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Mainstream Media's Framing of #Metoo Campaign in India

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Abstract

The #metoo campaign became a worldwide phenomenon, through the tweet made against the Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein by the actress Alyssa Milano on October 15, 2017. In India, the campaign took off on October 7, 2018, when actress Tanushree Dutta made serious allegations against the actor Nana Patekar, narrating her experiences while she was working with him in a film in 2008. The impact of the awareness created by the #metoo campaign was such that well-known personalities including, then Union minister M J Akbar had to step down when the sexual harassment charges levelled against him.

In the backdrop of all incidents, the study analyses the role of Indian mainstream media in the framing of #metoo movements in India. The research paper analyses Indian news media’s coverage of this social media movement. The study focuses on the analyses of 26 news articles in two major national dailies in India.

Keywords: feminism, #metoo, media, digital technology, sexual assault, women rights

Marco de la Campaña #Metoo de Mainstream Media en India

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Resumen

La campaña #metoo se convirtió en un fenómeno mundial, a través del tweet hecho contra el productor de Hollywood Harvey Weinstein por la actriz Alyssa Milano el 15 de octubre de 2017. En India, la campaña despegó el 7 de octubre de 2018, cuando la actriz Tanushree Dutta hizo serias acusaciones contra el actor Nana Patekar, narrando sus experiencias mientras trabajaba con él en una película en 2008. El impacto de la conciencia creada por la campaña #metoo fue tal que personalidades conocidas como el entonces ministro de la Unión MJ Akbar tuvieron que renunciar cuando los cargos de acoso sexual fueron en su contra.

En el contexto de todos los incidentes, el estudio analiza el papel de los principales medios de comunicación indios en el marco de los movimientos #metoo en la India. El trabajo de investigación analiza la cobertura de los medios de comunicación de la India de este movimiento de redes sociales. El estudio se centra en el análisis de 26 artículos de noticias en dos diarios nacionales importantes en la India.

Palabras clave: feminismo, #metoo, media, tecnología digital, acoso sexual, derechos de las mujeres

India considered being the most dangerous place in the world for women because of high instances of rape, marital rape, female foeticide, and human trafficking, according to a Thomson Reuters Foundation global poll conducted among 550 gender experts in the world (Goldsmith, 2018). The cause of violence against women is not just a cultural issue, but it linked to economic corruption, a lack of security for vulnerable citizens, a lack of public amenities and services, and a corrupt political system in the country.

Indian mainstream media has had a dismal record of covering violence against women in India. In the past, incidences of rape and sexual assault have generally not made the news, unless they included another news value such as the involvement of a celebrity or a person holding high office or the news value of it being freakish. The 'reported' cases of rape and sexual violence (assault and harassment) against women have been steadily increasing as per statistics compiled by the National Crime Records Bureau of India from over 62,000 in 2005 to number of rape, and sexual assault and harassment cases registered increased to over 260,000 in 2016(ncrb.gov.in, 2006; 2017). The number of news reports covering these incidences has remained minuscule. A simple count of stories using *Factiva* (a well-known newspaper database) shows the number of news stories covering cases of rape and sexual assault by three leading English newspapers, *The Times of India*, the *Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu* was less than 150 in 2005; this increased to about 2,000 in 2013, following the shocking incident of Delhi gang-rape case of December 2012. Some of the other news stories on 'rape and assault' included alleged crimes committed by either a public official such as a police officer or a politician or an editor or a self-proclaimed god-man.

The disparity in media coverage of crimes committed against women in India before and after December 2012 for Media Studies' investigation of the prominent television news channels' coverage of the violent Delhi gang rape and murder case in December 2012, compared the media coverage in the week following the gang-rape incident in December 2012, to a week in March 2012 when only 46 minutes were devoted to all rape cases and 17 minutes to all molestation cases (Sachdev, 2013). News channels such as *NDTV 24x7* spent 1,998 minutes, *AajTak* about 1,104 minutes, and *Zee News* 1,275 minutes to the story. Similarly,

Doordarshan, the large government-funded TV channel, devoted 1,208 hours to the gang-rape case, providing government ministers air-time to pacify the shocked and enraged protesters, and clarifying the government's response to the incident and subsequent protests. The visual media organized heated debates on the issue of 'women's safety' and highlighted controversial views of some of the politicians, public officials, and Indian spiritual leaders around women's dress code, use of mobile phones, and behaviour expectations (Vardhan, 2013).

The Hindu Centre for Politics and Public Policy in 2013 had organized two seminars on women's safety in India. The Hindustan Times launched a "safe in the city" campaign in New Delhi and invited readers to contribute their views, reactions, and experiences of sexual harassment, stating that "each story will add to the collective consciousness of a society that needs cleansing" (Dogra, 2013). The Times of India launched a campaign 'Honour Nirbhaya by making this pledge' where it asked readers to pledge to treat all women with respect; shun discrimination; intervene when a woman undergoes harassment, and not vote for politicians who treat women with disrespect.

