, conflict is the most frequently explored concept in media frames (p. 356), but rather than interpreting this finding as a deterrent from studying *conflict*, it is an important concept to include in this study and expand into new aspects of conflict that align with conflict transformation research. Lee and Maslog's (2005) study on war and peace

journalism articulates the potential for media to transition from the typical role played in war journalism to an actor to negotiate conflict between parties, especially noting war journalism's position in social movement reporting (p. 316). The researchers reference Galtung's (1986, 1989) definition of war journalism focused on elites, victories in war or violent conflicts, and propaganda (in Lee & Maslog, 2005, p. 314). This study differs from Lee and Maslog (2005) in that what is of interest is not the type of conflict with which the news associate the social movement and government's relationship but rather how the news signal various stages of the conflict. In this way, the study attempts to discover ways that the media adopt the true role as "mediator" to aid in conflict transformation. Conflict transformation, as noted earlier in this section, does not mean conflict solution. It is an attempt to move past intractability.

<div align="center">**Social Movement Theory**</div>

As mentioned in the discussion of hunger strikes, certain protest methods have specific elements that make them a successful means to gain social change. Sharp (2005) explains that a well-planned method consciously incorporates the abilities of the protester and the weaknesses of the opposition, and a social movement will use a combination of methods to maximize the use of protesters' strengths and opponent's vulnerabilities (p. 43-44). Social movement theories generally articulate three areas of importance for social movements to effectively organize: resource mobilization, strategic capacity, and political opportunity.

Resource mobilization theory discusses the economic ability of a social movement organization to organize support for an issue and pressure on the government, focusing on the internal processes of the organization and less on the participants' contributions to the movement (Koopmans, 2007; Rucht, 2007, p. 710). Resources considered necessary for a social movement include leadership, money, political allies, public support, cultural resonance, and media

attention. The *strategic capacity* of a social movement continues to examine the internal operations of an organization in the use of mobilized resources to directly confront the opposition, (Ganz, 2005), "turning what we have into what we need" (Ganz, 2000, p. 1010). Elements of strategic capacity include the leadership qualifications of certain participants in the movement, organization in terms of democratic processes to include all participants, salient information of the local environment harboring the conflict, heuristics that acknowledge the diversity and creative ways to use local information, and motives that determine why a method of protest appropriately addresses the issue (Ganz, 2000, pp. 1011-1014). While resource mobilization and strategic capacity reveal internal objectives of a social movement organization, *political opportunity* considers the external forces that can aid or jeopardize effective protest: access to the political environment, party affiliations surrounding the issue, elite tensions because of the issue, and allies related to the issue (Tarrow, 1998/2011).

This distinction between internal and external forces poses important consequences to the study of media framing of social movement organizations. Ideally, media coverage delves into not only the witnessed activities of protest movements but also information directly sourced from organizers of the movement. While journalists may not always have complete access to information about the internal operations, they can report on aspects of the social movement organization that suggests that the group possesses or lacks some components of strategic capacity. This inclusion or exclusion can greatly affect the public perception of the social movement organization. In the study of a hunger strike, a method that isolates the focus of the social movement from a group to an individual on fast, the external forces of political opportunity gain importance in media coverage because less attention is paid to the movement organization. Political opportunity variables become the important qualifications to demonstrate

the ability of the individual on hunger strike and the group(s) associated with the person to understand their political environment to take advantage of opportune times to demand change. Having acknowledged the three main parts to protest organization, moving forward this study takes a deeper analysis of political opportunity in order to examine how political opportunity can manifest in news coverage.

Political opportunity

Tarrow (2011) points out that political opportunity does not have to be thought of as formal, institutional structures in the government but rather a consistent component of the political environment (p. 163). Political opportunity occurs through changes in the political system that provide citizens with more open channels to confront the government or through new divisions of power. Social movement organizations can take advantage of changes in political opportunity but do not usually have their own strategy to improve the political condition (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004, pp. 1457-8). Meyer and Minkoff (2004) conclude that political opportunity can exist in many forms, but in order to be graspable opportunities, they must translate to specific goals of the social movement and therefore relate to the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames of the movement. (p. 1483).

Tarrow (2011) designates four areas of political opportunity: access, party alignment, divided elites, and allies. Access grants individuals the ability to exercise political rights, for example voting, but Tarrow (2011) warns that some repression of rights is necessary for social movements to emerge (p. 165). A fully open political system will have avenues to address change that do not require protest, whereas fully closed systems are too repressive to allow people to overcome fear of repercussions (Tarrow, 2011, p. 165). A shift in party politics offers another avenue for social movements to take advantage of political opportunity. A change in

political alignments signals a level of dissatisfaction with party leaders and party policy; therefore, social movements can take advantage of these sentiments and weakening party power to try to assert their own power over the political agenda (Tarrow, 2011, p. 165). Tensions among the elites operate in much the same way. Rather than the social movement taking control, elites who have dissented with the general elite political and economic thought may try to align with the cause of the movement to transform into a representative of the common cause (Tarrow, 2011, p. 166). With elite support, social movements gain legitimacy (Scanlan, Stoll, & Lumm, 2008, p. 301; Kowalchuk, 2009, p. 114). Finally, while Tarrow (2011) characterizes the rise in allies to the movement with "influential" individuals, his description does not necessarily mean elites to the cause but any group that has a stake in the issue (p. 166). In Sharmila's case, influential allies would include the general population of Imphal, Manipur. While this study relies on Tarrow's (1998) development of political opportunity through several studies, Kowalchuk (2009) proposes that an element of political opportunity is media support (p. 114). Therefore, I assume media support, understood not necessarily as media coverage that is pro-Sharmila but the willingness to cover the anti-AFSPA movement, as inherent when looking at articles that have covered Sharmila.

Considering how these frames of political opportunity can be applied to Sharmila's movement, the following are four examples of access, party alignment, elite tension, and allies. It is important to recall that political opportunity does not directly need to refer to the movement; these are external forces that can be utilized by the social movement organization. As mentioned, access mainly deals with the right to vote, although access can also mean receiving permission to submit a bill before a legislative assembly. In an article discussing Sharmila's hunger strike, an example of access would be, "The Act and the diehard rights activist become part of Manipur's

political discourse during elections, but are forgotten once the last vote is cast."[*] Party alignment surrounding Sharmila's movement might pertain to her fast or to the overall issue against AFSPA. For example from an article in *The Statesman*, "He told the Assembly that the government had so far spent Rs 2,39,425 to forcefully feed her through the nose. No persuasion has worked and Opposition parties suggest defence minister George Fernandes intervene immediately."[†] This deals with the Opposition parties putting new pressure on a leader. Elite tension can deal with politicians but also can include celebrities, artists, the wealthy, and the educated. An example in connection to Sharmila's movement mentions an actress, referred to as a theatre activist in the article: "A mono act performance on Irom Sharmila is being held in the city by Ojas Suniti Vijay, a theatre activist from Pune."[‡] Finally, looking at allies, a sentence taken from the an *Assam Tribune* article shows allies to the movement as groups, so allies can take the form of individuals, like the elites mentioned before, or groups expressing support. "Several NGOs have launched a nation-wide programmes [*sic*] of sit-in protest, signature campaign and silent protest to support Irom Sharmila's decade-long struggle against the controversial Armed Forces (Special) Powers Act 1958."[§] These demonstrate how political opportunity can be written about in articles related to the movement and show a range of styles in which the opportunity variable relates directly to Sharmila's fast or is an exterior condition to the movement.

Meyer and Minkoff (2004) warn that political opportunity that is beneficial for the social movement cannot be divorced from the same opportunities that affect other political arenas acting independent of the movement like policy change (p. 1462). While an important

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[*] Sharma, K. J. & Sunil, O. (2012, Jan. 12). Why AFSPA still isn't the key poll issue in Manipur. *Times of India*.
[†] (2003, July 21). Braveheart II. *The Statesman*.
[‡] (2011, Jan. 29). Mono act performance on Irom Sharmila's struggle. *The Hindu*.
[§] (2011, Sept. 26). Silent rally in Bangalore to support Sharmila. *Assam Tribune*.

consideration, this does not impede the analysis of political opportunity for social movements in the media. The researchers also assert that movements capitalize on political opportunity in more general ways, for example election times and political party rallies, rather than on opportunities that target the more general issue of protest (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004, p. 1478). This point reasserts the appropriateness of analyzing general political opportunity variables in relation to Sharmila's hunger strike. Chenoweth and Lewis (2013), in developing a dataset of nonviolent campaigns that attempts to explain the conditions that initiate nonviolent movements, determine that there may be contextual environmental conditions that influence action in nonviolent or violent ways (p. 416). An advantage to their research is their focus on campaigns rather than on individual protest events (Chenoweth & Lewis, 2013, p. 417), therefore their conclusions are more appropriate to Sharmila's movement that is viewed more as a campaign than a single protest because of the longevity of the struggle. However, the researchers conclude that nonviolent action develops in unfavorable political climates, thus the political opportunities may not foster openness to the nonviolent campaigns' goals (p. 422). Chenoweth and Lewis (2013) call for further research into the political catalysts of nonviolent protest (p. 422).

The challenge in Irom Sharmila's anti-AFSPA movement is the longevity of the protest, the fact that the movement, after twelve years, continues through changing political environments. In an analysis of the 2005 French riots, within a three-week span of time, the diagnostic and prognostic frames that reported information from the movement diminished over time (Snow, Vliegenthart, & Corrigall-Brown, 2007, pp. 408-9). Whereas this study considers social movement frames, political opportunity frames have not been explored in this context and may show similar findings. For Sharmila's movement, timeliness poses a major challenge to any frame reporting.

The Indian Press

The Indian press boasts a more than 250-year history, beginning with *Hickey's Bengal Gazette* first published in 1780 (Ninan, 2007, p. 33; Kumar, 2004, p. 61), but the press today largely derived from revolutionary press starting in the late 1800s through the independence movement in the 1920s to 1940s from the British. Even before the independence movement the press of India aimed to spread oppositional sentiment against the East India Company in the *Bengal Gazette* (Agrawal, 1970, p. 15). The press system in India has seen two phases. Originally, the press served as a space for literary writing (Ninan, 2007, p. 37), but by the late nineteenth century, the press published political and social essays, what Ninan (2007) refers to as propaganda (p. 38). As Indian revolutionary thought developed and the desire for independence from the British appeared a realistic goal, the papers and its journalists acted to promote these campaigns (Ninan, 2007, p. 62; Agrawal, 1970, p. 15, 19).

The English-language press' attitudes about nationalism were substantially different from the revolutionary Hindi and other indigenous language publications promoting Indian sovereignty (Kumar, 2004, p. 64). The English-language Indian press readership consisted of British and English-speaking Indian elites and were run by British officials, like the *Times of India* and *The Pioneer*, which began in the 1860s (Kumar, 2004, p. 64; Agrawal, 1970, p. 43). Even still, English-educated Indians critically examined the work of the British imperialists, with English-language papers founded to serve as what Sisir Kumar Ghosh, a press entrepreneur, considered the prime instrument to oppose the ruling institution (Agrawal, 1970, p. 48). In the 1870s, the *Statesman* and the *Hindu* began publication to spread the objective of Indian national rule (Agrawal, 1970, p. 48-9). The press began to pay attention to the independence movement although their stance on Gandhi's noncooperation movement of the early 1920s varied with the

Anglo-Indian press opposing the movement while others wholeheartedly supported it (Agrawal, 1970, pp. 147-8). During this time, the press shifted to daily publication (p. 217). Political groups established newspapers to spread their message. *Hindustan Times* served as the Swaraj (self-rule) Party's political press in northern India (Kumar, 2004, p. 65), and *The Indian Express* was developed in response to repressive laws against free speech (p. 66). Despite the revolutionary atmosphere that the newspapers operated under, scholars note that the press in the 1930s maintained a fair-minded voice in emphasizing the need for non-violent, peaceful procedures to address the conflict between the movement and the British (Agrawal, 1970, p. 179; Kumar, 2004, p. 66).

From its inception as the *Bengal Gazette*, the Indian press has faced censorship laws under British rule and as a sovereign state. *Hickey's Bengal Gazette* received a postal ban from the British in 1780 for distributing information abusing the character of English settlers in Calcutta (Agarwal, 1970, p. 24; Kumar, 2004, p. 64), and the government required that the editors of any newspaper publish their name and address so that they could be found if the government opposed the papers' content (p. 27). On multiple occasions, starting in 1799, newspapers had to abide by pre-censorship rules so that the British could thwart any information against their rule, which has often been implemented by the Indian government since independence as a ploy to maintain peace (p. 25, 27).

The original Indian Press Act took effect in 1910, financially ruining many publications with stringent publishing fees serving as collateral against the newspapers that might print incriminating information about the government (Kumar, 2004, p. 65). In 1931, the British government passed the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act to suppress the independence movement, and in the first 35 years of the twentieth century in India, the government enforced 16

press laws to limit the spread of information through the news (Agrawal, 1970, p. 192) This legislation criminalized the publication of the names and images of movement leaders in the hopes that impeding this information in the newspapers would prevent readers from sympathizing with the movements (Agrawal, 1970, p. 181). Unfortunately, independence would not bring about full press freedom (Kumar, 2004, pp. 66-7). The Indian Constitution today places eight limitations on free expression, including the press; these include issues with national sovereignty, security, international relations, decency, and defamation (Kumar, 2004, p 80). The censorship laws hampered the development of the newspaper industry for some time by making it illegal for businesses to run advertisements in the revolutionary publications (Agrawal, 1970, p. 212).

