

## REPRESENTATION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN INDIAN PRINT MEDIA: A COMARATIVE ANALYSIS

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**Abstract:** *This study aims at investigating print news discourses on a relatively recent act of violence perpetrated on women in India, which evoked a nation-wide non-violent protest, popularly known as 'The Pink Chaddi' Campaign, 2009. We considered some of the top English national and local daily newspapers (online editions) for analyses; using advanced computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) called Leximancer v3.5. We aimed to explore the frames in the news discourse through intra-media analyses, and perform comparative inter-media analyses between national- and local newspaper corpora. The 'concept maps' produced by Leximancer v3.5, in the unsupervised-mode, threw light on the nature of the news discourse on the Campaign. We found slight evidence that some of the newspapers tried to downplay the VAW and took a detour towards political blame-game. These results somewhat reflected the results of Caputi et al. (1992), O'Connor (2002) and Wetschanow (2003).*

**Keywords:** *'The Pink Chaddi' Campaign, CAQDAS, Leximancer v 3.5, Concept Maps, News Frames, News Discourse*

### Introduction

It is true that we live in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but even to this date, social malice and malpractices are still very much prevalent which are reminiscent of the past. One of such social atrocities is Violence Against Women (VAW). It is an accepted fact that this is a malevolent that world we live in, and despite liberalization and modernization of woman in the West and urban locales within our country, women at large still face social brutality, torture, limited opportunities in the public sphere, etc.

One major area of focus in the paradigm of gender and media is the depiction of violence perpetrated on women, stereotype roles in popular media genres, femicide, etc. Women are still depicted as weak, frail, sometime manipulative in films and soaps. Research has revealed that news of violence against women is downplayed and sometimes the (male) perpetrators and governments are benevolently portrayed.

In this light of thought, this work aims at investigating print news discourses on a relatively recent act of violence perpetrated on women in India, which evoked a nation-wide non-violent protest, popularly known as “*The Pink Chaddi Campaign*”. In this study, some of the top English National and Local daily newspapers (online editions) were analyzed; using advanced computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) called *Leximancer v3.5*. We aimed to explore the frames within the news discourses through intra-media analyses, and performed comparative inter-media analyses between national and local newspaper corpora. The ‘concept maps’ produced by *Leximancer v3.5*, in the unsupervised-mode, threw light on the news discourse on the Campaign.

## **Women, Violence, Gendered Media and VAW**

'Hard News' sell and so does *violence*, which is considered primarily as a hard news-value. In today's globalizing world, information (such as news) is heavily 'commoditized', far exceeding the thresholds set in the earlier half of the last century. News business is rapidly driven by hard news-values, such as the nature, cause and the brutality of violence (but certainly not limited to these). More so, the journalistic code of ethics, media's responsibility toward societies etc., are becoming volatile, passé constructs to many media practitioners.

Violence does not only leave its indentations on news stories and features, but also on various contents of today's popular media. Films from Hollywood, Bollywood and even some of today's popular TV soaps contain elements of violence, to varying extents of course. Action-films register more clicks on Box-office ratings than does films of other genres. We also find an increasing amount of violence shown on television; every soap aired on television deals with revenge, greed, deceit and diabolical plots.

The visual media, be it television or cinema, is a very powerful vehicle for communicating ideas and images. It creates a 'pseudo-reality'; a realm which 'seems' very real and the audience are unable to differentiate between the constructed, 'reel' world and the real one. We are given simplistic solutions to complex issues by the media, rather than bolstering ourselves to search for more robust, holistic remedies. Thus, we are posed with a serious question: Whether or not popular media encourage, if not cause, crime, violence, adultery, and aggressive, anti-social and even criminal behavior? So far, research has not been able to find a direct causality between exposures to mediated acts of violence and aggressive, criminal behavior. The American Psychological Association (1993) concluded that *"there is absolutely no doubt that those who are heavy viewers of TV violence demonstrate increased acceptance of aggressive attitudes and increased aggressive behavior"* (Wartella et al., 1998). But this statement does not confirm the existence of a causal link. However, there is a general consensus amongst researchers that exposure to mediated acts of violence leads to a general 'desensitization' in audiences; *"it lowers inhibitions against and increases tolerance of violent behavior"* (McQuail, 2005; pp. 483).