However, some commentators argued that it was the location, and the social status of the gang-rape victim as an intern in a hospital in New Delhi, which contributed to the fervour of the media in reporting the crime (Majumdar, 2013; Niazi and Townson, 2013; Sachdev, 2013). As a middle-class woman in the capital of India, she represented – the media's perfect target audience. Many women and children, mainly from scheduled castes and classes in other towns and rural parts of India, are raped, victimized, tortured and killed. However, there is no guarantee that the news media would pick up these stories because they are too far away from the seat of power in Delhi, or they belong to other social and economic classes whose plight does not make news, or they are classed as routine stories therefore not published (Majumdar, 2013). Commentators also argued that instead of calmly debating the medieval ideas of who and how women should behave in India, the news media was overzealous in demonstrating their progressive attitudes in their effort to continue to attract the urban middle-class populace (Subramaniam, 2012; Majumdar, 2013). The mainstream media criticized for their insensitive and crude reporting of the event and ensuing protests. "What we have witnessed

over the past fortnight is the onslaught of irresponsible story-telling which thrives on indifference, manufactures revolt, incompetence, lack of transparency and inexplicable fear of the straight and simple" (Subramaniam, 2012). Editors by their wall-to-wall coverage of the Delhi gang-rape aimed to contribute towards a speedy resolution of the case and set a deterrent for others from perpetuating this kind of crime (Niazi and Townson, 2013). Despite hours of coverage and debates, the media focused on the regressive discussion about the demand for the death penalty and chemical castration, rather than on social norms, which could counter such incidents, says Saumya Uma, a consultant on gender, human rights and the law (cited in Sachdev, 2013). The mainstream media reporting sexual violence existed since years, and it related important category news or to a personality (Gilchrist, 2010; Rodrigues, 2013; Corcione, 2018).

Origin of #MeToo Campaign

Patriarchy is as current as Brexit, Donald Trump, and nationalist political parties. Patriarchy is not old-fashioned; it is as hip as football millionaires and Silicon Valley startups. The fact that patriarchy is a term that so many people shy away from using is one of the things that enable it to survive. (Enloe, 2017). The matter of sexual atrocity has at all times been the core focus in the movement of feminism in South Korea, but the young women became aware of the real misogyny during the tenure of Park Geun-Hye. (Kim, 2018). The public in Seoul decided to protest to put an end to sexual discrimination and sexual violence, and the year 2018 marked the largest ever protest recorded in the city worth more than 20000 agitators taking part in the mass movement. (Han, 2018). The #metoo movement emerged as a sharp deviation from the existing norms of patriarchal society for women to stand up against atrocities and raise their voices. There is a need to re-engage and rethink patriarchy away from prevalent view. (Enloe, 2017).

It is well-known that a civil rights activist initially started the #metoo campaign. The seeds for the campaign were sowed as early as 2006 by an activist. Tarana Burke, the activist for African-American civil rights, laid the foundation for the #metoo campaign. The campaign took the start

from Burke's reaction to the grievance of a girl who was frequently assaulted sexually by her mother's boyfriend. The campaign started with 'me too' with the idea that the victims are not alone, but there are also others who undergo similar trauma.

The year 2017 witnessed the most intense and significant debate about sexism in the developed world, which reached the peak during October, when one of the most prominent Hollywood star Harvey Weinstein, against whom several sexual assault cases levied. In Hollywood, the movement started with the actress Alyssa Milanos' simple tweet on the issue in 2017.

The turning point was crucial, which led to the birth of new hashtag movement #metoo introduced by Alyssa Milano on October 15. Following which the movement galvanized voices against sexual atrocities. The move also ushered in the dawn of liberation and mass social movement. The movement was the call for social change wherein women started speaking out. The campaign, which began with a simple tweet, grew to become a global phenomenon, and it was also a symbol raising the voice against sexual harassment. Initially, #metoo was limited only to the twitter, but later spread across Facebook and moved on to Instagram with 15 lakh posts on the most discussed topics (Pew Research, 2018).

By September 30, 2018, the #metoo was used more than 19 million times in only the English language on Twitter, which, on average, is 55319 per day (Pew Research, 2018). The single largest mentioning was when the chief executive of CBS, Leslie Moonves, resigned on September 9 against the allegations of sexual misbehaviour. The #me too campaign had its existence through the interactions not only in the field of entertainment among celebrities but the involved person as stories. (Pew Research, 2018). Out of the total communications held, 29 per cent were exclusive on the entertainment industry or personal revelations. Seventy-one per cent of the total interactions were in the English language (Pew Research). Google created a unique website for 'MeToo Rising' to look into the search trends across the world. The initiative has helped to look into the sites and the campaigning trends on present results and different dates. It observed that #metoo searched in all 195 countries in the last one year.