The Associated Press in India began in 1905 to combat a monopoly on government information by the *Pioneer* during British imperialism (Agrawal, 1970, p. 76). From then, the newspaper industry became commercialized because the government no longer controlled the operations and stories of the press, allowing more inexpensive means to cover the news for Indian journalists (p. 77). However, the Indian press would eventually reject Western newswires like the AP in order to create its own world news service in 1932, the Free Press of India (Agrawal, 1970, p. 187; Kumar, 2004, p. 66). The Free Press of India news agency eventually collapsed, replaced by the United Press of India, then the Press Trust of India (PTI) (Agrawal, 1970, p. 188; Kumar, 2004, p. 103). Today, PTI and the United News of India (UNI) serve as the major news agencies for India, and PTI now has formal relationships with Reuters and the AP (Kumar, 2004, pp. 103-4). The Press Council of India has attempted to develop a code of ethics for journalists to uphold in covering news in India (Kumar, 2004, p. 84).

Contemporary press ownership has folded into conglomerate publications, with individuals and industrial houses owning the lion's share of major English-language newspapers, and industrial houses monopolize the press system by creating niche publications that cater to news consumers and specialized groups of readers (Kumar, 2004, p. 97). The largest industrial house in India is the Times of India group, run by Bennet, Coleman and Company, Ltd., under the ownership of the Sahu Jain family[*], followed by real estate mogul Ramnath Goenka's industrial house Indian Express group. Rounding out the three largest publication ownership groups is the Birla family's Hindustan Times group (Kumar, 2004, pp. 97-8). Goenka and Birla represent two major elite industrial families in India. Kumar (2004) laments this ownership triad as an impediment to editorial journalism that generates a range of opinions and ideas through the news (p. 98).

The press in India, regardless of language, tends to also espouse political affiliations sometimes based on editors' political status or from historical roots. The *Times of India*, *Hindustan Times*, *Indian Express*, and the *Assam Tribune* are labeled as *centrist* newspapers at some level biased towards the UPA (United Progressive Alliance), a group of parties mainly controlled by the Indian National Congress Party currently in power (Prasanna, 2011). A more leftist paper leaning towards the Communist Party of India (Marxist) is *The Hindu*, while on the right, *The New Indian Express* and *The Pioneer* tend to support the National Democratic Alliance that includes parties like the BJP and Shiv Sena. The editor-in-chief of *The Pioneer* Chandan Mitra is a legislative member of the Rajya Sabha for the BJP. *The Statesman* is reportedly a left wing paper (Thakur, 2013).

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[*] Retrieved from http://www.timesgroup.com/bccl/history.html.

Print publications top other media in advertising revenue, and advertisers target the English-language press in which the highest advertisement revenue is generated (Kumar, 2004, Preface). To gain more advertising revenue, the major publications began to localize their news, including in local languages to attract advertisers and local businesses (Ninan, 2007, p. 96). Advertisers and editors knew that readers had an interest in their own local area and its news and capitalized on that interest to sell their products (Ninan, 2007, p. 96, 118). However, besides advertising revenues, the localization of news reframed the responsibility of journalism to the public. Ninan (2007) describes the rise of citizen journalism in the local reader markets, whereas publications expanded to smaller and smaller localities, locals took the lead on the coverage (p. 114), even to the point of villagers submitting news to the papers about local events (p. 115). This news tended to target the middle class (Ninan, 2007, p. 145). Ninan (2007) suggests that local journalism developed stronger democratization, and the media actually served as a watchdog of local institutions (p. 108). Contemporary local news does not ensure that in-depth reporting on issues would reach the newspaper pages. Content is often dramatic and episodic with little contextual background to understand why events or issues are happening (Ninan, 2007, p. 124, 127). However, some people expect that the news should report more than just an event and analyze the issue in a critical way (p. 126). Even worse, local news limits the ability of movements to spread beyond local arenas to the state and nation because whereas the local news reaches the local readership, it is not disseminated to a wider audience (Ninan, 2007, p. 258).

Framing

This study examines the framing in press coverage of a social movement implementing the method of hunger strike. Having established the relationship of the social movement to media, framing examines how media publicize their relationships to the social movement. Reese

(2001) asserts that framing differs from agenda setting in that framing reveals a dialogue between the media and the movement over the legitimate concern for an issue (p. 8). While the social movement can attempt to affect the coverage of its protest, the media have the ultimate freedom to offer whatever information they consider appropriate for the public and through whatever tone they choose and can even choose to support or oppose the issue at stake. Both the social movement and the media produce frames, sometimes informed by each other and sometimes created without consulting the movement organization or without keeping the media coverage in mind. This section details the collision of frames between the media and social movement strategies for gaining optimal coverage and media reporting in different frames.

News framing can derive from media organizations' agenda setting processes in that the organization establishes social and institutional structures that become commonplace to the public over time. From these structures, framing contextualizes information to define how events adhere to social principles (Reese, 2001, p. 11). Frames point out the root of social problems, suggest ways to think about social issues, and propose solutions to deal with these issues (Harlow & Johnson, 2011, p. 1361). Journalists engage in the process of framing when they narrate an event to the public (Gamson, 1989, p. 157), but they are not puppeteers who determine social thought, because although they insert frames in the news, the public can decode the frames in unintended ways (Reese, 2001, pp. 12-3; Broersma, 2010, p. 16). In fact, the socio-cultural environment of a journalist can greatly affect how he or she chooses to present a story (Broersma, 2010, p. 16). Frames exist in two categories: cognitive and cultural. Cognitive frames create dichotomies in understanding issues, for example, presenting an issue as positive or negative or as episodic or thematic (Reese, 2001, p. 12), and cultural frames function with social thought to develop meaning and understanding, for example, strategic frames that define

problems and solutions to issues (p. 13; Gamson, 1989, p. 161). Another central aspect of

framing is what is ignored in coverage when the information is readily available (Gamson, 1989,

p. 158; Reese, 2001, p. 19; Carragee & Roefs, 2004, p. 217).

Framing processes are not limited to the media, and the media alone do not determine the

cultural resonance of frames. This develops from a conglomeration of information from the

government, business, religious groups, and social movements, among others (Carragee & Roefs,

2004, p. 216). Social movements frame in similar ways to the media. Benford and Snow (2000)

stress framing's interpretive component that either adheres to existing cultural norms or

challenges them in controversial ways, eventually reconstituting social thought to evolve toward

new frames (p. 614). Carragee and Roefs (2004) caution against viewing frames as only

information channels interpreted through cultural contexts but to understand frames as tools to

gain power (p. 215).

Media frames

Previously mentioned in the introduction to this study, the media frames used in protest

coverage have transitioned over time. Gitlin (1980) fundamentally established the research on

protest frames and reveals that the coverage of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in 1965

portrayed the student protesters as social deviants arousing petty trouble and ignored the

organization's earlier ideological mission. Their media coverage changed over time to negative

coverage that ignored most of the issues. Leaders became celebrities and co-opted media

coverage to bolster their own careers and agendas. As support grew, newer protesters from more

diverse and distanced groups from the original ideological core of SDS worked against the

values of the movement. Shoemaker (1984) used this idea to show that media report protests as

deviant behaviors in order to help maintain the hegemonic system (p. 66). Shoemaker and Cohen

(2006) define three categories of deviance—normative, social change, and statistical—that media include when depicting the social movement as divergent from social objectives of the powerful.

Chan and Lee (1984) defined the *protest paradigm* as the journalistic principles by which reporters write social movements in deviant terms (in McLeod & Detenber, 1999, p. 3). Following the protest paradigm, the *public nuisance* paradigm describes the social movement tactics as disruptive to the society (Di Cicco, 2010, p. 136). Di Cicco (2010) outlines three characteristics of the public nuisance paradigm: bothersome (in the public's opinion), impotent (unproductive protest form), and unpatriotic (harmful to the nation) (p. 137). Although not limited to protest conflict, the principles of war and peace journalism show ways in which media can contribute to the conflict between two entities or how media can adopt perspectives that aid in resolution (Lee & Maslog, 2005). While this final paradigm of peace journalism suggests a subjective frame in a social movement conflict that will aid the protest, scholars believe media are transitioning to more neutral coverage that does not indicate support or objection (McCluskey, 2008; Smith, McCarthy, McPhail, & Augustyn, 2001). Gitlin (1980) cautions that objectivity does not indicate a fairness in reporting but rather an adherence to corporate relationships by the avoidance of critical stances against the system (p. 282). Bennett and Livingston (2003) believe the state of objectivity is changing: journalists still function under highly routine practices in following official rules but are gaining the freedom to criticize the system through coverage of political and protest events (p. 359).

Harlow and Johnson (2011) considered the question of how the paradigms used in news coverage might be changing with the addition of social media through a content analysis of news about the Arab Spring, combining a sample of the mainstream media source *The New York Times*, a Twitter feed of one of its contributors, and the more blog-like website Global Voices.

They conclude that online media, although flawed in covering protest, demonstrate the potential ways in which a new paradigm of protest coverage can emerge and asserts that mainstream outlets like *The New York Times* will have to consider how to transition from the protest paradigm (p. 1370). The Indian media system in terms of online coverage is not as predominant as the United States, but the conclusion of Harlow and Johnson (2011) establishes that mainstream print outlets can also learn from the shift in online coverage. Therefore, it is useful for this study to hypothesize that protest paradigms can change and perhaps are changing in Indian print coverage of hunger strikes.

The above journalistic paradigms provide basic constructs of media frames, but in media coverage, protest framing demonstrates specific characteristics. Media frames of protest typically focus more on the institution responsible for causing the protest rather than on the protest organization itself (Machado, Scartascini, & Tommasi, 2011, p. 357). In a love triangle between the protest, media, and public, the protest group needs media in order to communicate with the public, and likewise the public needs media to know about the movement. McCluskey (2008) would argue that media only need the public for readership and thus can frame protests in whatever way they choose (p. 769). However, as mentioned in the previous section on the Indian press, Ninan (2007) notes that the demand by readers for more local news made the media dependent on the public for news stories about the local happenings. The ideal frame for media to draw an audience will be shocking and episodic (Ninan, 2007, pp. 124, 127; Noakes & Johnson, 2005, p. 19; Smith, et al., 2001, p. 1404; Wolfsfeld, 1984, p. 365). Whereas thematic framing informs the reader about the issue, episodic framing expounds a dramatic narrative story, focusing on single events rather than the big picture (Smith, et al., 2001, p. 1404), although in the local Indian press, the public desires more analysis on the issue (Ninan, 2007, p. 126).

Another underlying characteristic in media frames involves media economy. Media must adhere to the principles of their audience and financial support, thus the framing of certain issues will follow the opinions of the media corporation (Kowalchuk, 2009, p. 111; McCluskey, 2008, p. 769). This effect on framing demonstrates the idea that protest coverage must conform to hegemony in order to gain supportive reporting from media.

Cultural influences of a society contribute to the production of media frames (Boyle, McLeod, & Armstrong, 2012; Kowalchuk, 2009; Noakes & Johnston, 2005; Wolfsfeld, 1984). The location of the protest, noted earlier as an important tactical consideration of the social movement organization, can affect framing. The norms of a country inform how media report protests (Kowalchuk, 2009, p. 111). However, this situation may be changing with the globalization of news. Snow and his colleagues (2007) found in an analysis of the French riots of 2005 that the proximity of the publication—local, national, or international—from the event did not significantly change the social movement frames (discussed in the next section) of the protest in the newspapers (p. 408). Group identities in a culture also influence the media frames (Noakes & Johnston, 2005, p. 14), and the political institutions operating in a society can dictate what frames can be instituted (p. 20). Attributes within a society thus determine unique possibilities for protest coverage in various cultures. A study of protest frames in India explores multiple cultural features like government, tradition, and social class to understand the distinctive media paradigms adopted for hunger strikes.

Social movement frames

Social movement organizations possess some ability to inform how the media report on the movement's protest tactics, although they have little control of what ultimately gets communicated (Smith, McCarthy, McPhail, & Augustyn, 2001; Wolfsfeld, 1984). Smith and

colleagues (2001) argue that the leaders of a movement must build an agenda that can attract attention but that can withstand the media's depiction of the movement (Smith, et al., 2001, p. 1400). The social movement must legitimize the protest by creating a positive image that resonates throughout the public and media (Mulcahy, 1995, p. 450). Certain strategies of the social movement will influence the media coverage (Boyle, McLeod, & Armstrong, 2012). Extremism as a method of conflict inherently offers drama for the media but risks negative publicity (Boyle, McLeod, & Armstrong, 2012, p. 129), and simple considerations like the location and timing of the protest can alter the news coverage for media accessibility (p. 138). In terms of hunger strikes, social movement organization should be aware that the mode of protest in this case earns more interest from the media than the individual striker; in other words, the novelty of fasting to death may dim the focus on the striker and on the basic issue of the movement (Scanlan, Stoll, & Lumm, 2008, p. 297).