## **Violence in Gendered Media**

The afore-mentioned facts were a prequel to our discussions on 'Violence in Gendered Media'. We are now perhaps at a prime stage to discuss on gendered portrayals of violence in popular media. There's little to argue on the fact that media texts still silently 'mirror' & resonate 'patriarchal dominance' that exists within societies, tailored for its vast male audiences. *"The media promotes a white, upper middle-class, male view of the world that urges the rest of us to sit passively on our sofas and fantasize about consumer goods while they handle the important stuff"* (Douglas 1994, 11). Women are continually being depicted in popular media as stereotyped, docile, hapless beings; fighting to co-exist and survive in a 'man's world'.

S.K Srivastava and Sweta Agarwal (2004) raise the question: *Do the visual media have any relation with the crimes being perpetrated on women today?* In their paper, they explain how the images of women are being projected as pitiable, tortured beings tormented by malevolent atrocities by the visual media, in a country like India where women are traditionally given high esteem and worshipped as archetype deities. Rape, murder, dowry deaths, female infanticide ----it's an endless list. It must be said that most of the violence and crimes perpetrated on women goes unreported in India, like elsewhere around the world. Such crimes, which do make it to the news bulletin, depict just a fraction of the reality and are extremely small in numbers compared to crimes perpetrated on men.

Indian Cinema is littered with imageries of women being projected as fragile beings; as housewives, mothers, sisters, struggling working-women, prostitutes etc., with limited freedom and social acceptance, enslaved, tortured brutally, raped and murdered by villains ----- it's a vicious catacomb. Films like 'Mirch Masala' and 'Ram Teri Ganga Maili' show how women were exploited and enslaved under the Zamindari System and by the social elites.

*"In most of the television serials, women are portrayed either as helpless victims suffering silently or as tough and cunning; out to take revenge for their sufferings by resorting once again to violence ..... Hindi movies like 'Pratighat' and 'Anjaam', ['Khoon Bhari Maang'] and more*

recently *'Bandit Queen'* justifies revenge by women. An atmosphere is created wherein it seems justified that women should take up guns to fight their tormentors. All this, if followed in reality, would only lead to further crimes on women" (Srivastava & Agarwal; 2004).

Acknowledging the tumultuous power of the media, it should promote positive attitudes towards women; justifying their rights and position in society, and reiterate the issue of occurrence of crime & violence towards the factors and attitudes which cause violence on women. Srivastava and Agarwal (2004) think that "TV serials like *'Rajani'* go a long way in making women confident and equipped to handle crisis. Films like *'Damini'* and *'Raja ki Aayegi Baraat'* have also handled the problems of violence on women in a positive manner by showing that a woman who fights for justice against all odds can ultimately emerge victorious with the public on her side". Films like *'Tejaswini'* and *'Samay'* show their female protagonists as dexterous, sharp-witted, astute, battle-hardened (at par with their male counterparts) yet subtle; ready to take on crime and criminals, and attempt to bridge the chasm ----- that of age-old accepted axiom of male superiority over females.

### **Media Violence, Sex and 'Desensitization'**

Media 'desensitization' refers to "an attempt to create conditions whereby information about a fear stimulus is encoded in the absence of fear responses" (Foa and Kozak, 1986). Viewers become more 'desensitized' with repeated exposure to mediated aggression and sexual imageries. Media 'desensitization' may have real-life impacts and lead to harmful societal consequences. This section exclusively focuses on on-screen sex and violence and the effects of continual media 'desensitization' caused by such explicit contents. These are most commonly found in many R-rated films, such as *Halloween*, *Friday the 13<sup>th</sup>*, *Nightmares on Elm Street*, *Tales from the Crypt*, etc., and are popularly known as "slasher" films. The content of such films are primarily focused on teen-violence, portrayal of women either as seductresses or victims even casualties of brutal sexual perpetration, and are tailored for teen audiences. Smith et al. (2004) describes the premises tacitly. They explain, that it becomes important to examine the impact that viewing such explicit content may have on teens. For example, a study by Buerkel-Rothfuss et al. (1993) revealed that approximately 70% of the college students reported at least some exposure to "slasher" films on video or movie-theater. Linz et al. (1984) says that research in this genre has demonstrated (using self-report as well as physiological measures of arousal) that exposure to R-rated sexually violent slasher films can lead to 'desensitization' effect, such that viewers experience less negative emotional arousal with heavy viewing. Linz et al. (1984) suggested that repeated viewing of slasher content systematically desensitize viewers to violence and its real-world consequences. Heavy viewers become increasingly desensitized with anxiety-provoking scenes in films. This self-awareness of anxiety reduction is significant in the formation of other perceptions and attitudes about violence portrayed in the films that are then 'carried over' to other situational contexts. It is based on concepts of exposure therapy to treat pathological fears. Foa and Kozak (1986) explain that research reveals that "... simply showing a phobic any fear-stimulus will significantly reduce anxiety once evoked by the object or situation". Smith et al. (2004) raise the question: *Does exposure to the admixture of sex and violence influence aggression?* They explain that the answer to this question has been sharply disputed in social sciences. For ethical reasons, most researches in this area have focused on adults' aggression reaction to violent sexually explicit content. Experimental studies are often conducted in 'closed doors' within media laboratories. Male participants are either angered or not, then exposed to videos and texts featuring explicit sex, violence and explicit sex or neutral content. After exposure, the participants are given an opportunity to aggress against the researchers, usually by mild to strong electric shock. A meta-analysis on effects of pornography by Allen et al. (1995) revealed through regression analyses that exposure to sexually explicit violence is a small to moderate predictor of aggressive behavior ( $r = 0.217, k = 7, n = 353$ ).