In the background of the Indian context, there is new potency, visibility, legitimacy to the struggles, affects, and knowledge of feminism all over. Simultaneously there is also an escalation of internal contestation, responsibility, and conflict. If feminists are not able to react to sexual violence unitedly, then there are also the possibilities of the feminists facing increased repercussions from the forces dominating patriarchy. The consequences also include the threat of co-option from external forces like right-wing nationalists, neo-liberal capitalistic society, the market, and the state. (Farris & Rottenberg, 2017). In reality, there is a belief all over the world, including India, that the notion of equality among gender and the idea of feminism experience more legitimacy in general in comparison to earlier times. However, paradoxically, the fundamental contradiction is not apparent when feminism observed in terms of a political project. (Roy, 2018). The anti-British movements and initiatives for the reforms during the 19th century laid the foundation for the thoughts of feminist ideology constituting the first wave feminist movement in India. (Chatterjee, 1989). This movement marked the remarkable development in terms of women's rights, and the issues of political participation, education, event, employability, and modernization raised. The period also opened unexpected possibilities for women's participation in public life. (Menon, 2009). Although women have made their entry into the public forum to speak and participate in the 19th century itself, the present-day #metoo movement introduced the country's women to a new face of empowerment in the country.

Until October 14, 2018, #metoo was the most searched topic on Google in India. On that day, the top 10 search on Google was on #metoo campaign and sexual misconduct. These searches include Ira Trivedi, Vinod Dua, MJ Akbar, and Kate Sharma. It continued for the next day. The campaign in India began with actress Tanushree Dutta's allegations against the veteran actor Nana Patekar, unfolding her experiences in the course of a film, *Horn OK Please*, which was ten years ago. The tweet by Dutta followed by other exposures in the entertainment business and also the media industry. The allegations made against the celebrities and prominent personalities, including the former Union minister MJ Akbar had severe implications. Eleven women have accused Akbar against sexual misconduct.

Methodology

The post-feminists and neo-liberal writing before the advent of metoo movement pursued to report on the boys' club, and its connection with sexual violence, by boosting women's elderly responsibilities in the media. The state of affairs is changing (Nyheter, 2017). US feminist scholar Ferguson (1990) adds that liberal feminists incorrectly acknowledged that signing extra women music journalists would decrease sexual violence in the business.

The compressive study elaborates on the themes mentioned above while analysing the reportage of incidents of sexual valance in both countries. The study says feminism has been unceasingly de-legitimized, belittled and de-politicized in mainstream media (De Benedictis, Orgad, and Rottenberg2019). Further, the study adds that with the second wave feminism (1960-1980), the issue of media coverage of sexual violence incidents in the US and UK has fragmented between detraction and support.

Studies by (Mack and McCann 2018 and Ringrose and Keller 2018) recommend that the depiction of sexual atrocities against women in media analysed under five themes. The first theme elaborates on the fact that the interest of the media on such stories to create commercial interest, and fro better news copy (Kitzinger, 2004). The second theme proposes the idea of women representation in the press as sexualised objects, although they are the victims. The thirds theme focuses on the explanation of the violence, and the fourth theme involves blaming custom. The fifth theme focuses on the demographic profile of the victim (Salter, 2013). Kaitlynn Mendes' study (2011) offers the concept of feminism in the US and UK print coverage from 1968 to 2008.

Since years, the media has been reporting unusual stories, and most of the times, media has highlighted incidents of sexual violence (Corcione 2018). Patriarchal sociological relations have supported the idea of sexism, which was simultaneously enforced by misogyny, whenever there was a threat for the patriarchy (Manne, 2017).

Use of digital media

The studies conducted in the recent past have recognized the usage of digital spaces, which are high, wherein the readers can intervene and learn about rape culture. (Thrift, 2014; Horeck, 2014; Rentschler, 2015; Keller et al., 2016; Phipps et al., 2017).

There is an increase in the use of digital spaces and social media technologies by feminists to organize, network, and dialogue against rape culture, contemporary sexism, and misogyny (Mendes, 2018).

Sexual consent and sexual violence were (re)shaped by news frame following #metoo movement. After #metoo, most of the studies done on the coverage of media on sexual abuse were by journalism scholars. De Benedictis, Orgad, and Rottenberg (2019) discover the features and forms of #metoo 2.0 crusade in the reporting by nine UK local mastheads right from the commencement of the movement, 11 October 2017, until the 31 March 2018. The study found that the digital campaign and its reportage in nine UK mastheads have played a crucial role in making public involvement in the discourse about the matter of sexual violence. Metsch (2018) says the collective action, which includes the social movements, effectively interact with media frames. Australian criminologists, Hindes and Fileborn (2019) uses a post-structural feminist framework and examines local news media reporting of a divisive case about Aziz Ansari (an American actor, writer, producer, director, and comedian) and the sexual misconduct allegations against him by a woman he dated. Allegedly, Ansari pressured for sex while on a date at his apartment, leaving her distraught and crying when the encounter was over.