The aim of a social movement group in framing the protest should be to isolate the issue from extraneous details about the protest (Noakes & Johnston, 2005, p. 2). Smith and colleagues (2001) explain that social movements must meet a delicate balance between giving media fodder for dramatic coverage and offering a sustainable message that the media can use long-term throughout the movement (p. 1402). Snow and Benford (1988) describe the framing techniques of social movement organizations consisting of three frames: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational. Diagnostic framing incriminates the opposition for some social issue (Snow & Benford, 1988, p. 200), and prognostic framing gives solutions and strategies to address the problem (p. 201). Motivational framing aims to not just inform the public about an issue but to encourage active participation in the change (Snow & Benford, 1988, p. 202). Gamson suggests similar frames that target not just the goals of the social movement but also the potential reaction

from the audience: identity with the protesters' social and cultural milieu, agency to affect change through the movement, and injustice from the target opposition group on the protesters (in Noakes & Johnston, 2005, p. 6). Through these various approaches, social movements begin to establish an identity to be adopted in the media.

In the case of Sharmila's hunger strike, a diagnostic frame would identify the issue most basically as a fast against AFSPA and better yet give details about the martial law's parameters and how it has abused the democratic system in the Northeast. A prognostic frame in its simplest form states the solution Sharmila has proposed, the repeal of AFSPA. For a fast-unto-death, this is often the limit of the prognostic frame reported in the news because much of the information presented deals with how to solve the issue of the protester's health, not the issue of the movement. A more detailed prognosis would articulate a way to assuage the conflict for both sides, in other words, explain potential steps that both parties can implement to reach a mutually satisfactory outcome. For example, in the anti-AFSPA movement, more detailed prognostic framing would propose a committee to review AFSPA's jurisdiction; suggest a meeting between Sharmila and officials to discuss her demand; and emphasize the need for a repeal for Sharmila with an alternative measure for security to satisfy the government. This third form of framing is difficult to articulate in a hunger strike because the likelihood of recruiting supporters to fast-unto-death is unlikely; however, the motivational frame can urge supporters to put pressure on the government and politicians to change policy.

Hypotheses

In considering these various theories of social movement mobilization and media relations, I propose the following hypotheses for my research. Considering the concepts of

conflict, communication, and political opportunity, each hypothesis addresses unique qualities of hunger strikes in the media.

Conflict

Social movements are organized acts that confront social institutions or norms, and as such naturally represent a form of conflict. Conflicts tend to include multiple issues, multiple triggers, and multiple parties, and conflicts exist in a cycle from emergence to escalation to de-escalation to re-escalation.

Thus, in analyzing the *conflict* in newspaper coverage of Irom Sharmila's hunger strike, an article is coded for the conflict stage, either representing Sharmila's strike as a means to escalate or de-escalate the conflict over AFSPA. Escalation pushes a conflict to a point that some measures must be taken to diffuse the situation or that allows one side of the conflict to dominate the other in order to win. De-escalation, on the other hand, is a process through which the tension is decreased so that the parties involved in a conflict can address ways to transform the conflict. While this helps to understand what stage of conflict the newspaper deems the protest to be in, it does not offer any evaluative measure of the conflict because escalation isn't always negative and de-escalation isn't always positive. The constructiveness of the conflict helps to determine the valence of the conflict stage. Constructive escalation or de-escalation attempts to distinguish how a conflict can be seen as a mutual issue in which the groups involved are not battling in opposite positions but have common concerns and interests in finding a balanced and fair outcome. Destructive escalation or de-escalation rigidifies the difference between the groups, raises a group in superiority compared to the others, and creates a conflict in which some parties win and others lose in the conflict. *Conflict* is further classified as constructive or destructive, so there are

four possible measures: constructive escalation, destructive escalation, constructive de-escalation, and destructive de-escalation.

H1: Coverage of Sharmila's hunger strike describes the conflict as a constructive escalation more than a destructive escalation.

Social Movement Frames

While media organizations and journalists often have their own conceptualization of frames to cover protest or social movements, social movement organizations take time and consideration in determining the public message they aim to send through public forums, pamphlets, and websites. However, the media can choose whether to report what the social movement organization wants the public to know. Benford and Snow (1988) define three frames that a social movement organization ought to clearly define in order to most effectively communicate the movement's goals and action. These are the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames. The diagnostic frame**,** as the name suggests, diagnoses the problem and attributes some blame for the conflict. It answers why the movement is happening and what needs to be addressed by opponents to the movement in order for the movement to end. The prognostic frame identifies various solutions to the problem that the social movement is working towards. The prognostic frame not only gives a prognosis of the conflict that provides various ideas to remedy the problem but also offers possible steps to take to reach a solution. The motivational frame acts as a call for support, what Benford and Snow (2000) refer to as the "rationale for action" that motivates the people and explains why it is vital for people to participate in the social movement (p. 617).

H2: Hunger strike coverage more often includes a detailed diagnostic frame than a detailed prognostic frame.

H3: When basic diagnostic and prognostic frames are reported, the motivational frame is

absent. Conversely, detailed diagnostic and prognostic frames result in the presence of the

motivational frame.

H4: The more social movement frames included in coverage, the more reporting of constructive

conflict.

Political Opportunity

Political opportunity examines *external* factors that suggest an environment ripe for

protest behavior. Based on Tarrow's (1998, 2011) definition of political opportunity, this study

measures four variables: access, alignment, elite tension, and allies. Access refers to the ability of

citizens to address the government and participate in civic action, most commonly seen through

elections. The variable *party alignment* refers to recent shift in political party associations. In this

study, it occurs most when political parties speak in support or opposition to AFSPA because

these statements position the party in relationship to the government, which is clearly pro-

AFSPA. *Elite tension* is when members of the elite in a society, be it the upper and/or educated

classes, begin to disagree. While elites are often also involved in political party splits, this

variable *elite tension* looks for individuals with more personal, economic status than political,

who are veering from the norm of elites. Allies as an area of political opportunity considers

individuals or groups expressly concerned with the same issue of the social movement and

expressly in support of the protest.

H5: The elite tension and the allies frames occur more than access and political parties in

hunger strike coverage.

Including all the variables related to social movements, the most likely to have relationships are those that are likely to describe the way people participate in the movement that motivates others to participate.

H6: There is a relationship between the motivational frame and the allies frame.

Considering the interaction between social movement frames and political opportunity frames, if the media act as a conflict negotiator, then the media will collect and report more information directly related to the movement. Therefore, more information about the strategies of the movement and the goals of the movement will coincide.

H7: There is a positive relationship between social movement frames and political opportunity frames in Sharmila's stories. An increase in the detail of social movement frames correlates with an increase in political opportunity frames.

The sample contains papers from five regions in India in order to examine the differences in coverage between local and national newspapers. The desire for local coverage suggests that coverage of a local social movement will receive news latent with more issue-specific information. Also, the media will be more involved in conflict transformation because as a local event the media can gather perspectives from more sources about the issue.

H8: Local newspapers include more social movement frames and political opportunity frames than the national newspapers support.

Chapter 3: Methods

This study implemented a quantitative content analysis to investigate the information of media coverage of hunger strikes in India. A salient component of this research compared coverage between local, regional, and national newspapers. The geographical base of a newspaper can determine different readerships, potentially revealing diverse characteristics in protest coverage. India has a diverse, multi-lingual print news culture. The landscape of rural and urban India greatly influences the publications available for consumption. It is therefore important to detail the selection and sampling of Indian newspapers in the first section of this chapter. A quantitative content analysis of the newspaper articles examines data related to conflict, organizational strategies, and external opportunities.

Sampling

The news coverage for this study should report specifically on the social movement in which Sharmila's hunger strike is the central method of protest. The unit of analysis for this study is the newspaper article. Many articles mention Sharmila in the context of other conflicts in India, other social movements, or other hunger strikes. However, this study concerns how the media engage with Sharmila and her opponents. Substantively, the information in a news article focused on Sharmila's movement in order to be included in the sample. Therefore, any news articles mentioning Irom Sharmila were read to determine the thematic content. In some cases, an article will talk about AFSPA and only mention Irom Sharmila's hunger strike as one of many activities launched against AFSPA. While such an article could have interesting findings towards protest coverage, raising the question of why Sharmila is mentioned in any context or with so little emphasis, for this study it is most important to examine articles that engage in the discourse between the social movement actors and the government, which is most evident in articles with

Sharmila as the main theme. With this purposive sample, the sample is limited to stories predominantly focused on the movement. In reality, however, with Sharmila frequently name-dropped in other contexts, people are potentially exposed to her name and movement much more than the few articles focusing on her. However, more substantial information about Sharmila's movement might sway public opinion more than two line summaries.

Sharmila launched her hunger strike on November 4, 2000, and was arrested two weeks later. Unfortunately, online editions of Indian newspapers came several years after this, and databases do not include coverage as early as 2000. The earliest online news articles were available in 2002, although some of the regional and local papers appeared even later. The initial search for articles including Irom Sharmila's name generated over 1,000 articles. However, many of these articles appeared in 2011 and 2012 during an explosive hunger strike by Anna Hazare against corruption. Op-ed and feature stories tended to give mention to Sharmila's strike as the other fast-unto-death happening in India, but beyond that little context or information was reported on her movement. After selectively sampling from these articles, the final sample contained 322 articles from 9 different publications.

The newspapers from which I sampled were chosen first based on rankings by the Indian Readership Survey from the Media Research Users Council (MRUC) but then expanded to major national, regional, and local English-language newspapers that were available through the databases Access World News and ProQuest. The MRUC releases quarterly results of readership statistics for English and Hindi daily newspapers. The council ranked *The Times of India* (*TOI*), *The Hindu*, and the *Hindustan Times* as the top three English-dailies in India. I also wanted to include other major newspapers with general reputations for more analytical coverage of issues[*]

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[*] Based on word-of-mouth information from many American researchers in India. Because researchers possess a different lens for reading news content, I selected any major news publication in India available on the database.

and decided that any major Indian English-language newspaper available on either database would be included in the sample in order to collect a larger sample size. Also available on the database were two smaller, regional news sources out of the Northeast region of India. Thus, *Indian Express*, *New Indian Express*, *The Statesman*, *The Pioneer*, *The Assam Tribune*, and *Imphal Free Press* were added to the sample. This created a geographically diverse sample of news covering many of the major cities in India, as well as cities closer to Sharmila. The cities in which the publications are based cover: Mumbai (*TOI, The Indian Express*); Chennai (*The Hindu, The New Indian Express*); New Delhi (*Hindustan Times, The Pioneer*); Calcutta (*The Statesman*); Guwahati, Assam (*The Assam Tribune*); and Imphal, Manipur (*Imphal Free Press*). The timeframe of available articles differed for each paper. Table A shows the earliest date in which Sharmila was mentioned in a publication's news coverage.

Table A: Newspapers and First Article Publication Date (Month/Year) of Sample

Publication	Date
Times of India	November 2002
The Statesman	May 2003
The Indian Express	August 2004
Hindustan Times	June 2005
The Hindu	October 2006
The Assam Tribune	July 2009
The New Indian Express	December 2009
The Pioneer	December 2009
Imphal Free Press	April 2011

Quantitative Content Analysis

The quantitative content analysis sought information about several key concepts relating to protest coverage and social movement organization. The hypotheses consider how newspaper coverage reveals or detracts from information about the organization and legitimacy of a social movement in hunger strike coverage. Through three main concepts—conflict, social movement

frames, and political opportunity—coders collected data on several subcategories of each. The following section explains the operationalization of each concept and subsequent variables, and the second section details coding procedures.

Conflict

The concept of conflict is operationalized as an additive index of two characteristics of conflict: conflict stage and constructiveness. The conflict index classified each article as generating information as a destructive escalation or de-escalation or constructive escalation or de-escalation. In the additive index, a higher conflict value meant a more positive stage of conflict; therefore, the scale of conflict valence was as follows from least to greatest: destructive escalation, destructive de-escalation, constructive escalation, constructive de-escalation. The following describes the more precise measures of the two variables used to develop the concept of conflict.

Conflict stage. This variable examines escalation and de-escalation of the conflict. If Sharmila or the government uses highly coercive means to try to force another party to accept the other's demands, this is considered escalation. At face value, Sharmila's situation may seem inherently escalating because of her hunger strike, but while a hunger strike can be coercive, it can actually be utilized as a persuasive tool. In some coverage, Sharmila expresses this fact that her fast is meant to enlighten the government on Manipur's security issues. Another indication of escalation looks at whether the conflict between Sharmila and the government is described as dire and far-reaching to a wider Indian public. This does not mean whether AFSPA is a widespread danger but whether the actions taken by each party can affect the public. De-escalation occurs when one of the parties has taken a step towards hearing and/or accepting the

opposition's demands or when one or both parties are forced by the court to address the issue. *Conflict stage* is coded as escalation (0) or de-escalation (1).

Constructiveness. As pointed out in Chapter 2, constructiveness deals with a quasi-qualitative measure of how the parties are addressing conflict in its various stages. A stage of conflict can be either constructive or destructive to the ultimate outcome of the conflict as it transforms in a cycle of escalation and de-escalation.