Thus, the results from the 'desensitization' literature suggest that media violence can affect viewers' arousal responses, attitudes, and tolerance of real-life aggression. Because media content is more graphic and shocking today, the impact of exposure to such explicit aggression on desensitization is likely to be even more pronounced.

### **VAW, 'Femicide' and its Misrepresentation in Media Texts & Discourses**

Readdressing the issue of 'Violence against Women' (VAW) and a more devastating, intentional impact caused by it, known as 'Femicide', Sabrina Denney Bull in 'Violence Against Women: Media (Mis)-Representations of Femicide' (2003), tacitly explains the factors that lead to 'Femicide' and how the media, quite ineptly, downplay even distort the facts related to VAW & 'Femicide' in their news coverage. Other notable works on similar issues are that by Wetschanow (2003), Gupta (1999), O'Connor (2002), Caputi et al. (1992) etc. It has been found out on many instances that the media fail to give prominence to news associated to crimes and other violent acts perpetrated on women. The media are blamed of marginalizing, distorting, fabricating and downplaying news when it comes to reporting VAW & 'Femicide'. Here, we'll look at the probable factors responsible for VAW and 'Femicide' and some instances where media has downsized such events. But first, here's a quick look at the definition of 'Femicide'.

'Femicide' is quite a multi-dimensional term and economizing with it can be misleading. Many scholars have put up their definitions (for details, see Sabrina Bull, 2007, p. 3), but by far the most comprehensive definition is given by Caputi & Russell (1992), who also happened to coin the term: "*Femicide is on the extreme end of a continuum of anti-female terror that includes a wide variety of verbal and physical abuse, such as rape, torture, sexual slavery (particularly in prostitution), incestuous and extra-familial child sexual abuse, physical and emotional battery, sexual harassment (on the phone, in the streets, at the office, and in the classroom), genital mutilation (clitoridectomies, excision, infibulations), unnecessary gynecological operations (gratuitous hysterectomies), forced heterosexuality, forced sterilization, forced motherhood (by criminalizing contraception and abortion), psychosurgery, denial of food to women in some cultures, cosmetic surgery, and other mutilations in the name of beautification. Whenever these forms of terrorism result in death, they become femicides.*" (Caputi and Russell 1992, p.15)

Bull (2007) thinks that one of the main culprits behind the cause of VAW and 'Femicide' is the classical clash between 'Patriarchy' and 'Feminity'. "*Patriarchy is based on a masculine/warrior ideal. It promotes ideals such as violence, aggression, domination, control, emotional reserve and sexual potency for men. These ideas dangerously get attributed to a 'natural' form of masculinity that all men supposedly possess*" (Sheffield 1994, p. 112). Women have fallen victim to long-waged struggles for power and material wealth by men. "*..... it is not surprising that women are victims and targets in a battle for power. The politically disenfranchised are the first to be sacrificed by those in power and those hoping to obtain it*" (Skilbeck 1995, 50).