The framing of media described as a social mass movement that is liberating in the notion. The core issue in the campaign is sexual harassments and violence. Sexual harassment ensures the diminishing of self-confidence among women. It also weakens a woman's workplace ability and prompts the sexist stereotypes, reducing them to mere sexual objects.

There are studies conducted on sexual harassment in different work cultures. There are many seminars, research works, legal briefings, articles, and conferences that have tried defining the term sexual harassment, including the violence and assault against women. The

victims and other women have been speaking, writing, demonstrating, and testifying the atrocities. However, the framework of the definition remains male-dominated as it is written and decided by men. The religious and legislative institutions dominated by men, control and govern the cultural practices. The patriarchal norms standardize the rules of the legal profession. (Regulska, 2015). The #metoo movement is a complicated yet influential movement as it reverberates with the women in the world, thereby allowing women to have an occasion to converse over their ordeal. The campaign is an opportunity for learning both abroad and at home. (Regulska, 2015).

Evans, in her study (2018), has used framing theory to study the coverage of # metoo movement by The New York Times. The other studies Theixos: 2018, Hasunuma& Shin: 2019, Keyton&Clair:2018, Clair &Brown:2019, Sheik&Fayyaz:2019 and Wainberg& McKinon:2017 had a different approach and failed to concentrate on the role of media. The Masters' dissertation from Germany (Eilermann, 2018; Leifermann, 2018) and Austria (Knapper Bohman, 2017) have researched the mainstream media reportage of the movement. The study by Bohman (2017) observed in a different context, and the samples were of different languages. The study (Bohman: 2017) focused on the Austrian media framing with two German papers. The translation might have lacked the idea of a better understanding of the study. Bohman's research looked into five frames, including social structure, individualism and men's opportunism while Leifermann (2018) explores two leading German newspapers Zeitung Frankfurter Allgemeine and Süddeutsche Zeitung.

Problem and Objective

The study focuses on the fact of how sexual harassment is framed by media, primarily through the course of #me too movement. The various studies conducted by feminist scholars, explore the fact that sexual harassment links towards broader structures of power and thereby enabling the sex-based inequality under multiple patterns of discrimination.

Research questions

How did the Indian media frame #me too campaign?

How were the reports formed in terms of diagnosis and prognosis?

The study looked into two different leading English newspapers and analyzed how the problem was defined and whom the persons were who created the problem and the causes leading towards the problem.

Research Design

The research carries exploratory design, which is one of the most suitable designs when the researcher wishes to study a more structured study or in the setting wherein the researcher plans to understand the research. It also enhances the researcher's knowledge of the phenomenon (Wilkinson, Bhandarkar, 1987).

In the study, Entman (1991) observed that Social psychologist Goffman developed a theory on framing in 1956, which used to analyze the media and its content through several methods. The frames include the determination of the problem, defining the problem, cause of the problem, and remedies and solutions for the challenge. The analyses of research on the frames as the persons/actors who give meaning to a specific condition is studied. The structure in the case of the study can be understood through the diagnosis of various case studies and also the interpretations involved. The definition is the one outlined by Entman. *'To frame is to select the features of reality and to make it more relevant to promote a particular problem, moral valuation, treatment described for the item recommended, casual interpretation* (Entman,1993).

Theory of Framing

The framing theory is much more refined as it looks into the changes in the attitude and opinion and terms as the second level of agenda-setting because of its adaptation to the agenda-setting theory. (McCombs, 2007).

The frame is approximately an information piece displayed by media to its consumers and how the information piece is structured and organized. The frames affect the perception of the audience and will influence the

decision-making process. The theory identifies labels, locates, and perceives the occurrences and events. (Goffman, 1974). The framing techniques include contrast, artefacts, catch-phrases, spins, slogans, traditions, metaphors, stories, and jargon. (Fairhurst&Sarr, 1996). The methods used to form a framework in the readers' minds and ensure the viewpoint over the media's requirement on specific issues. The studies, including Castello and Montagut (2011), Kothari (2010), De Vreese (2003), Marland (2012) and Parmelee (2013) are examples of qualitative frame building research.

Here the descriptive, narrative and interpretative reporting are emphasized, and the analysis of the #metoo campaign can be taken up under this theoretical framework as it suits the objective of the study. The emergence of the movements challenges the definition of sexual harassment.

Partially connected to the Entman's definition of frames, the research is carried out under various categories of frames, which includes analysis, projections, damages/casualties (part of the casual interpretation), advocates, and recommends on the solution/treatment. Each of these categories is equal to the variable in content analysis and comprises of various groups.