The following questions, if answered affirmatively indicate destructive conflict: Does the article describe an exclusivist identity of one group (in other words highly distinguishable and separate from other groups) in which the other group is a polar opposite and inferior? Is the issue described as a major threat to one group's identity or existence? Is the issue described as an historic attack on a group? Is the conflict described as win-lose or zero-sum? Is the conflict handled with excessive violence? For example, the statement, "Sharmila has pledged to end her strike only when the government has fully repealed the law," shows the win-lose characteristic that is destructive to a conflict.

For a conflict to be constructive, the following questions indicate a means to attempt to de-escalate an escalating conflict or further de-escalate a conflict already in this transformative phase: Are the conflicting groups described as inclusive and mutually concerned about similar interests? Is the issue considered negotiable and unthreatening in the article? Is the conflict described as an issue that can be cooperatively addressed by all groups involved? Is a possible outcome suggested that will mutually benefit all parties involved? Is violence used minimally to control this issue and negotiations? For example, the statement, "The government and movement team have initiated positive talks to deal with the conflict," indicates mutual concern and cooperative negotiation on the issue.

However, in an article, both statements can be included to describe various time periods of the conflict, in which case, the most recent manifestation of the conflict should be coded. Often times, this tends to be a destructive moment in the conflict. Constructiveness is coded as destructive (0) and constructive (1).

Framing

Framing in this study does not look at typical media frames of social movements but attempts to uncover how frames derived out of social movement organizations manifest in news coverage. Therefore, Benford and Snow's (2000) three frames are the basis for the variables included under the concept of framing: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational. The manner in which a diagnosis and prognosis of the movement can be articulated was introduced in Chapter 2. The diagnostic frame of a movement can be simply stated as the issue of the economic system (Occupy Wall Street), anti-corruption in the government (Anna Hazare's Lokpal Bill movement), or AFSPA. The prognosis can then be as simple as the need for equality, the passing of a new law, or the repeal of a law. However more detailed diagnoses and prognoses would articulate how the economic system is causing problems, what about the government is corrupt, and how AFSPA is used in India, and with this the prognosis would offer a larger plan to implement change that incorporates collaborative ideas to feasibly transition out of a conflict situation. Therefore, the variables of diagnostic and prognostic frames are split to measure basic and detailed frames. An additive index provides a general measure of the concept *social movement framing* for each article.

Diagnostic framing. This variable states the problem the social movement wants to address and can include information about the root cause of the issue and what situations arise from the issue in society. A basic diagnostic frame for Sharmila's movement, for example, would

state the issue of human rights abuses under AFSPA, while a detailed diagnostic frame would explain the military's rights and abuses granted under the law, the exact places where the law is enforced, and/or the region's larger contextual conflict with insurgent groups. Diagnostic framing is split into two variables, each coded as absent (0) or present (1). These variables are *basic diagnostic frame* and *detailed diagnostic frame* and are mutually exclusive. Basic diagnostic framing (measured as the simple statement of AFSPA as the issue) is impossible if detailed diagnostic framing (background information on AFSPA) is recorded in the article.

Prognostic framing. After a social movement decries a social or cultural situation, it must propose an alternative and how to accomplish this solution. In the basic sense for Sharmila's movement, the prognosis for AFSPA is its repeal. However, a detailed prognosis explains how the government should examine the law in order to recognize the abuses, proposes meetings between Sharmila and the government in order to come to a mutual understanding of the issue, and develops alternative methods to deal with security issues in the Northeast. As with diagnostic framing, the mutually exclusive basic or detailed prognoses divides the variable of prognostic framing into two, measured for absence (0) or presence (1). The basic prognosis is stated as "the repeal of AFSPA", whereas detailed prognosis proposes a plan in order to reach the stage of repeal.

Motivational framing. The final variable of framing for this study expresses the need for individuals to join the movement against AFSPA and tries to reason why the issue has a larger resonance with the public. Phrases such as "urge the people", "appeal to the public", "garner support", "bring a realization", and, "should be aware," indicate a motivational frame in the news coverage. The motivational frame is coded as absent (0) or present (1).

Political opportunity

Political opportunity is measured through four variables: access, political party, elite tension, and allies. These variables are not necessarily mutually exclusive. A member of a political party can express support for the movement, and while the variables measure different aspects of opportunity, they are both expressly present in the article. These four variables combine in an additive index to give an overall measure of the level of political opportunity associated with the social movement in news coverage.

Access. This variable measures the ability of the social movement participants to actively act in the political arena. This occurs through either elections or meetings with politicians. Access is not a direct measure of democracy. In a non-democratic system, individuals can still gain access to address the government. A social movement itself does not indicate access, even though it is a means to address the government. The difference is that the social movement can spontaneously develop in oppressive systems that criminalize protest and therefore the movement directly challenges the system, whereas access is an open invitation in the political system to participate. Access is coded as absent (0) or present (1).

Political party. This variable indicates that a political party or an individual expressly associated with a political party has stated an opinion about the issues raised by a social movement. These opinions do not have to be in support of the repeal of AFSPA; coverage that notes party views on an issue reveals the opportunity for larger discussion of the issue because of its presence on political parties' agendas. Political party is coded as absent (0) or present (1).

Elite tension. Aside from politicians discussing the issue of AFSPA, elites can elevate the issue because the media give elites more credibility as sources with information related to a story. Elites include film celebrities, authors, academics, doctors, lawyers, renowned social

activists, international organizations, and award winners. The list is not limited to these types of individuals. Also, elites do not have to express an opinion about the issue; when an article mentions an elite, sometimes as a comparison to Sharmila as in the case of Anna Hazare, this counts as elite tension because the media attempt to spark attention towards the article by including an elite in the information. Elite tension is coded as absent (0) or present (1).

Allies. This variable measures the support offered to the campaign. This is easily measured through words such as "support" and "solidarity" from an individual, group, or government. Allies is coded as absent (0) or present (1).

Coding

This study looks at nine English-language newspapers in India. Two coders, the researcher and a hired assistant, collected data on the variables above from a sample of 322 articles. The coders trained together to develop agreement on the operationalization of the variables used in the study, beginning from the written codebook by the researcher. Training happened over a two-month period in which the codebook was revised multiple times, variables were eliminated from the study based on disagreements over the theoretical and operational definitions that impeded intercoder reliability, and a total of ten tests were completed between the two coders. Initially, a new online content analysis program, Dedoose, was used to facilitate data collection for intercoder reliability. However, after trying the intercoder reliability system, which only generated Scott's pi, the researcher uncovered errors in the calculation of the pi and switched to ReCal through dfreelon.org to measure intercoder reliability.

All variables are measured as absent or present, and thus Krippendorf's alpha for nominal variables is used to determine intercoder reliability. Intercoder reliability was obtained at $\alpha=0.6$ or greater through ReCal. Because of the uniformity of absence of presence for some of the

variables used in the study, an issue addressed in Chapter 4, Krippendorf's alpha returned

negative values that indicate an error in the program. Therefore, the percentage agreement was

indicated in those cases. For alpha values lower than 0.8, the percentage agreement for the

variable had to be at approximately 85% or higher to be included in the analysis. The following

table (Table B) shows Krippendorf's alpha and the percentage agreement for each variable in the

study.

Table B: Intercoder Reliability Data

Variable	Krippendorf's Alpha	Percentage Agreement
Conflict Escalation	-0.01	95.0%
Conflict Constructiveness	-0.07	85.0%
Basic Diagnostic	0.93	97.0%
Detailed Diagnostic	1.00	100.0%
Basic Prognostic	0.72	90.9%
Detailed Prognostic	0.62	90.9%
Motivational	0.77	93.9%
Access	0.00	97.5%
Political Party	0.88	97.5%
Elite Tension	0.66	84.9%
Allies	0.70	84.9%

Chapter 4: Results

The data were collected from nine English-language newspapers in India, and the articles were reclassified according to the newspaper headquarters, as noted in Chapter 3. New Delhi represents central India, Mumbai represents western India, Chennai represents south India, and Calcutta and Guwahati, Assam, combine to create the northeast, with Imphal as the local region. Of the articles, 74 (23.0%) are from northeastern papers, 58 (18.0%) from central publications, 64 articles (19.9%) from western Indian papers, 68 (21.1%) from southern papers, and 58 (18.0%) from the Imphal-based newspaper (Table 2).

Coding for conflict variables, 99.7% of the articles described the conflict situation between Irom Sharmila and the government in the stage of escalation, meaning only one article showed the conflict as de-escalating (Table 2). The mean for conflict stage on a scale between 0 and 1 is 0.00 with standard deviation 0.06 (Table 1). Conflict constructiveness similarly coded in a uniform manner, with 98.1% of articles containing coverage of a destructive conflict, a mean of 0.02 and standard deviation of 0.135 (Table 1), leaving 6 articles demonstrating constructive conflict framing. Because of the uniform distribution of both variables, the variables do not demonstrate descriptive characteristics for hypothesis testing. Conflict is always regarded as a destructive escalation in the articles on Irom Sharmila, raising the question of what role the media play in the generation of the intractable conflict with the government. This finding was evident during the data collection process as the articles always yielded a code of destructive escalation, but even so, data collection continued for those variables. However, in terms of hypothesis testing, the data cannot offer significant information to test Hypothesis 1, so in the absence of statistical analysis, Hypothesis 1 is not supported. The implications of this occurrence in the data will be discussed in Chapter 5.

For the three social movement frames some type of diagnostic or prognostic frame is covered, but in 74.2% of the articles the motivational frame is absent (Table 2). Between diagnostic and prognostic framing, there is a significant difference ($p<0.000$) with diagnostic framing ($M = 1.32$) covered in a more detailed way than prognostic framing ($M = 0.85$) is covered (Table 5). Thus, hypothesis 2 is supported. Noting this difference, there exists a positive relationship ($r = 0.27$) between diagnostic framing and prognostic framing (Table 4, 6). Therefore, while the social movement's diagnostic frame receives the most substantial coverage in the news, the increased detail in the issue of the movement can lend more coverage to proposed solutions. Motivational framing and prognostic framing demonstrate a weak positive relationship ($r = 0.01$) (Table 6). There is not a significant relationship between diagnostic and motivational framing. In order to test the framing conditions under which the motivational frame is reported, in other words to test whether the presence of basic diagnostic and basic prognostic frames results in an absence of motivational framing, the Chi-square test returned invalid responses because the expected count less than 5 was too large. Without the ability to test with crosstabs, hypothesis 3 cannot be supported through statistical analysis.

Using the three social movement frame variables, an additive index of social movement frames was created with values from 0 to 5 for each article. Diagnostic framing and prognostic framing load on each other in a factor analysis, and while motivational framing did not load on the concept, the theoretical definition explained in Chapter 2 allows for this third frame to be included in the index (Table 7). Because motivational framing does not load on the other variables, Cronbach's alpha is weaker for this scale at 0.36. Nonetheless, the social movement frames scale is used in the data testing. Testing the additive social movement frame index with conflict constructiveness, there is no significant difference between the social movement frames

presented in the article and the constructiveness of the conflict. This may be resultant of the uniform distribution of constructive conflict. Hypothesis 4 is not supported.

Switching to an analysis of political opportunity variables, the first step considers the relationships between the various dimensions of political opportunity. There is a significant, moderately strong relationship between the inclusion of an access frame and party alignment frame ($r = 0.34$) (Table 4). Examining the relationship between the political opportunity frame variables and the social movement frame variables, there are significant relationships between several variables in the two concepts. The motivational frame shows a significant though somewhat weak relationship with the access variable ($r = 0.134$) and allies ($r = 0.124$), as does the diagnostic frame with elite tension ($r = 0.131$) (Table 4). The relationships between the motivational frame and access and allies suggests that by demonstrating the ability to participate in the political system and showing the participation of others in the movement, these characteristics relate to a news article also including reasons to become involved in the social movement. Because the correlation between motivational frame and allies shows significance ($p < 0.05$), hypothesis 6 is supported.

As with the social movement frame variables, the political opportunity variables were used to create an additive index of overall political opportunity coverage in the article. The factor analysis of access, party alignment, elite tension, and allies, like with the social movement frames, did not load as one factor (Cronbach's alpha $= 0.09$) (Table 8). However, because of the theoretical development of the concept, all four were used for the additive index. The two concepts derived from the factor analysis were also created for post hoc tests to further explore relationships within the concept of political opportunity. Access and party alignment were combined to create the additive index of participatory opportunity (Cronbach's alpha $= 0.41$), and

elite tension and allies created community opportunity (Cronbach'a alpha = 0.035). Comparing the means between the two, there is a significant difference ($p<0.000$) in the presence of participatory opportunity and community opportunity in the Irom Sharmila hunger strike coverage (Table 9). Interestingly, community opportunity receives more coverage than participatory opportunity, thus hypothesis 5 is supported. However, there is not a significant relationship between the indexes. Therefore, while the coverage between the two indexes has a significant difference, it is not connected to some relationship between them. Next, examining social movement frames and political opportunity frames, there is a somewhat weak positive relationship ($r = 0.19$) between the concepts (Table 10). Therefore, hypothesis 7 is supported.