Bull (2007) mentions about the work of Katz and Jhally (1999), called "Crisis in Masculinity", Boston Globe, 1999. This article was on the school-shooting that took place in Littleton, Colorado. The media reported this event as a case of youth violence. However, the authors argue that "*what these school shootings reveal is not a crisis in youth culture but a crisis in masculinity.....this is not a case of kids killing kids. This is boys killing boys and boys killing girls*" (Katz and Jhally, 1999). They raise the issue of crisis in masculinity, about the environment in which US kids were being raised, the over-whelming white-supremacist patriarchal ideology that were being imbibed in kids and about the misdirected blame-game that was ensued by the media. Wetschanow (2003) analyzed media reporting on VAW and rape cases in Austrian print media and TV. By blending quantitative content analyses with qualitative critical discourse analyses of media texts, she showed how media strategically categorized victims & perpetrators, men & women. Victims were 'swapped' with perpetrators, and men who were charged for raping a woman were 'switched' into the role of passive victims; that they were seduced first, which kick-started their testosterone drive, forcing them to commit rape. Women were deliberately projected as seductresses, guilty of perpetrations that were incurred onto them. O'Connor (2002) investigated VAW and worked with victims (both men & women) and with perpetrators behind bars. Her studies revealed that the media depicted officials, cops and bureaucrats benevolently while victims (mainly women) were depicted as weak, not remembering accurately or being noncompliant. This was a case of double- harassment; "*..... first in the terrible situation .... secondly, through the [mis]-representation in the media & at court or through bureaucracies that defines them*" (O'Connor, 2002).

## Case Study: 'The Pink Chaddi Campaign' (2009)

The case study chosen for this paper was a string of violent acts perpetrated on women in Jan-Feb 2009 in India. The subsequent reactions to these incidents, in the form of non-violent protest, are collectively known as 'The Pink Chaddi Campaign'.

The Pink Chaddi Campaign (or, Pink 'Underwear' Campaign) is a non-violent protest movement launched in India in February 2009 in response to culpable incidences of violent conservative and right-wing activism against perceived violations of Indian culture, when a group of women were attacked at a pub in Mangalore. The campaign was particularly targeted in protest against a threat by Pramod Muthalik of the Sri Ram Sena (also spelled as *Sri Ram Sene* and *Sriram Sena*), an orthodox Hindutva group based in Mangalore. Mr. Muthalik threatened to forcibly marry off and take other action on any young couples found together in public on Valentine's Day.

### **The antecedents**

On 24 January 2009, activists of Sri Ram Sena attacked few girls in a pub in Mangalore, India. A group of 40 activists of the SRS thundered into the pub "Amnesia — The Lounge" and beat up a group of young women and men, claiming the women were violating traditional Indian values. Two of the women were hospitalized.

On February 6, 2009 in an incident of moral policing, a group of men who claimed to belong to SRS attacked a group of women in Mangalore, India. Later that month Muthalik, announced an action plan to target couples found dating on February 14, Valentine's Day. He said, "*Our activists will go around with a priest, a turmeric stub and a 'mangalsutra' on February 14. If we come across couples being together in public and expressing their love, we will take them to the nearest temple and conduct their marriage*".

*The reactions* – Amidst the tension, a protest was started by four young women, called the "Pink Chaddi" campaign, where they urged for a peaceful protest (described as 'Gandhian' in the press) to all of India, by sending pink underwear ("Chaddi" in Hindi) to Muthalik's office on Valentine's day. This novel form of protest was initiated by Nisha Susan, Jasmine Patheja, Mihira Sood and Isha Manchanda. As the protest grew, underwears started pouring in from various parts of India in solidarity for the movement. Over 500 pink chaddis were couriered on Valentine's Day. Other cities collected hundreds of such 'chaddis' and decided to courier them directly. There followed a tentative truce established as Pramod Muthalik has expressed an urge for a dialogue to resolve this issue.

The Pink Chaddi Campaign received widespread media coverage, and the Facebook.com group saw numbers of members growing exponentially in the following days. A few reports were also critical of the campaign accusing it of trivializing an important issue like attack on women. There was also political reaction to the campaign as supporters of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) objected to use of pictures of RSS members on the campaign blog. RSS had criticized the Mangalore attack and favored ban on Sri Ram Sene. The blog owner removed the pictures of RSS members following this objection. A counter-campaign calling itself "The Pink Condom Campaign" was started by some unknown activists a few days before Valentine's Day. As an additional precaution, Muthalik and 140 others of the Sri Ram Sena were held in preventive custody on Valentine's Eve, 2009. Shortly after the campaign took off, the campaign's Facebook group was hacked. Attackers renamed the group and included racist slurs and death threats in its description. The attacks continued despite appeals to Facebook's support department for help, and eventually Facebook shut down the group.