The study through the theoretical framework and the experimental research have looked into the different level of analysis, which includes the textual, cultural, and cognitive. The textual analysis describes the realities and the sender who may be the writer or the journalist. Hence the textual analysis looks at the news articles/reports critically and not accepts the claimed realities. There should be a subjective analysis of the content. The cultural component of the analysis is restricted only to the cultural context (India) in which cultural elements presents and analyses the content. The cultural context focuses on how the journalists build up their stories in the background of culture. The cognitive or reason study would evaluate the interpretations and write-ups based on subjectivity. The journalist uses the reasoning factor while interpreting the situation and information.

The study has not considered the pictures as the pictures pave the way for the compulsion of the opinion pieces and interpretations. The study only looks into written articles (texts), surveys, and opinion pieces.

While the theoretical study is critically analyzed, there are difficulties in differentiating between the method adopted and the theory. The study in the research serves the purpose of complementing the ideas raised in the framework of the approach.

The research concentrates on the terms 'voices' to get a better understanding of the writer's point of view without taking up the critical aspect of the study being judgmental. Through the study, it can understand that whose voice heard and whose voice suppressed through the perception of the writer/reporter.

As the #metoo movement is the recent phenomenon, not many studies have been carried out, especially in terms of the framing of media of the #metoo movement. There are research studies carried out on the campaign which concentrates on the debates, discussions, and narratives that happened during the period. The research carried out by Theixos: 2018, Hasunuma&Shin: 2019, Keyton&Clair:2018, Clair &Brown:2019, Giuliana:2018, and Wainberg& McKinon:2017 define the path through which the movement was supported forward without the mentioning of the role of media. In exception, the research study by Bohman: 2017 was the framing of media in Austria's two newspapers of the German language, picked up for the study elaborated on the stance of the print media in Austria towards the #metoo movement. The contents picked up for the study were later translated from German to English and understood.

In this context, the present study taken up in India and the sample being the two highest circulated dailies in the country, the study gives an in-depth understanding of mainstream media and its role in framing of the #metoo movement in country like India, which is the mosaic of diversified culture and tradition with conservative and orthodox background.

The study observes the content through various frames (frame of causality, society, probable solution, voices of the accused, actors, and projection) and its likely impact on the minds of the people who read the content. The two dailies, The Times of India and The Hindu, adopted a diverse approach in framing the movement, which is evident in the result. The two newspapers were selected based on their popularity, availability and the papers socio-political stance.

The frame packages and coding approaches followed to analyze the content in the newspapers Hindu and Times of India. The reasoning behind frames discussed helped readers to reconstruct the perception of the communicator and the reasoning aspect. The study materials picked up once the interview given by actress Tanushree Dutta against the actor Nana Patekar to a private channel surfaced under the #metoo movement on October 7, 2018, which marked the origin of the campaign in India. Until October 21, 2018, the articles picked up for the study from both The Times of India and The Hindu. Out of 26 articles picked up for the study had 13 each in both The Times of India and The Hindu. The articles picked up for the study were narrowed down by excluding the pictures and the stories which focused on the history of sexual harassment in the country. There were three readings done to extract in-depth information from the articles taken into considerations. The articles were also primarily studied to make them applicable under various frames that considered for the study.

The research, while analyzing the articles, looked into the factors whether the articles treated primarily as a matter of concern and interest by the newspapers picked up for the study. The reasoning tool was applied to look into the factor in the process of coding.

The coding approach adopted to compare, connect, and analyze the content in the text. The text under descriptive analysis and interpretations is studied. In this background, the cluster analysis considered for the study, which gave the idea on frames.

The elements which are systematically associated and formed a uniform pattern identified as texts are called frames. A matrix designed and elements picked up for the study to maintain the overview of the structure. The elements were studied as columns, while the frames studied in rows in the newspapers.

Indian Media on #Metoo Movement

The study interlinks the frames of articles picked up for the survey in Indian newspapers, Hindu and the Times of India. The result concentrates on the persons involved and analyses the projections which are carried out based on the articles considered for the study.

The study, as defined, was designed according to the following elements, which include the persons involved, problems, causality, solution to the issues, and the voice which gained maximum attention. The study of the frames broadly categorized under the titles of oppression of the victims, individuals, blames/allegations, society, casualties, and the choice of the men.

The articles picked up during the period of the first two weeks after the rise of the movement in India were differentiated based on the core titles of study and were analyzed further.

The exploratory study conducted to look into the gravity of the issues raised in the newspapers. The individual category researches on the articles elaborating over the experiences of the individual as it narrows down the content specifically towards the individuals' viewpoint. The category emphasized on the fact that the movement allows the sharing and exchange of the experiences encountered by the individuals, thereby focusing on the sexual harassment happening at an individual level.