Regional results

Having explored the general coverage of the concepts of conflict, social movement frames, and political opportunity frames in the articles, the next step is to consider the regional variations of the coverage. The regions explained in the previous section are grouped into regional and national news, with the three northeastern papers representing the regional news. The regional papers include 132 articles (41%), while the national news consists of 190 articles in the sample (59%).

First considering the presence of social movement frames and political opportunity frames, there is no significant difference between the way that the national or the regional newspapers include the frames in the social movement coverage of Irom Sharmila. Hypothesis 8 is not supported. Looking at a micro-level of the variables that created the concepts, the only significant difference of all the frames between the regions is for the motivational frame ($p<0.01$), where the local newspapers ($M = 0.35$) include it in coverage more than the national papers ($M = 0.19$) (Table 11). Returning to the original classification into 5 regions, again, there

is no significant difference between all five regions in terms of the social movement frame and

political opportunity frame.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The results suggest that a major change in protest coverage is not found in news on Sharmila's hunger strike. Conflict, a magnet for news coverage, needs to be contentious for a new story to be deemed publishable, and Sharmila's protest is almost always shown as a never-ending conflict with the government, ripe with drama. If the media's description of an intractable, destructive, escalating conflict is accurate, the media as conflict transformer would then, as I propose in this study, provide more contextual background on the social movement's own framing and its ability to capitalize on political opportunities. Whether this is the case cannot conclusively be drawn from the data of this study, but important characteristics of Sharmila's movement suggests certain aspects of framing a hunger strike that may be detrimental to movements implementing this nonviolent movement.

Conflict Transformation

Conflict attracts news coverage in the print media, and Irom Sharmila's hunger strike shows no shortage of conflict. However, the nonviolent method that she employs does not affect the way that the newspaper might try to describe the conflict. While drama and narrative are allures for press coverage (Mulcahy, 1995) satisfied by escalating conflict in Sharmila's case, it is not the case that escalating conflict must always be destructive (Kriesburg & Dalton, 2012). For Sharmila's protest, only six articles noted a constructive effort to transform the conflict. Otherwise, the conflict was always viewed as destructive, with neither side willing to contribute to negotiations. However, an important aspect left out of this data analysis considers which party hinders the transformation process, Sharmila or the government. While distinguishing this in the media potentially polarizes the groups even further, for public understanding of the intractability it would allow readers to see how the conflict is transpiring and in what ways the parties need to

be addressed in order for change to begin. Sharmila's movement is especially hard to distinguish. On the one hand, she wholeheartedly refuses to end her fast until the repeal of AFSPA, whereas on the other, the government refuses to allow her mode of protest and continues to force feed her. Depending on how the media pin the blame for non-negotiation would influence whether it appears that the media support, or in the least give equal space, to the idea that Irom Sharmila has legitimate grievances against the government.

Considering the nature of nonviolent action, namely the hunger strike, the intractable framing in the media counteracts the general goals of nonviolent action. As Sharp (2005) expresses, the fast-unto-death can act in two forms, to persuade or coerce. Therefore, a hunger strike seeks to change the situation, either by force or change of thought, from an oppressive institution to a system agreed upon by the public. Irom Sharmila's goal is not to exist in an intractable conflict but instead to be the vehicle of change in Manipur's military environment. Her goal is conflict transformation. However, the government would prefer not to change the laws in Manipur because the repeal of AFSPA requires larger government action to ensure a peaceful transition out of the law. The manner in which the media portray the conflict between Sharmila and the government in its current state might actually undermine Sharmila's motive for protesting with a hunger strike. She is now also characterized as an instigator of intractability rather than a proponent of persuasive change. While the statistical data do not give proof of this case, the uniform coverage of Sharmila's movement in the cycle of destructive escalation contributes to this conclusion.

Social Movement Frames

While the hunger strike provides high drama in its pressure on the government, in reality, the episodic detail surrounding an individual sitting without eating is not substantial for the

media to cover. Therefore, it seems possible for the media to report more issue-oriented information and criticism about the movement. In the coverage of Irom Sharmila's strike at least some form of diagnosis and prognosis was reported, save for a few articles. It seems a positive indication that the diagnostic and prognostic frames tend to occur simultaneously in the coverage, but the finding that the diagnostic framing is more detailed than the prognostic framing does not bode well as evidence of the propensity for more thorough, issue-oriented news. The coverage of Sharmila's movement focuses more on the conflict environment in Manipur than critically analyzing the proposed solutions to transform the power structure there. It would seem irresponsible though entirely possible to report on a social movement and not in some way mention even a basic summary of the issue. To include proposed solutions is not always necessary. For example, in major protest rallies that gather in city streets and cause violent reactions from the police, a newspaper can easily publish information about the violence and never report the proposed solutions of the movement. This is not so easy with a hunger strike in which the activity is basic without much contentious action between groups. Therefore, this nonviolent action establishes a model through which media coverage might be maximized to cover the issue. However, perhaps the finding of more detailed diagnostic than detailed prognostic frames is actually a product of Snow, Vliegenthart, and Corrigall-Brown's (2007) assertion on the timeliness of media coverage.

Unfortunately, motivational framing is a different story altogether. In a majority of the articles, the motivational frame is never reported. The motivational frame can be viewed as a dangerous stance against objectivity, although many scholars have argued against the necessity for unbiased coverage. Another manner in which to view the motivational frame is as coverage inclusive of supporters' and the hunger strike protester's motive for engaging in conflict against

the government. In that way, the media frame would demonstrate a breadth of sources for the social movement coverage.

Interestingly, motivational framing has a positive relationship to prognostic framing, and the weakness in this relationship may be accounted for by the lack of motivational framing in the articles in general. Although motivational framing does not relate to diagnostic framing, if viewed as a chain reaction, more detailed diagnostic coverage may result in more prognostic coverage which relates to more motivational coverage. While the data did not provide testable conditions to see if motivational framing was only present with both detailed diagnostic and prognostic frames, it is important to consider in understanding the necessity of including all three frames in social movement coverage.

Political Opportunity Frames

The relationship between access and party alignment, as well as the loading factors of these two variables and of elite tension with allies suggests interesting, though divisive conclusions about the way that political opportunity can be covered in hunger strike news. As Tarrow (2011) explains, access and party alignment indicate political conditions under which citizens can seize a new level of influence on the system. Thus, it is not surprising to find the two connected in social movement coverage. However, elite tension and allies target more specifically the conditions of the social movement. Elite tension in the case of Irom Sharmila's movement exists in support from elites or projects undertaken by elites representing Sharmila. Allies are the people, common or elite, who vocally support Sharmila's cause. Therefore, it is logical that when indexed together the "community opportunity" receives more coverage than the participatory opportunity. Even so, the participatory opportunity frames are important even to a hunger strike movement and as Meyer and Minkoff (2004) point out are more often considered

in social movement strategy than the community opportunities. The fact that media coverage

tends to cover community opportunity over participatory opportunity is a positive finding in how

political opportunity in general is framed for the hunger strike. Because opportunities like elite

tensions and allies tend to be overlooked in movements, in Sharmila's case, it shows a deliberate

effort in the media to report the strategic maneuvers of the movement. However, the relative lack

in coverage of access and party alignment, two areas of political opportunity related to the

openness of the government for public participation, might also indicate Chenoweth and Lewis's

(2013) conclusion that nonviolent action tends to arise in unfavorable moments of political

opportunity, when the political system is relatively closed. The absence of these frames in much

of the coverage might actually reveal this in the Sharmila movement, that her hunger strike has

been implemented during inopportune times. Although it has overlapped in the past thirteen

years with moments of political openness, the duration of her hunger strike has caused a general

sense that negates the movement's use of political opportunity. On the other hand, access and

party alignment frames still offer important information to the public that relates to motivating

readers to act. By covering these frames, the media can influence the public to take action

because the political system allows it.

Frame Interactions

As expected, motivational framing does play a part in political opportunity frames. There

exist relationships between the motivational frame and access and allies. Interestingly, access

and allies are grouped in two separate indexes of political opportunity. It is logical that the

motivational frame would relate to the access frame in expressing the open ability of citizens to

partake in political arenas. Similarly, the relationship to the frame of allies provides evidence that

people are actually involved in the movement might motivate others to participate. The relative

lack of coverage of the motivational and access frames limits the conclusive effects that these relationships have in the coverage.

Because of issues in measuring the concepts of social movement frames and political opportunity frames, extensive tests to compare the inclusion of the frames in Sharmila's hunger strike coverage was not possible. The scales were different, so the only testable statistic examined the relationship between the two concepts. The somewhat weak relationship reveals very little about how information derived from the social movement organization and leadership manifests in news coverage. The weakness though suggests that there is not a concerted media effort to gain information about the strategic moves of Sharmila's campaign. Social movement frames are much more extensively covered which are the easier and more basic frames for the media to acquire information about. While reporters could easily couch the information about a protest in information about the political environment, it often times does not.

Coverage by Location

Ninan (2007) discusses that print journalism in India became localized because of advertising revenue. Readers wanted to see local happenings covered in the news, and rather than just cover the event they wanted a critical consideration of the issues. Locally, citizens could witness the major events happening around them, but they wanted to see that the media had enough concern for their community to engage with the issues and perhaps elicit strategies for change. With this in mind, the more local and regional coverage of Sharmila's hunger strike would be assumed to cover more detailed social movement frames and more extensive political opportunity frames. However, at both the dichotomous local-national level of analysis and at the five-region level, there is no significant difference in the coverage. The only significant difference is in the motivational framing between the local and national papers. This seems

logical because the local readership calls for more influential coverage of events by the media. Also, at the local level, a call to action resonates more with local readers because there is a feeling of actual ability to participate.

When Ninan (2007) wrote about the localization of news, the researcher referred to both Hindi and English language news. However, language may have a significant effect on the way the media cover Sharmila's strike. Although English-language newspapers want to target local readership, in reality, Indian readers consume Hindi newspapers over English newspapers. English newspapers have a widespread circulation, but in smaller cities like Imphal, local Hindi coverage is preferred. Consumers of the English-language dailies in small and large cities tend to be the elites, and while coverage of Sharmila's hunger strike that included information on elite tension might be best suited for a readership like this (though as this study shows that coverage does not predominantly occur), the elites may not be as concerned with an issue of militarization. Especially for individuals living in major metropolises where many of the papers used in this analysis are published from, AFSPA and Irom Sharmila are not top news. However, if media framed the hunger strike with more information about the strategy and motivations of the movement, perhaps even in cities like Delhi, Calcutta, Mumbai, and Chennai, readers would gain interest in the issue.

Limitations

While this study originally covered a much more expansive analysis of social movement strategy, including the concepts of research mobilization and strategic capacity, issues in intercoder reliability limited the final data collection and therefore the conclusions to be drawn from the content analysis. Qualitatively much work has been done on the ideas of social movement strategy and its relationship to the media, both in terms of manipulating the media and

in terms of the media frames of the movement. However, as a quantitative content analysis, this study attempts to go beyond theoretical definitions of research mobilization, strategic capacity, and political opportunity to operationalize the variables. Because of the qualitative nature of the operational definitions, major difficulties in coder training arose that eventually required the elimination of resource mobilization and strategic capacity from the coding procedures. Those variables were used in a separate qualitative project related to the Sharmila hunger strike.

Another limitation evident in the coding was the dichotomous measurement of absence or presence. Especially in the uniform conflict variables, approaching the analysis from a different direction, for example, classifying the conflict by types as I have done in another content analysis of hunger strikes might have allowed for a different analysis of how the media cover hunger strikes. However, this would not necessarily have changed the findings that suggest the media are not acting as negotiators to the conflict between Sharmila and the government. Also, the social movement frames could have been measured on a more robust scale that operationalized different pieces of information about the diagnosis, prognosis, and motivation beyond just measuring the basic or detailed nature of the frames. In the same fashion, the political opportunity variables could have been expanded to measure some characteristics of each variable.

Initially in the content analysis, a measure of placement sought to analyze how the location of certain frames in the article could signify the level of importance the reporter placed on the information. If the diagnostic and prognostic frames were not included until the last few lines of the article, this might suggest that the media were not providing in full the information from the social movement and were thus favoring the position of the government. However, the databases from which the articles were drawn formatted the articles in two different ways with

different fonts and paragraph breaks, so the divisions of the article into three parts signifying beginning, middle, and end were impossible to measure.

Perhaps the greatest limitation of this study is the focus on Irom Sharmila's hunger strike. While it is an interesting case of hunger strike coverage, its longevity poses issues. Initially in hypothesizing about how the media cover hunger strikes, Sharmila's protest seemed best suited for the analysis because of the length of time that would offer plenty of coverage over the last thirteen years. Most hunger strikes only last for a few days or weeks, at the most several months. However, it was not the case once the actual sample was pulled that there was an abundance of coverage. The issue against AFSPA may be a contributing factor to the limited coverage, as it is not seen as an important issue in the country, but that is an assumption outside of the realm of this study. Beyond the amount of coverage, the focus on one single hunger strike prevents the conclusions from this study from applying to hunger strike coverage in general. Including other recent hunger strike movements, for example Anna Hazare's as well as others in India for environmental protection, might allow for more conclusive evidence about how media coverage of hunger strikes might offer a different view of conflict, placing the media as an intervener to transform the issue.