*Fig. 6.1 A TimesNow footage shot, depicting one of the four victims of the Mangalore pub attack being man-handled by SRS moral policing activists. (Source: [www.timesofindia.indiatimes.com](http://www.timesofindia.indiatimes.com))*



*Fig. 6.2 Pub-going women being attacked by Sri Ram Sene activists, in the premises of “Amnesia – The Lounge”. (Source: [www.timesofindia.indiatimes.com](http://www.timesofindia.indiatimes.com))*



Fig. 6.3 “The Pink Chaddi Campaign” protestors demonstrating and making their voice felt in Mangalore, on Valentine’s Day 14<sup>th</sup> Feb 2009. (Source: [www.hindustantimes.com](http://www.hindustantimes.com))

### Research Methodology

This study was based on qualitative content analyses of news discourses, regarding “The Pink Chaddi Campaign” and its coverage by Indian broadsheet dailies (online versions) in English, using an automated CAQDAS tool called *Leximancer v3.5*. The newspapers (online versions) chosen for content analyses, with their types & corresponding latest readership figures (*in millions*) from the Indian Readership Survey (IRS), 2010 data are as follows, see Table 7.1:

- **The Times of India** (*National Daily, 13.4*),



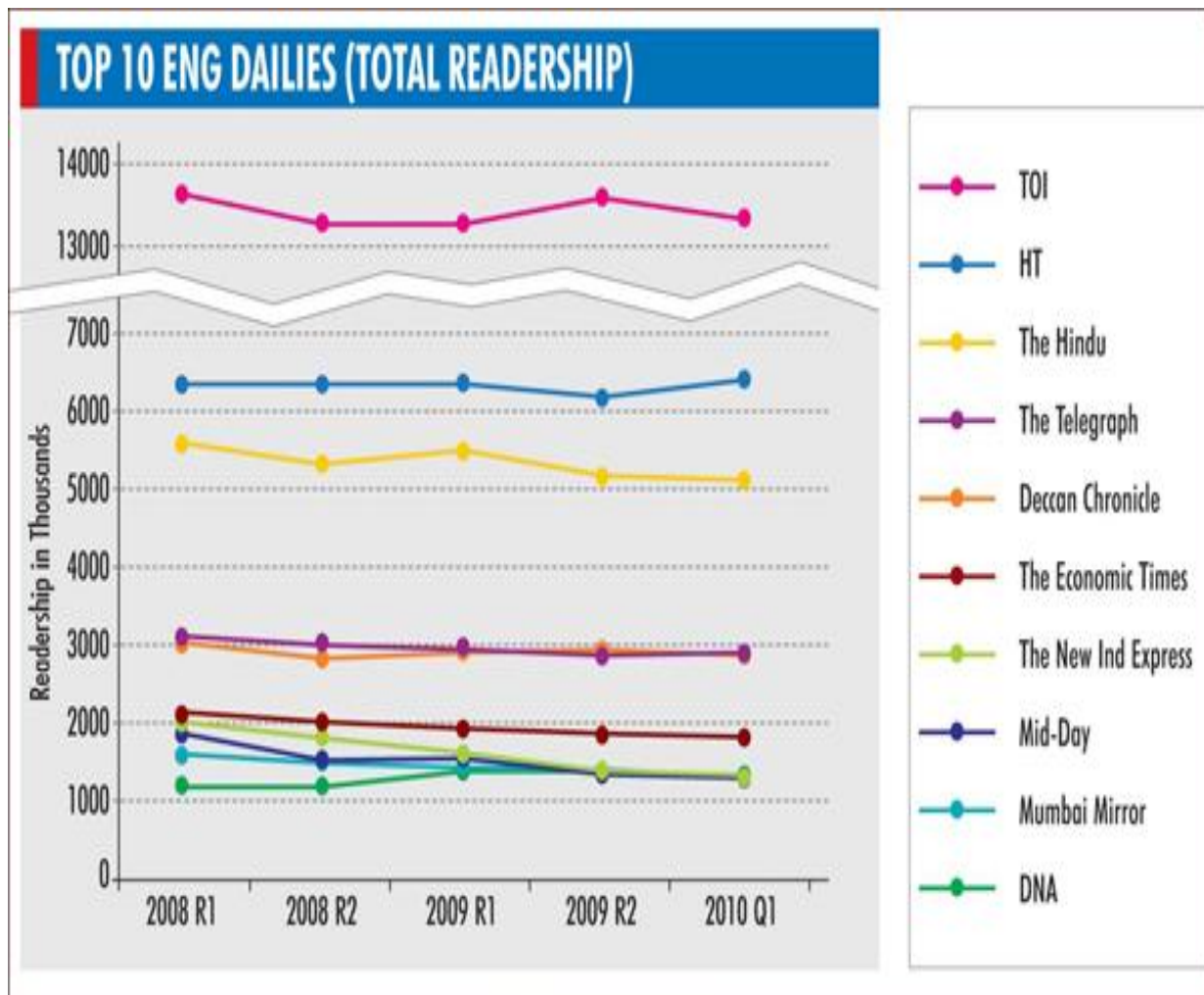
- **Hindustan Times** (*National Daily, 6.25*),
- **The Telegraph** (*Kolkata-based Local Daily, 0.3 in Kolkata*),
- **The Statesman** (*Kolkata-based Local Daily, 0.08 in Kolkata*)