Results

Frame of Causality

The articles analyzed through the category in the frame of causality category observed that the damages created by the problems elaborately described. The men were part of the causality frame wherein the well-known personalities spoke. For instance, Nana Patekar and M J Akbar. The articles lacked the fact of discussing the solution of problems and the role of stakeholders in the society in problem-solving approaches. The frames of the article focused on the issues encountered by individual women as the victims of sexual assault and harassment. The reports focused on the women's act of speaking up against the atrocities. This frame concentrated only on women's voices. The Times of India focused on the celebrities as the advocates of the frame. The celebrity voices of Tanushree Dutta, Flora Saini, Vinta Nanda, Kangana Ranaut, Kaneez Surka reflected in the article frames. These articles, except the focus on M J Akbar, with the underlying factor, was that he was a politician, most of the cases in the Times of India did not concentrate on political angle. The

articles picked up in the newspapers emphasized on the entertainment business and literature (Chetan Bhagat), rather than the political framework. Times of India used the society category thrice wherein the article focused on the concept of awareness created against sexual harassment.

The Hindu focused on the fact of how the campaign or movement is giving the magnitude of sexual harassment. The policymakers and veterans from the business considered as the frame of advocates. The underlying factors dedicated to the articles and news items were on sexual violence, spreading defamatory pictures and information, demoralizing behaviour, attempt to rape, sexist comments, and also the ambience.

Frame of Society

The articles were informative and a sort of awareness creating, which stated that the #metoo movement is instrumental in creating awareness about sexual harassment. It framed the problems as social problems and also the structured one. The society frame outlines that the #metoo movement is a diverse movement aiding strong claims, which will not remain merely as a campaign that came through the ages, but the gains through the course of the action. The challenge to eliminate the prejudices against women lies right from the music industry to the boardrooms and elevator to the classrooms, the frame defined. The articles picked up under the theme/frame in Hindu made it clear that the problem is more comprehensive, which is rampant in most of the sectors in the society. These sectors include media, politics, entertainment business, technical arena, sports. The frame argues that the menace of sexual atrocity is in prevalence at all levels, the international, national, regional, and local. Here the essential commentary briefed that the females continue to undergo the brunt of sexual violence in the areas dominated by men.

Both the newspapers differently covered the issue. Unlike the Times of India, Hindu analyzed into depth the cause and focused on the full range of problems that exist in the society and the factors responsible for maintaining and contributing to the widespread of social evil. The fact that emphasized was the power structure which inherited in the community. It spoke about the hierarchical male dominance, which

suppresses the existence of women in various ways (concerning the former union minister M J Akbar and the allegations made against him). The Hindu defines underrepresentation of women in most of working sectors and at decision making positions is due to the power hierarchy. The silence of victims undergoing the stress, lack of interest among policymakers, and those at the helm of affairs are responsible for the continuation of the male hierarchy in society. With the power of men dominating, the women set back as they are under the impression of intimidated. The frame mentions that the very nature of women getting frightened is the failure on the part of the time to speak, and hence, they accuse themselves.

Times of India focused on defining the factors on the inability of women to speak, which is leading towards atrocities. Nevertheless, the paper lacks the description of the background whys and wherefores, leading to the problems.

The frames that were part of the study under the category of the reasons unearthing as causing problems recommended that the laws on sexual harassment need strengthening with the representation of equality. It emphasizes the need to create awareness, and in fact, the #metoo campaign has emerged one of the essential pedestals in the direction. The reports stress the need for victims to register the complaint following the allegations made under the movement and the requirement of the proper platform. The recording of the complainant can help the police to inquire the matter and shed light on the cause of the problem.

The Frame of Probable Solutions

As part of the frame elaborating on the answers, both Times of India and Hindu carried reports on reactions and the role of civil society (list of accused in the academia). The legislative executive and the judiciary, private entities, and the victims all formed the category wherein the solution expected from all the mentioned stakeholders in the society. The Hindu also made men, the part of the debate to show how culture can mutually work towards structuring the environment with no or less violence against women. The solutions with the broader approach presented in the reports carried by The Hindu. The newspapers also

offered different versions of the people at various level who came up with their opinions and suggestions. Especially the celebrities who acted in the aftermath of the allegations against their fellow counterpart were and their approach defined in both the newspapers (For instance, the statements made by Akshay Kumar, Amir Khan and Kiran Rao withdrawing from the projects involving the alleged persons). Hindu referred to the criticism against the Prime Minister for his silence when his cabinet minister is under the scanner.

The Frame of Voices of the Accused

Times of India offered space in the frame to project the voices of men in defence who were involved and charged. The other debates that were reported elaborated on how the movement can be made more inclusive and to leverage the unknown allegations. The frame here observed that there is a restriction of men in accepting their wrongdoing.

The nature of coverage in both the newspapers varied facilitated to spread moreover or dampen the movement's progress and influence in the individual cases. The Hindu offered more platforms to the victims and their personal stories.