Conclusion

This study offers an analysis of how the news of Irom Sharmila's hunger strike has been covered in print media; however, as explained in the limitations of the study, this is a restrictive case to just one issue in India and cannot be generalized to hunger strikes in other parts of the world. The findings of the study do not support the idea that in coverage of nonviolent action like the hunger strike the media might utilize a different model of coverage. The coverage of Irom Sharmila's movement is largely lacking in substantive information about the organizational

capacity of the protest, information that could add legitimacy to the movement. Therefore, this study does not develop a new paradigm of protest coverage. The objective of this study was not to ascertain whether the coverage of Irom Sharmila's fit a particular paradigm of protest coverage, so it cannot be concluded that the hunger strike news perpetuates the existing protest paradigms.

The study does demonstrate a lack of coverage in pertinent information related to social movement strategies for a protest method implementing a rather non-aggressive and therefore non-episodic action against the government. When even the social movement frames are omitted from the coverage, as Reese (2001), Gamson (1989), and other scholars point out, this is important to consider as a purposeful framing procedure. While this study does not reveal that Irom Sharmila's hunger strike coverage provides an opportune example of constructive conflict framing of protest, it does imply the need for a paradigm to cover nonviolent action, especially action in which an individual's life is at stake in the protest.

The analysis can expand from this initial study. First, the quantitative content analysis data should be recollected after the revisions of the codebook to include more robust measures. The sample should also be expanded to include other movements in order to make conclusive remarks about the relationship between the method of protest and the type of coverage. Along with the quantitative analysis, a qualitative textual analysis will offer important information to help develop nuances in reporting to contribute to guidelines for journalists covering hunger strike movements. A qualitative analysis would better contextualize the coverage and analysis in the culture of India to hypothesize on the potential interpretations of reading news about Irom Sharmila.

Appendix A: Statistical Tables

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Conflict, Social Movement Frames, and Political Opportunity Frames, N = 322.

Variables	M	95% CI	SD	n
Conflict stage[a]	0.00	[0.00-0.01]	0.56	322
Constructiveness[b]	0.02	[0.00-0.03]	0.14	322
Diagnostic frame[c]	1.32	[1.25-1.38]	0.57	322
Prognostic frame[c]	0.85	[0.8-0.9]	0.45	322
Motivational frame[d]	0.26	[0.21-0.31]	0.44	322
Access[d]	0.02	[0.01-0.04]	0.16	322
Political party[d]	0.14	[0.10-0.17]	0.34	322
Elite tension[d]	0.80	[0.76-0.85]	0.40	322
Allies[d]	0.62	[0.57-0.67]	0.49	322

Note. [a]Responses were coded escalation (0) or de-escalation (1). [b]Responses were coded destructive (0) or constructive (1). [c]Responses were coded none (0), basic (1), or detailed (2). [d]Responses were coded absent (0) or present (1).

Table 2

Percentages for Medium, Conflict Variables, Framing Variables, and Political Opportunity Variables.

Variables	%
Medium	
Times of India (*n* = 41)	12.7
The Hindu (*n* = 57)	17.7
Indian Express (*n* = 23)	7.1
The Statesman (*n* = 36)	11.2
Assam Tribune (*n* = 38)	11.8
Imphal Free Press (*n* = 58)	18.0
New Indian Express (*n* = 11)	3.4
The Pioneer (*n* = 2)	0.6
Hindustan Times (*n* = 56)	17.4
Total	100.0%
	(n = 322)
Medium Region	
Northeast (*n* = 74)	23.0
Central (*n* = 58)	18.0
Western (*n* = 64)	19.9
South (*n* = 68)	21.1
Local (*n* = 58)	18.0
	100.0%
	(*n* = 322)
Conflict Stage	
Escalation (*n* = 321)	99.7
De-escalation (*n* = 1)	0.3
Total	100.0%
	(n = 322)
Conflict Constructiveness	
Destructive (*n* = 316)	98.1

Constructive (*n* = 6)	1.9
Total	100.0%
	(n = 322)
Diagnostic frame	
None (*n* = 18)	5.6
Basic (*n* = 184)	57.1
Detailed (*n* = 120)	37.3
Total	100.0%
	(*n* = 322)
Prognostic frame	
None (*n* = 60)	18.6
Basic (*n* = 250)	77.6
Detailed (*n* = 12)	3.7
Total	100.0%
	(*n* = 322)
Motivational frame	
Absent (*n* = 239)	74.2
Present (*n* = 83)	25.8
Total	100.0%
	(*n* =322)
Access	
Absent (*n* = 314)	97.5
Present (*n* = 8)	2.5
Total	100.0%
	(*n* =322)
Party alignment	
Absent (*n* = 278)	86.3
Present (*n* = 44)	13.7
Total	100.0%
	(*n* =322)
Elite tension	
Absent (*n* = 63)	19.6

Present (*n* = 259)	80.4
Total	100.0%
	(*n* =322)
Allies	
Absent (*n* = 122)	37.9
Present (*n* = 200)	62.1
Total	100.0%
	(*n* =322)

Table 3

Cross-tabulation of Prognostic Frame by Diagnostic Frame, $N = 262$.

Prognostic Frame	Diagnostic Frame	
	Basic	Detailed
Basic	96.8%	93.4%
Detailed	3.2%	6.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	(n =156)	(n = 106)

Note. X^2 (1, N = 262) = 1.668, p = .197
Phi = .08, p = .197
1 cell (25.0%) have expected count less than 5.

Table 4

Nonparametric Correlation Coefficients for All Frame Variables, N = 322.

Variables	2	3	4	5	6	7
	ρ (p) (n)	ρ (p) (n)	ρ (p) (n)	ρ (p) (n)	ρ (p) (n)	ρ (p) (n)
1. Diagnostic frame [a]	.27 (.000) (322)	.04 (.501) (322)	.01 (.832) (322)	-.01 (.819) (322)	.13 (.016) (322)	.10 (.076) (322)
2. Prognostic frame [a]	–	.10 (.075) (322)	.01 (.845) (322)	-.01 (.899) (322)	.03 (.617) (322)	.10 (.090) (322)
3. Motivational frame [b]		–	.13 (.016) (322)	.01 (.808) (322)	.09 (.093) (322)	.12 (.027) (322)
4. Access [b]			–	.34 (.000) (322)	.08 (.159) (322)	-.08 (.147) (322)
5. Party alignment [b]				–	.06 (.287) (322)	-.06 (.267) (322)
6. Elite tension [b]					–	.018 (.744) (322)
7. Allies [b]						–

Note. [a]Responses were coded from none (0), basic (1), or detailed (2). [b]Responses were coded absent (0) or present (1).

Table 5

Paired-samples t Test for Diagnostic Frame and Prognostic Frame Variables, N = 322.

Variables	M	95% CI	SD	t	df	p
Diagnostic frame	1.32	0.92-1.85	0.57			
Prognostic frame	0.85	0.45-1.38	0.45	13.78	321	.000

Table 6

Nonparametric Correlation for Diagnostic, Prognostic, and Motivational Frame, One-tailed, N = 322

Variables	2	3
	r	r
	(p)	(p)
	(n)	(n)
1. Diagnostic frame [a]	.27	.04
	(.000)	(.251)
	(322)	(322)
2. Prognostic frame [a]	–	.01
		(.038)
		(322)
3. Motivational frame [b]		–

Table 7

Factor Loading for Exploratory Factor Analysis (Principal Component Analysis) with Varimax Rotation of Measures of Social Movement Frames.

Variables	Factor 1
Diagnostic frame	**.77**
Prognostic frame	**.80**
Motivational frame	.33
Eigenvalues	1.35
% of total variance accounted for	44.92

Table 8

Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis (Principal Component Analysis) with Varimax Rotation of Measures of Political Opportunity Frames.

Variables	Factor 1 Participatory Opportunity	Factor 2 Community Opportunity
Access	**.80**	.00
Party alignment	**.78**	.00
Elite tension	.27	**.72**
Allies	-.28	**.71**
Eigenvalues	1.39	1.02
% of total variance accounted for	34.79	60.24

Table 9

Paired-samples t *Tests for Participatory and Community Opportunities, N = 322.*

Variables	M	95% CI	SD	t	df	p
Participatory opportunity	0.16	-1.02-1.51	0.42			
Community opportunity	1.43	0.24-2.77	0.63	-29.59	321	.000

Note. Responses were coded from 0 frames to 2 frames.

Table 10

Pearson Correlation Coefficients for Social Movement Frame Index and Political Opportunity Frame Index, N = 322.

Variables	2
	r
	(p)
	(n)
1. Social movement frames [a]	.19
	(.000)
	(322)
2. Political opportunity frame[b]	–

Note. [a]Responses were coded from 0 to 5. [b]Responses were coded 0 to 4.

Table 11

Independent t *Tests for Motivational Frame by Newspaper Region, N = 322.*

	Region				
	Local	National			
	M	*M*			
	[95% CI]	*[95% CI]*			
	(SD)	*(SD)*			
Variables	*n* = 132	*n* = 190	*t*	*df*	*p*
Motivational frame[a]	0.35 [0.06-0.25] (0.48)	0.19 [0.05-0.25] (0.40)	3.04	247	.003

Note. [a]Responses were coded absent (0) or present (1).

Appendix B: Codebook

Definitions of Social Movement Frames and Mobilization Tactics

Syracuse University Master's Thesis for Alicia Wright

Newspaper Coverage of Hunger Strike <u>Protest in India</u>
Procedures Manual

Sampling newspaper articles

In analyzing the Irom Sharmila hunger strike, newspapers from the local-level, regional-level, regional/national-level, and national level have been chosen. The actual newspapers that the sample has been drawn from are the *Imphal Free Press* based out of Imphal, Manipur; *The Assam Tribune* from Assam, representing the Northeast region; *The Statesman*, a paper out of Calcutta to cover a national paper based in the region; *Indian Express, The Hindu,* and *The Times of India*, all based out of New Delhi and chosen either for their high readership numbers or because the paper is popularly considered a well written publication.

Because of the relatively sparse coverage directly addressing Sharmila's hunger strike, all articles related to Sharmila from these publications will be coded. However, the articles must focus on the social movement and not merely include a reference to Sharmila. This can be a difficult criterion to determine, because many articles refer to artists presenting work inspired by Sharmila. This project is interested in the strategic organizing of a social movement and should focus on protest tactics reported in the newspaper. It is best that the article deal directly with Sharmila. The principle researcher will have made a cursory sample of articles, but if during coding, you feel that an article should not be included in the sample, mark the article and inform the principle researcher. The principle researcher has the final decision of the articles to be included.

Another limitation to the sample is the timeframe. The articles must be obtained from the Access World News and ProQuest databases. The earliest year of an article that can be obtained from the newspapers listed above is in 2002, so this project cannot analyze articles that reported the beginning of Sharmila's hunger strike.

Ground rules

- Please use the official "Coding Sheets" to record the codes you assign to each news item. A sample coding sheet is attached at the end of this section. Also, you will be given extra printed coding sheets to use. Please fill out the coding prints by hand first, and then after finishing your doing, input your recorded data in the electronic Excel spread sheet you will receive on your USB device.

- Generally, you will code **newspaper articles.** For each newspaper article, you will assign codes for a variety of variables.

- You will be analyzing the newspaper article as a **whole**. However, the presence of variables in the article will be found in sentences and paragraphs within the article. In coding the articles, you are not counting the instances a variable appears in the article. For this project it is important to know whether or not a variable appears in a newspaper article, no matter if the variable is present only once or multiple times.

Medium-specific instructions

- Because of constraints in finding the original format of the articles in the papers chosen for this project, you will be coding articles obtained from the Access World News and the ProQuest Historical Newspapers databases. Therefore, you will only be analyzing verbal content.

- Before you start coding, please identify measures within the newspaper articles according to the guidelines described in the "Selection of news items" document.

General instructions

Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis in this study is the newspaper article. A newspaper article for this study refers only to the verbal content published in the newspaper.

Assigning newspaper article numbers

Each newspaper article should be labeled with a unique case identification number. You must note the case ID number in three places: in the coding sheet, on the article list, and in the sample book. Therefore, you should first label the article that you are reading in the sample book with the case ID number you assign it. Next, you should add the article to the list you will create to keep a record of all the articles you code. This is essentially a table of contents for your sample book, with page numbers instead referring to the case ID number. Finally, mark the case ID number on your coding sheet before you go forward with coding. You will have the option of numbers 1-300 to label your articles, and for some reason if you run out of available case ID numbers, use numbers between 600-900.