It must be said here, that the newspapers initially chosen for the study were *The Times of India*, *The Hindu*, *The Telegraph* and *Hindustan Times* (Kolkata edition). However, while performing web searches, only 3 news stories and features were found to be associated with ‘The Pink Chaddi Campaign’ in *The Hindu*. Hence, *The Hindu* was replaced by *Hindustan Times* as a national daily and *The Statesman* was considered as the other local daily in this content analyses.

*Time Period* – The time period chosen for data collection for this study was from 24<sup>th</sup> January 2009 (the date of the Mangalore Pub attack on women by SRS activists) to 24<sup>th</sup> April 2009, that is, 3 months period.

*Sampling* – Sampling for the content analyses was done using the advanced extraction by *Key Words in Context* (KWIC) option in Leximancer v3.5, known as the ‘*Web Crawl*’. Web data extraction using KWIC gives highly accurate and selective web data, tailored for qualitative data analyses. The ‘web crawl’ feature in Leximancer v3.5 requires website URLs to be put in by the user for data mining from web contents. ‘Web Crawl’ also allows the researcher to extract web textual data using *user-defined KWICs*. *Table 7.2* shows the name of the newspaper, its corresponding URL links and the *globally-defined KWICs* (applied on the entire web crawling for all links). The Leximancer v3.5 web crawl fetched the most-relevant news items, based on the KWICs that were defined, *see Table 7.3*.

*Methodology* – *Automated*, computer-assisted qualitative content analyses technique was chosen for the news discourse analyses. Automation in qualitative textual analyses helps the researcher to save money, time, and not having to bother too much about inter-coder reliability. Besides, automation frees the research off any biases in human analyses. However, using automated content analyses does have its short-comings. Having said that, using an automated approach for this research work was considered to be ideal; mainly due to lack of time and limited resources available.



Top 10 English Dailies

Fig. 7.1 Top 10 circulated English dailies in India, IRS 2010. (Source: [www.afaqs.com](http://www.afaqs.com))

<i>Newspapers</i>	<i>Web URLs</i>	<i>Global KWICs</i>
<i>The Times of India</i>	<i>www.timesofindia.indiatimes.com</i>	The Pink Chaddi Campaign, Valentine's Day,
<i>Hindustan Times</i>	<i>www.hindustantimes.com</i>	Mangalore Pub attacks, Sri Ram Sene,
<i>The Telegraph</i>	<i>www.telegraphindia.com</i>	Pramod Muthalik, moral policing
<i>The Statesman</i>	<i>www.thestatesman.net</i>	The Pink Chaddi Campaign

Table. 7.2 showing the newspapers considered in content analysis, their respective web URLs and globally-defined KWICs for web text-mining.