The victimization of these females after the revelation was the fact of concern in the reports carried in Hindu, which defined the intricacies involved in the social norms and the pressure undergone by the women who went public following the media scrutiny and online trolling.

The Frame of Actors (Persons Involved)

The main actors in the study are the accused and the men who indirectly offer legitimacy to the claims made #metoo campaign. The credibility given to the #metoo campaign comes through the allegations made by the victims. Reports carried in Times of India limits the scope of opinions on the drive, thereby decreases the quality of the frame to some extent. The experimental pieces of evidence lacked in the accused who were coming forward to fame for various reasons, which also included in their defence.

The victim-blaming, which was part of the frame, emerged out, triggering the foundation for the allegations against women. The frame of

victim-blaming proves that sexual harassment is given a lower profile by accusing the victims of being the subject of harassment.

The casualty was another angle of study which spoke about the damages that occurred and defined the inability of the victims to encounter the harassment on the spot, and they do not speak until many years following the harassment (actress Tanushree Dutta, for instance). The approach of the females is one of the reasons for which they are blamed for not sharing their gruesome experiences immediately. The other issue bothering women according to the articles and reports carried in *Hindu* is the women who undergo the conflict within to conclude whether to or not to disclose their ordeals against sexism and defined themselves in the public platform. It is the mindset embedded among the females, which results in fear of exclusion from society. The revelations are not accepted cordially in general, which sometimes had to face the wrath of damage.

Frame of Projection

The projection frame of the reports tries to find the explanation which stresses on the personalities in public life, and the men should get into thorough deliberations before commenting and speaking out in the debate in place of evaluating the issue. The other solution offered in the articles is the need for much more of such #metoo movements. The duty on the part of victims to act, besides the accused should stop committing such crimes.

The discussion and comment section calls for the victims to speak up and get engaged in the process of solving the problem.

The frame oppression of the victims used by both the *Times of India* and *Hindu*. Of the two, *Times of India* focused on the articles emphasizing the frame in which the #metoocampaign said to be misused. The fact that sexual harassment is made a mountain out of a molehill and the feminist scholars are targeting women to victimize them.

The analyses define the repercussions of the movement and the need to stop it. The conventional idea encountered by the possible magnitude of the campaign in which the men are against the social interaction with women fearing an attack. It highlighted those innocent people also targeted as part of the consequences. The frame even diagnosis the term

sexual harassment outline broadly and any action can interpret as the offence.

Here the damages frame defines the sensitivity of the women who undergo the harassment. It also focused on the possible intolerable and malicious messages imparted through the #metoo campaign (stories shared by the urban women who have the middle-class background as it makes not so crucial that they are not real).

The forecast frame in the articles defines the requirements of women to change their mindset. The attempt of sexual advances should not treat the way sexual harassment treated. The women should also, on the other hand, speak on the issue where they were never sexually harassed. The frame also comprised of the reactions by the advocates of the #metoo campaign (Raya Sarkar, law student).

Discussion

The theory of framing has been explored in different ways by scholars. The main impact would be on the attitude of the individual and the interpretation that is involved. (Chong & Druckman, 2007)

The study looked into the five categories of the frame to analyze the reports and news articles approached in two Indian newspapers, The Times of India and Hindu. Out of the five frames of the study, the two most prominent were the society and the individual category. The society frame was used by The Hindu in large numbers, while The Times of India concentrated on the particular frame narrating the personal stories emphasizing the detailed reporting. There was also the investigative and interpretative reporting in case of Hindu. Next comes the oppression of victims, who are women, and the blaming of the victims for the damage. Newspapers focused on problems that exist in the way of women to narrate their problems in the public platforms. The reports were of narrative and descriptive with maximum interpretations. The questions like why, how, where, and when also unearthed in the article frames.

The perception described through the narrative of defence of the harasser (M J Akbar, Alok Nath, Nana Patekar) highlighted the articles that appeared in Times of India. The articles in Times of India newspapers

lacked the advocacy of the campaign in terms of stopping sexual misconduct.

The fact that objectification by media display of women might lead to increasing violence against women, the misuse of movement to catch the attention of the world were some of the arguments made in articles of both the newspapers.

The study observed that the media framing of the #metoo campaign adopted the path of balancing wherein the harassers given space to speak about their torment. The newspapers, primarily Hindu, indeed offered a reliable support mechanism to the narration of the victims with space provided in the most prominent pages (front page). The individual saga was more often part of the narratives, and the frames mostly described the subject 'women' and emphasized on the fact that the women in all spheres should be taking the responsibilities of speaking up. Equally important is the social responsibilities, which pointed out towards the women and not men. Although while analyzing the news articles under some of the frames, it observed that the men sometimes are subjected to unnecessary accusations, especially when the harasser came in defence of himself. There were also differences in the way of defining the term sexual harassment by both the newspapers. The term adopted a different approach. In the aftermath of the 2012/ Nirbahaya gang rape' case, the Supreme Court rephrased the term rape as sexual assault. Despite the fact, the word rape was used by the newspapers in framing the #metoo campaign. Another factor understood in the study was that there were not many analyses that described the cause and the probable solutions, which was the base for the readers' detailed understanding. The articles and news reports through various frames focused more or less on the individual side of the stories.