Theoretical and operational definitions for content analysis variables

Variable	Theoretical definition	Operational definition
Item number	The news item's case ID number.	#1-300
Medium name	The name of the medium the news article appeared in.	(1) *Time of India* (2) *Hindu* (3) *Indian Express* (4) *Statesman* (5) *Assam Tribune* (6) *Imphal Free Press* (7) *New Indian Express* (8) *The Pioneer* (9) *Hindustan Times*
Date	Day the news article appeared in the paper	DayMonthYear
Conflict stage	Whether the conflict between the social movement and the government escalates the conflict (makes it worse) or deescalates the conflict (attempts to move towards a resolution or transformation in the conflict)	(0) Escalation (1) De-escalation
Constructiveness	Whether the way the news article describes the conflict as either escalating or deescalating is in terms of constructive or deconstructive methods	(0) Destructive (1) Constructive
Social Movement Frames Based on Snow & Benford (1988)	The frames social movements employ to gain support are also mentioned in the news article	*Each frame is measured as either absent or present.*
	Diagnostic	(0) Absent (1) Present
	Prognostic	(0) Absent (1) Present
	Motivational	(0) Absent (1) Present
Political opportunity Tarrow (1998, 2011)	Measures of a changing governmental environment that might offer opposition groups a greater chance to mobilize against the political system	*Each variable is measured as either absent or present.*
	Access	(0) Absent (1) Present
	Party Alignment	(0) Absent (1) Present
	Elite tension	(0) Absent (1) Present
	Allies	(0) Absent (1) Present

VARIABLES

ITEM NUMBER

The first variable is a unique **case identification number** that is assigned to each newspaper article. Assign each article a number between 1-300. **No articles can have the same ID number.**

MEDIUM NAME

This variable indicates the **medium**, i.e. the news organization, in which the news article was published. The sample of newspapers has been compiled by selecting articles from six different print publications in India, ranging from national to regional newspapers. The following codes are available:

(1) *The Times of India*   **(4) *The Statesman***   **(7) *New Indian Express***
(2) *The Hindu*   **(5) *The Assam Tribune***   **(8) *The Pioneer***
(3) *Indian Express*   **(6) *Imphal Free Press***   **(9) *Hindustan Times***

DATE

Please indicate the date on which the news item appeared. The required format for recording the date is (1) day in two digits, (2) month in two digits, and (3) year in two digits. It is imperative that you code according to the required format. **Please pay careful attention**.

*Day/Month/Year***:** e.g., October 15, 2008 would be coded as 15/10/08

Conflict[7]

Social movements are inherently in conflict with parties in power. Conflicts tend to include multiple issues, multiple triggers, and multiple parties, and conflicts exist in a cycle. The most basic iteration of this cycle is a moment of emergence that then escalates into a seemingly intractable conflict that eventually will deescalate from some implemented process and then transforms to later reemerge in some other form (Kriesberg & Dayton, 2012).

CONFLICT STAGE

The points of escalation and de-escalation are of interest to this study. Parties might implement tactics to escalate conflict in order to move farther away from an opponent to a position that might allow the original party to win. Escalation pushes a conflict to a point that some measures must be taken to diffuse the situation. De-escalation, on the other hand, is a process through which the tension is decreased so that the parties involved in a conflict can address ways to transform the conflict.

Conflict stage is an important variable to understand how the news media and writers consider a social movement-based conflict. Code either:

(0)   Escalation
- Are one or more parties involved in the conflict implementing highly coercive (manipulative, threatening, forcible) actions on another party to try to reach a decision?
- Does the conflict between the parties described (not the greater social movement conflict) have a widespread impact (will affect a large group of people directly in combat or through institutional changes)?

(1)   De-escalation
- Has one side been compelled to take a step back on the issue and give towards the opposition?
- Are there court orders that have decided how to end the conflict?

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[7] Kriesberg, L., & Dayton, B.W. (2012). *Constructive conflicts*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. pp. 143-214

Examples:

Escalation:

- "Sharmila refuses to compromise on her demands."
- "The government has arrested Sharmila for attempted suicide."
- "The government rejected the recommendation of the committee to review AFSPA."
- "Sharmila is a thorn in the CM's side."
- "This represents an attempt by the government and media to drive a wedge in the movement."
- "The group will attempt to block the functioning of the National Cadet Corps in order to force the government to react."

Deescalation:

- "Authorities released Sharmila from prison yesterday."
- "The government has agreed to review the law."
- "The court ordered the repeal of the law."
- "The Prime Minister has agreed to meet with Sharmila to discuss steps towards addressing AFSPA."
- "The Centre officially assured that it would initiate a political dialogue with the group."
- "The movement leaders welcomed the panel's report on the status of AFSPA."
- "The team was allowed to submit a declaration of their grievances for review by the government."

CONSTRUCTIVENESS

Escalation isn't always negative, and de-escalation isn't always positive. Conflict transformation scholars refer to two classifications: constructive and destructive (de)escalation. Constructive escalation or de-escalation attempts to distinguish how a conflict can be seen as a mutual issue in which the groups involved are not battling in opposite positions but have common concerns and interests in finding a balanced and fair outcome. Destructive escalation or de-escalation rigidifies the difference between the groups, raises a group in superiority compared to the others, and creates a conflict in which some parties win and others lose in the conflict.

Code for:

(0)   Destructive

- Does the article describe an exclusivist identity of one group (in other words highly distinguishable and separate from other groups) in which the other group is a polar opposite and inferior?

- Is the issue described as a major threat to one group's identity or existence?
- Is the issue described as an historic attack on a group?
- Is the conflict described as win-lose or zero-sum?
- Is the conflict handled with excessive violence?

(1) Constructive

- Are the conflicting groups described as inclusive and mutually concerned about similar interests?
- Is the issue considered negotiable and unthreatening in the article?
- Is the conflict described as an issue that can be cooperatively addressed by all groups involved?
- Is a possible outcome suggests that will mutually benefit all parties involved?
- Is violence used minimally to control this issue and negotiations?

Examples:
Destructive:
- "In an attempt to force the government to react to their demands…"
- "The group refuses to consider a counter-offer from the government."
- "She has pledged to end her strike only when the government has fully repealed the law."
Constructive:
- "The group seeks unity and peace among all groups in society."
- "The goal is to create a better society."
- "A strategy has been formulated so that there will be no winners or losers in the outcome."
- "The government and movement team have initiated positive talks to deal with the conflict."
- "The government and the movement came to an agreement on several points."

Social Movement Frames[8]

While media organizations and journalists often have their own conceptualization of frames to cover protest or social movements, social movement organizations take time and consideration in determining the public message they aim to send. Groups engaged in protest have various ways of disseminating their own messages through public forums, pamphlets, and websites. However, the media can choose whether to report what the social movement organization wants the public to know.

Benford and Snow (1988) define three frames that a social movement organization ought to clearly define in order to most effectively communicate the movement's goals and action. These are the diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames.

For this study, you will be coding the articles for the presence or absence of these frames.

DIAGNOSTIC FRAME

Benford and Snow (1988) state that an important piece of information a social movement organization should convey is why the movement is happening—what is the problem that has caused the protest activity. The **diagnostic frame** as the name suggests, diagnoses the problem and attributes some blame for the conflict. It clearly defines what needs to be addressed by opponents to the movement.

Code for the absence or presence of the **diagnostic frame** in the newspaper articles:

(0)   Absent
(1)   Present

After determining the absence or presence of the **diagnostic frame**, it is next important to note the extent of the information provided in the frame. The extent of the frame is described as

[8] Snow, D.A., & Benford, R.D. (1988). Ideology, frame resonance and participant mobilization. In B. Klandermans, et al., (Eds.) *From Structure to Action*. JAI Press, pp. 197-217.

either **basic** or **detailed**. A basic diagnostic frame gives a simple statement of what the social movement is fighting against or taking issue with and leaves out information about what has caused the conflict or what are the specific problems that have arisen surrounding the issue. A detailed diagnostic frame offers specifics about the issue, explaining who is responsible for the issue, what are the actions have caused people to speak out on an issue, and how has the issue affected the public. The following are examples of the two types of diagnostic frames.

Examples:
Basic Diagnostic:
- "human rights abuses"
- "draconian law"
- "Sharmila demands the repeal of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act."
- "Her strike targets the Armed Forces Special Powers Act."
- "The rally is against the Armed Forces Special Powers Act."
- "The strike deals with the controversial AFSPA."

Detailed Diagnostic:
- "AFSPA enables certain powers to be conferred upon members of the armed forces deployed here and alleged that under the Act, human rights violations were taking place for years in the region."
- "AFSPA gives troops sweeping powers to kill suspected rebels and immunity from prosecution."
- "AFSPA has enabled men in uniform to rape, abduct, and kill civilians with impunity."
- "long and shameful trail of extra-judicial killing, forced disappearances, rape, torture and extortion…"
- "AFSPA is a symbol of oppression, an object of hate and an instrument of discrimination and high-handednes."
- "The act gives unbridled powers to the armed forces to shoot persons on the basis of mere suspicion."
- "The Armed Forces Special Powers Act had a history of misuse in the Northeast, resulting in extra-judicial killings and large-scale human rights violations of innocents."
- "AFSPA was imposed in Manipur to combat a decades-long insurgency."

PROGNOSTIC FRAME

While the diagnostic frame defines the problem, the **prognostic frame** identifies various solutions to the problem that the social movement is working towards. The prognostic frame not

only gives a prognosis of the conflict, in other words, providing an idea of the various treatments

to remedy the problem, but also offering possible steps to take to reach a solution.

As with the previous variable, code for the absence or presence of the **prognostic frame:**

(0)   Absent
(1)   Present

After determining the absence or presence of the **prognostic frame**, it is next important

to note the extent of the information provided in the frame. The extent of the frame is described

as either **basic** or **detailed**. A basic prognostic frame gives a simple statement of what the social

movement wants to do to handle the issue or conflict. The basic frame only reveals the general

proposed solution, something as simple as "overturn the law", "repeal the law", and "amend the

Constitution". A detailed prognostic frame provides steps that the social movement proposes to

take in order to reach the solution they desire. The detailed frame gives the necessary steps in the

solution process, recognizing that demands of opposition are not met easily through one simple

suggestion but require more focus on how to accomplish a change in the issue and conflict. The

following are examples of the two types of prognostic frames.

Examples:
  Basic Prognostic:
  • "The protester is demanding the repeal of AFSPA."
  • "Sharmila demands the revocation of AFSPA."

  Detailed Prognostic:
  • "demand an independent magisterial enquiry into the Act…"
  • "Four demands listed: Initiate positive talks with Sharmla and listen to her demands
    seriously; send all party delegations; send members of NWC and NHRC; and send a
    special team of doctors to examine her health."
  • "requested an investigation of this episode of human rights violation and recommend the
    Government withdraw AFSPA according to the recommendations of the committee…"
  • "The committee recommended the repeal of AFSPA after an investigation of the law."

MOTIVATIONAL FRAME

The **motivational frame** acts as a call for support, what Benford and Snow (1988) refer to the "rationale for action". It attempts to motivate the people, to suggest why it is vital for people to participate in the social movement.

Code the **motivational frame** for absence or presence:

(0)   Absent
(1)   Present

Examples:
- "The group appealed to the people to lend their weight to the issue."
- "The rally was organized to garner support for their cause."
- "People should be aware of the state of the Northeast under AFSPA."
- "My strike will hopefully bring a realization to the people."
- "He appealed to all to join hands in the struggle."

<u>Political Opportunity</u>[9]

While strategic capacity refers to internal factors that can help or hinder a social movement, political opportunity examines *external* factors that suggest a ripe environment for protest. Based on Tarrow's (1998, 2011) definition of political opportunity, this study measures four variables: access, alignment, elite tension, and allies. Tarrow (2011) points out that political opportunity does not have to be thought of as formal, institutional structures but rather a consistent component of the political environment (163). Political opportunity occurs through changes in the political system that provides citizens with more open channels to confront the government or through new divisions of power. Social movement organizations can take advantage of changes in political opportunity but do not usually have their own strategy to improve the political condition. Political opportunity examines the environment of the social movement.

<u>ACCESS</u>

In political opportunity, **access** refers to the ability of citizens to address the government and participate in civic action. Increased **access** signals a move towards a more democratic system, although by no means does the political environment have to be a democracy. However, it is important to note that a fully democratic system does not produce a system ripe for contention; elements of open and closed political process should be present. Therefore, we are not looking for evidence of a perfectly open democratic system.

- Are people receiving new opportunities to vote in the political system?
- Was the political system formerly more repressive of its citizens' voting rights?

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[9] Tarrow, S. (2011). *Power in Movement*. New York: Cambridge UP.

If you answer yes to any of these questions from the information **in the newspaper article**, code

access as present:

(0) **Absent**
(1) **Present**

Examples:
- "with upcoming elections"
- "The government has granted the public the right to file grievance at the official office."
- "With elections looming in the coming months…"

PARTY ALIGNMENT

The variable **party alignment** refers to recent shift in political party associations. This

can occur through political parties aligning together or splitting apart and can also happen when

new political parties emerge. This gives social movement organizations the opportunity to raise

an issue and protest because of a potentially weakened political structure.

- Is a new party emergence reported?
- Are people voicing opinions about political parties?

If you answer yes to any of these questions from the information **in the newspaper article**, code

party alignment as present:

(0) **Absent**
(1) **Present**

Examples:
- "The Congress's latest adversary…"
- "The Congress party leader expressed…"
- "The UPA government is concerned…"
- "The BJP leader stated that the Congress-led government would never care for the people of the Northeast."
- "Political parties have also expressed solidarity with Sharmila."
- "Mayawati's timing of her article in support of Sharmila clearly gives the feeling that it is a feable attempt to bail out the UPA-led government."