<i>Name of Newspapers</i>	<i>No. of News Stories (<math>n_{\text{news}}</math>)</i>	<i>No. of Feature Stories (<math>n_{\text{features}}</math>)</i>	<i>No. of Editorials (<math>n_{\text{editorials}}</math>)</i>	<i>Total no. of News items (<math>n</math>)</i>
<i>The Times of India</i>	24	2	1	27
<i>Hindustan Times</i>	5	7	1	13
<i>The Telegraph</i>	7	1	0	8
<i>The Statesman</i>	8	2	1	11

Table 7.3 showing the newspapers considered in content analysis and their corresponding numbers of news stories, feature stories, editorials and total news items obtained after web crawling.

Leximancer v3.5 performs a series of automated steps of semantic extraction from the news text corpora obtained from the websites, before generating its visual output(s), known as *concept maps*. In Leximancer, a '*concept*' is a collection of correlated words that encompass a central theme. The phases of automation run by Leximancer are as follows:

- *Text Processing* – This comprise of splitting the information into sentences, paragraphs and documents, removal of non-lexical and weak semantic information, identifying proper names, including multi-word names, and optional language test of each sentence.
- *Automatic Concept Identification* -- It is the phase of processing, in which “seed words” are identified as the potential starting points of concepts.
- *Concept editing* – It allow users to add concepts to, or remove them from this list. The following phase, Thesaurus Learning, then generates the thesaurus of terms associated with each concept.
- *Thesaurus Learning* – It generates a thesaurus of terms associated with each concept. The learning of the thesaurus associated with each concept is an iterative process. Seed words start out as being the central terms of a concept, collecting related keywords over time. Through learning, the seed items can be pushed to the periphery if more important terms are discovered.
- *Concept Occurrence* – this reduces ambiguities within concepts.
- *Mapping* -- The mapping phase generates a two dimensional projection of the original high dimensional co-occurrence matrix between the Entity concepts. This is a difficult problem, and one which does not necessarily have a unique solution. The resulting cluster map is similar to Multi-Dimensional Scaling.

However, along with the automated, *unsupervised mode*, Leximancer v3.5 also gives a vast maneuverability to the user to *manually seed concepts* and *design custom concept maps* depending on choice and purpose. In this study, the *supervised mode* was not used, just to keep things relatively simple.

The purpose of the *concept maps* in this study is to analyze the concept-bundles (*‘themes’*), or *news frames*, and their relation with one another, for *exploratory and comparative studies*, in the news discourses. This provides insight on the nature and depth of news coverage given by a particular newspaper on the issue of concern, how the newspaper intended to set the agenda, editorial policies, etc. It is also possible to compare and contrast news coverage within a single newspaper (*intra-media analysis*) as well as across different newspapers (*inter-media analysis*), on the afore-mentioned points.

Keeping these purposes in mind, this study was focused on two types of analyses ---- for *exploratory & comparative studies*. They are as follows:

- **Intra-media Analyses** (*Within individual newspapers*) – This focused on initial exploratory studies on the four individual newspapers selected for this research.
- **Inter-media Analyses** (*Across different newspapers*) – This focused on comparative analyses across the national and local newspapers in this study. The combinatorics were:
  - a. **National-to-National** – i.e., The Times of India & Hindustan Times.
  - b. **Local-to-Local** – i.e., The Telegraph & The Statesman.

- c. ***National-to-Local*** – i.e., The Times of India, Hindustan Times, The Telegraph & The Statesman.

#### Data Analyses

Data analyses was performed by studying the semantic and relational ‘concept maps’ generated by Leximancer v3.5 & comprised of two parts:

- *Exploratory Intra-media analyses* – within the four individual newspapers,
- *Comparative Inter-media analyses* – across the four newspapers using National-to-National, Local-to-Local & National-to-Local combinatorics.

The following *Figures 8.1 – 8.7*, each having two components, were generated by Leximancer v3.5. These were:

- *Concept Map* – comprising of two-dimensional semantic-relational network of discovered concepts, clustered into circular ‘*themes*’ of different colors and intensities. A ‘*theme*’ in this study is regarded as a *news frame*. A ‘*concept*’, in this regard, is a *news attribute*.
- *Concept Cloud* – comprising of two-dimensional representation of all discovered concepts or news attributes.

*Intra-Media Analysis (Within the four individual newspapers)* – *Figs. 8.1 to 8.4* represents the concept visualization of *The Times of India, Hindustan Times, The Telegraph* and *The Statesman* respectively.