With the celebrities' voices echoed in the frames which advocated the campaign, there was also the role of society and policymakers in introducing the solution to bring in changes.

The politics were indeed part of the controversies that appeared once the #metoo campaign reached the doorsteps of the union ministers. The interpretative reporting, which followed, also focused on the ramifications at a social level. It observed that the interpretation made focused on the patriarchal structure in the context of Indian society. In this backdrop, the

harasser, generally being men in the frame, was defined as the norm under a patriarchal society.

The reports in Hindu, which are a descriptive and analytical laid weight on victims who are targeted by the harasser, most of the frames stressed on the need for women to speak coming forward and not wait for the changes in the policies and structure of societies. The interpretative reporting here transfers the burden of responsibilities on women without defining the need for change in the social edifice.

Hindu and Times of India had no survey conducted in terms of evaluating the impact of the #metoo campaign. There were frames carried under the notion of how women can be instrumental in inviting trouble. The frames in the articles defined the idea of the traditional conservative mindset, which held the women's approach against the tradition in terms of dressing, and behaviour is responsible for the damages. The objectification of women in various forms of media is also said to be responsible for the increasing crimes against women, observed the news reports carried in both the newspapers.

The Times of India had the framing different from the Hindu, wherein the newspaper let the males speak and who sometimes opposed the campaign and the very idea of its origin.

There was a difference in positioning of the frames in both the newspapers in terms of context and circumstances. Here the movement was inferred as political, serious, entertaining, which looked through the narrations of the victims in the individual stories. It was entertaining over the fact that the narratives were sexually overloaded. Severe political context observed in the frames of Hindu, while the other factors like entertainment and not deep impressions defined in the frame of Times of India. Here objectifying of women was more visible than in the frames of Hindu.

The conclusion analyzed in the way that readers of Hindu will take the framing of the #metoo movement much more seriously when compared to the readers of Times of India.

The study looked into the coverage of newspapers Times of India and Hindu in the Indian context. The findings are very different from the studies carried out on the movement in other parts of the world. The study framing of media of the movement in India was first of its kind in the

country. The study unearthed the facts of contents and found that newspapers had a different approach in handling the coverage. The study analyzed the content written through observation of writers and narration of the victims and accused over their ordeals. The fact that the incidents which were spoken by the victims were not timely and had taken place a few years ago extending from two to ten years also hindered the impact of the movement as observed by the study. There were no legal cases reported, and the articles in these two newspapers looked into the fact that the present-day narratives were only towards raising the issue and not focusing on the legal measures, which included in the frame of society.

Conclusion

The study also brings scopes for the elaborated form of research owing to the limitations of the investigation. The validity and reliability of the study are restricted as the survey only looks into the two weeks of research materials that appeared and concentrated on only two newspapers. The study on four newspapers, including the vernacular newspapers and their framing of the #metoo movement, can be taken up. The survey of the content of television news items and the telecasted special programs on the campaign and the impact of audiovisual communication on the audiences and the research comparing both mainstream and vernacular language newspapers owing to the different cultural set up of both media can offer different dimensions to the study. The approach can be studied and how both a language newspaper farmed the movement when compared to English newspapers and its ramifications can be worked out. The findings of the coverage of the campaign look into the mainstream media angle and the intensity of sexual violence that surfaced in the entertainment, political and media set up. The findings also uphold the thought that media coverage of #metoo movement needs to be studied globally to look into the impact of the coverage of hashtag movement in the aftermath.

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Notes

Definition of sexual harassment: The sexual activities which take place against the order of nature, which involves forced sex with minors and adults, unwanted sexual attention involving a problem creator to the victim, which are non-consensual sexual acts and bestiality (Section 377, IPC). Sexual harassment takes various forms, which include physical, verbal, non-verbal, and sometimes indirect.

It is an approach to manufacture the consent and through which the harassment comes which proves that the ruling class, which here are men still are dominating and are the controllers of sexual atrocities and victimizing the suppressed class, which indicates as women (Chomsky, Herman: 2008).

The fundamental culture in the Canadian armed forces is responsible for the sexual assault and sexual violence taking place in the military set up of Canada. The sexual abuse taking place within the Canadian military set up proved detrimental to the efficiency of the Canadian army leading towards the destruction of professionalism and integrity (Descamps, 2015). There is a need for profound cultural change in which the leaders acknowledge the gravity of the situation. There is a need for acute intervention by policymakers instead of mere revision of already existing policies.

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