ELITE TENSION

Elite tension is when members of the elite in a society, be it the upper and/or educated classes, begin to disagree. This might occur through elite individuals breaking with or speaking out against the current power structure. While elites are often also involved in political party splits, this variable **elite tension** looks for individuals with more personal, economic status than political who are veering from the norm of elites. It will be most evident in *individuals* becoming involved in an issue or event.

- Does a person addressing the media have a certain level of power or recognition?
- Is an influential individual expressly upset with the status quo or the power structure?

If you answer yes to any of these questions from the information **in the newspaper article**, code

elite tension as present:

(0) **Absent**
(1) **Present**

Examples:
- "Social activist Medha Patkar and Magsaysay awardee Sandeep Pandey…"
- "Manipur CM (chief minister) Okram Ibobi Singh", "Chief Minister Rishang Keishing", "Prime Minister Manmohan Singh", " Justice Verma", "former minister", etc.
- "filmmaker", "film actress", "popular actor", etc.
- "authorities", "lawyer", "doctor", "powerful people", "expert", "respected", etc.
- "Students from premier educational institutes"
- "TDP leader", "BJP leader", "party spokesperson", etc.
- "civil society member", "National Advisory Council member", etc.
- "Employees' Association", "National Bar Association", etc.
- "luminaries from the cultural and literary world"
- ~~"public activists"~~

ALLIES

While elite tension and party alignment point to changing viewpoints of influential groups in the political system, the variable **allies** considers individuals or groups expressly

concerned with the same issue of the social movement, and sometimes expressly in support of

the protest.

- Are political parties explicitly in support of the social movement?
- Are individuals expressing solidarity with the movement?
- Are groups working to back the movement?

If you answer yes to any of these questions from the information **in the newspaper article**, code

allies as present:

(0)   Absent
(1)   Present

Examples:
- "public support"
- "in support"
- "lent his moral support"
- "In a show of solidarity"
- "Extending their support"

Summary of Variable Indicator Questions

CONFLICT STAGE
(0)   Escalation
- Are one or more parties involved in the conflict implementing highly coercive (manipulative, threatening, forcible) actions on another party to try to reach a decision?
- Does the conflict between the parties described (not the greater social movement conflict) have a widespread impact (will affect a large group of people directly in combat or through institutional changes)?

(1)   De-escalation
- Has one side been compelled to take a step back on the issue and give towards the opposition?
- Are there court orders that have decided how to end the conflict?

CONSTRUCTIVENESS
(0)   Destructive
- Does the article describe an exclusivist identity of one group (in other words highly distinguishable and separate from other groups) in which the other group is a polar opposite and inferior?
- Is the issue described as a major threat to one group's identity or existence?
- Is the issue described as an historic attack on a group?
- Is the conflict described as win-lose or zero-sum?
- Is the conflict handled with excessive violence?

(1)   Constructive
- Are the conflicting groups described as inclusive and mutually concerned about similar interests?
- Is the issue considered negotiable and unthreatening in the article?
- Is the conflict described as an issue that can be cooperatively addressed by all groups involved?
- Is a possible outcome suggests that will mutually benefit all parties involved?
- Is violence used minimally to control this issue and negotiations?

DIAGNOSTIC FRAME: diagnoses the problem and attributes some blame for the conflict. It clearly defines what needs to be addressed by opponents to the movement.
- Basic/Detailed

PROGNOSTIC FRAME: gives a prognosis of the conflict, in other words, providing an idea of the various treatments to remedy the problem, but also offers possible steps to take to reach a solution
- Basic/Detailed

MOTIVATIONAL FRAME: attempts to motivate the people, to suggest why it is vital for people to participate in the social movement

ACCESS
- Are people receiving new opportunities to vote in the political system?
- Was the political system formerly more repressive of its citizens' voting rights?

PARTY ALIGNMENT
- Is a new party emergence reported?
- Are people voicing opinions about political parties?

ELITE TENSION
- Does a person addressing the media have a certain level of power or recognition?
- Is an influential individual expressly upset with the status quo or the power structure?

ALLIES
- Are political parties explicitly in support of the social movement?
- Are individuals expressing solidarity with the movement?
- Are groups working to back the movement?

Summary of Variable Examples

CONFLICT STAGE
Escalation:
- "Sharmila refuses to compromise on her demands."
- "The government has arrested Sharmila for attempted suicide."
- "The government rejected the recommendation of the committee to review AFSPA."
- "Sharmila is a thorn in the CM's side."
- "This represents an attempt by the government and media to drive a wedge in the movement."
- "The group will attempt to block the functioning of the National Cadet Corps in order to force the government to react."

Deescalation:
- "Authorities released Sharmila from prison yesterday."
- "The government has agreed to review the law."
- "The court ordered the repeal of the law."
- "The Prime Minister has agreed to meet with Sharmila to discuss steps towards addressing AFSPA."
- "The Centre officially assured that it would initiate a political dialogue with the group."
- "The movement leaders welcomed the panel's report on the status of AFSPA."
- "The team was allowed to submit a declaration of their grievances for review by the government."

CONSTRUCTIVENESS
Destructive:
- "In an attempt to force the government to react to their demands…"
- "The group refuses to consider a counter-offer from the government."
- "She has pledged to end her strike only when the government has fully repealed the law."

Constructive:
- "The group seeks unity and peace among all groups in society."
- "The goal is to create a better society."
- "A strategy has been formulated so that there will be no winners or losers in the outcome."
- "The government and movement team have initiated positive talks to deal with the conflict."
- "The government and the movement came to an agreement on several points."

DIAGNOSTIC FRAME
Basic Diagnostic:
- "human rights abuses"
- "Sharmila demands the repeal of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act."
- "Her strike targets the Armed Forces Special Powers Act."
- "The rally is against the Armed Forces Special Powers Act."
- "The strike deals with the controversial AFSPA."

Detailed Diagnostic:
- "AFSPA enables certain powers to be conferred upon members of the armed forces deployed here and alleged that under the Act, human rights violations were taking place for years in the region."
- "AFSPA gives troops sweeping powers to kill suspected rebels and immunity from prosecution."
- "AFSPA has enabled men in uniform to rape, abduct, and kill civilians with impunity."
- "long and shameful trail of extra-judicial killing, forced disappearances, rape, torture and extortion…"
- "AFSPA is a symbol of oppression, an object of hate and an instrument of discrimination and high-handednes."
- "The act gives unbridled powers to the armed forces to shoot persons on the basis of mere suspicion."
- "The Armed Forces Special Powers Act had a history of misuse in the Northeast, resulting in extra-judicial killings and large-scale human rights violations of innocents."
- "AFSPA was imposed in Manipur to combat a decades-long insurgency."

PROGNOSTIC FRAME
Basic Prognostic:
- "The protester is demanding the repeal of AFSPA."
- "Sharmila demands the revocation of AFSPA."
Detailed Prognostic:
- "demand an independent magisterial enquiry into the Act…"
- "Four demands listed: Initiate positive talks with Sharmla and listen to her demands seriously; send all party delegations; send members of NWC and NHRC; and send a special team of doctors to examine her health."
- "requested an investigation of this episode of human rights violation and recommend the Government withdraw AFSPA according to the recommendations of the committee…"
- "The committee recommended the repeal of AFSPA after an investigation of the law."

MOTIVATIONAL FRAME
- "The group appealed to the people to lend their weight to the issue."
- "The rally was organized to garner support for their cause."
- "People should be aware of the state of the Northeast under AFSPA."
- "My strike will hopefully bring a realization to the people."
- "He appealed to all to join hands in the struggle."
- "The protester urged the government to pay attention to the people's demands."

ACCESS
- "with upcoming elections"
- "The government has granted the public the right to file grievance at the official office."
- "With elections looming in the coming months…"

POLITICAL PARTIES
- "The Congress's latest adversary…"

- "The Congress party leader expressed…"
- "The UPA government is concerned…"
- "The BJP leader stated that the Congress-led government would never care for the people of the Northeast."
- "Political parties have also expressed solidarity with Sharmila."
- "Mayawati's timing of her article in support of Sharmila clearly gives the feeling that it is a feable attempt to bail out the UPA-led government."

ELITE TENSION
- "Social activist Medha Patkar and Magsaysay awardee Sandeep Pandey…"
- "Manipur CM (chief minister) Okram Ibobi Singh", "Chief Minister Rishang Keishing", "Prime Minister Manmohan Singh", " Justice Verma", "former minister", etc.
- "filmmaker", "film actress", "popular actor", etc.
- "authorities", "lawyer", "doctor", "powerful people", "expert", "respected", etc.
- "Students from premier educational institutes"
- "TDP leader", "BJP leader", "party spokesperson", etc.
- "civil society member", "National Advisory Council member", etc.
- "Employees' Association", "National Bar Association", etc.
- "luminaries from the cultural and literary world"
- "public activists"

ALLIES
- "public support"
- "in support"
- "lent his moral support"
- "In a show of solidarity"
- "Extending their support"

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EDUCATION

2013-present	University of Wisconsin-Madison, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, *Madison, WI* Ph.D. in Journalism and Mass Communication Research interests: South Asian print and online media, political communication, social movement organization and strategy, hunger strike coverage, social network analysis
2011-2014	Syracuse University, S.I. Newhouse School for Public Communications, *Syracuse, NY* M.A. in Media Studies, expected May 2014 Certificate of Advanced Study-South Asia, May 2013
2006-2010	Hamilton College, *Clinton, New York* B.A. in Comparative Literature and Mathematics
2010 (Summer)	South Asia Summer Language Institute, *Madison, WI* Intermediate Hindi Course
2012 (Summer) 2013 (Summer)	American Institute of Indian Studies, *Jaipur, Rajasthan, India* Advanced Hindi Course

EMPLOYMENT

2013-14	Teaching Assistant, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Wisconsin-Madison, *Madison, WI* Teach undergraduate students accepted to the journalism program the introductory skills course, *Mass Communication Practices*. Cover basic reporting skills, print design, audio and video reporting, and strategic communication writing.
2012-13	Research Assistant, Tully Center for Free Speech, Syracuse University, *Syracuse, NY* Planned the annual Tully Center for Free Speech Award through communication with nominees, judges, and winner and publicize the ceremony. Other duties included outreach, social media management, free speech research, and blogging.
2011	Intern, South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre (SAHRDC), *New Delhi, India* Worked on legal reparations for refugees in India. Responsibilities included research in the office and field as well as writing final reports.

AWARDS

2013	David Rubin First Amendment Prize, S.I. Newhouse School for Public Communications, Syracuse University, *Syracuse, NY*
2013	Graduate Student Master's Prize, S.I. Newhouse School for Public Communications, Syracuse University, *Syracuse, NY*
2011-2012 2012-2013	Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship (Academic Year), Syracuse University, *Syracuse, NY*. Awarded for the critical language study of Hindi and research focus on India. Required to enroll in coursework to fulfill language instruction and geographical area research as well as regular coursework.
2012 (Summer) 2013 (Summer)	FLAS Fellowship, American Institute of Indian Studies (AIIS), *Jaipur, India* Enrolled in an intensive ten-week Hindi language program at the advanced level of language acquisition.

ACTIVITIES

2012-2013	President of Syracuse University Program for Refugee Assistance (SUPRA), Syracuse University, *Syracuse, NY* Develop and organize teaching program with graduate student teaching volunteers for ESL and citizenship classes for Bhutanese refugees. Outreach to university on refugee issues.
2011	ESL Instructor for Syracuse University Program for Refugee Assistance (SUPRA), Syracuse University, *Syracuse, NY* Taught two classes per week to Bhutanese refugees at the advanced level. Served as coordinator for special tutoring sessions in public libraries.

CONFERENCES

2014	"Singing from the Heart of the Hymn: The Implications of the Solidarity Sing Along as an Organic or Official Organization". Paper presented at Communication Crossroads 2014, *Madison, WI*, March 2014.
2012	"The Digital Divide on the Move: Demographic Influences on Patterns of Mobile Phone Use". Scholar-to-scholar presentation at the National Communication Association Conference, *Orlando, FL*, November 2012.

2012   "Ignoring Irom: Why Indian Newspapers Don't Report an 11-Year Hunger Strike". Paper presented at the New York Conference on Asian Studies, *New Paltz, NY*, September 2012.

2012   "Digital Protest: Inequality in Online Civic Participation". Paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Midwinter Conference, *Norman, OK*, March 2012.

2012   "The Digital Divide on the Move: How demographics influence instrumental, advanced, communication, and information-seeking behaviors among mobile phone users". Paper presented at the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Midwinter Conference, *Norman, OK*, March 2012.

RESEARCH GRANTS

2012   S.I. Newhouse School for Public Communications Research/Creative Grant, Syracuse University, *Syracuse, NY*
To complete research for a paper titled "Protest Coverage: A Comparative Analysis of Indian and Nigerian Newspapers" with Olusola Ogundola, M.A. student in Media Studies at Syracuse University

2012   S.I. Newhouse School for Public Communications Research/Creative Grant, Syracuse University, *Syracuse, NY*
To complete research for a paper titled "The Digital Divide on the Move: Demographic Influences on Patterns of Mobile Phone Use" with Rachel Somerstein, Ph.D. candidate in Mass Communication, and Molly Kalan, M.A. student in Media Studies at Syracuse University