*The Times of India (TOI)* – *Fig. 8.1* represents the concept visualization or news frames for all news items associated to “The Pink Chaddi Campaign” considered for content analyses. A look at the concept map reveals that the coverage had the following top ‘*themes*’ according to relevance --- *pub, culture, case, [Pink Chaddi] campaign, government, BJP, Valentine’s Day and Sri Ram [Sene] (SRS)*. The central theme is ‘*pub*’ which represents the Mangalore pub attack on pub-going women by SRS activists. A considerable amount of coverage was given to news related to the Mangalore attack and its consequences, such as, issues on modernization of women in our present times; libertarian cultural change and dispraise against moral policing on social freedom of a woman, cases of arrests of perpetrators, strong actions taken by the government on the issue, etc. The ‘*[Pink Chaddi] Campaign*’ theme is in greater proximity with the ‘*Valentine’s Day*’ theme, indicating that the campaign (its cause and effects) was more in relation to the ‘*saffron-talibanism*’ by the SRS activists on lovers found on public places before and on during 14<sup>th</sup> Feb 2009 (Valentine’s Day), than with the Mangalore debacle. However, the ‘*campaign*’ theme is none the less connected to the ‘*pub*’ theme via the ‘*culture*’ theme, depicting a conservative ideology against pub-culture behind the activism. The coverage also contained political angles, like the ‘*BJP*’ theme which shows how the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) was under political pressure, much due to the alliance between RSS and BJP and also

because of the SRS-BJP links. The ‘Sri Ram [Sene]’ theme was rather secluded and found to have separate links with the Mangalore and the Valentine’s Day events, instead of a direct connection between the two. This shows that TOI chose to treat the two paradigms separately, no matter how much involved the SRS and Pramod Muthalik may have been in both.

*Hindustan Times (HT)* – Fig. 8.2 represents the concept visualization of news frames for all news items associated to “The Pink Chaddi Campaign” considered for content analyses. A look at the concept map reveals that the coverage had the following top ‘themes’ according to relevance --- *pub, culture, women, [Pink Chaddi] campaign and group* . The visualization is rather simple to interpret. The central theme is ‘pub’ which represents the Mangalore pub attack on pub-going women by SRS activists. This theme illustrates in depth about acts of perpetration on the lady pub-goers. However, there were least political frames involved and ‘Sri Ram [Sene]’ theme was absent. This shows that the coverage was mainly about violence on women and not as a politically motivated act of terrorism by SRS. The other two most notable themes were ‘culture’ and ‘[Pink Chaddi] Campaign’. However, these above three themes are connected by the ‘group’ theme, which represents the activists responsible for the Mangalore outrage and the anti-Valentine’s Day acts. This theme ‘indirectly’ shows that the Mangalore perpetration, the political and cultural ideology behind Mangalore attack and anti-Valentine’s Day protests, and finally ‘The Pink Chaddi Campaign’ as a reactionary protest are all interconnected.

*The Telegraph* – Fig. 8.3 represents the concept visualization of news frames for all news items associated to “The Pink Chaddi Campaign” considered for content analyses. A look at the concept map reveals that the coverage had the following top ‘themes’ according to relevance --- *pub, police, culture, [Pink Chaddi] campaign*. The central theme is ‘pub’ and is centered on violent perpetration on pub-going women in Mangalore. The ‘culture’ theme is intersected by the ‘pub’ theme, showing that a substantial cause of these perpetrations were modernization women which the perpetrators were not fond of. This is the main indicator of moral policing. Another substantial theme is ‘police’ depicting actions taken by the police and authorities on activists responsible for the attacks. This also contains steps taken by the local government in banning the accused party (SRS). The ‘[Pink Chaddi] Campaign’ theme contains the attribute ‘Sri Ram [Sene]’ which shows that the SRS is mainly held responsible for the Valentine’s Day activism.

*The Statesman* – Fig. 8.4 represents the concept visualization of news frames for all news items associated to “The Pink Chaddi Campaign” considered for content analyses. A look at the concept map reveals that the coverage had the following top ‘themes’ according to relevance --- *pub, police, moral and [Pink Chaddi] campaign*. The central theme is ‘pub’ and it is intersected by the ‘moral’ and ‘police’ themes. This tells us that a large part of the news revolved around the Mangalore pub attacks, acts of moral policing by activists and police actions on the perpetrators. The ‘[Pink Chaddi] campaign’ frame is given separate emphasis, although there was enough causality between the movement and the moral policing by activists on V-day lovers.

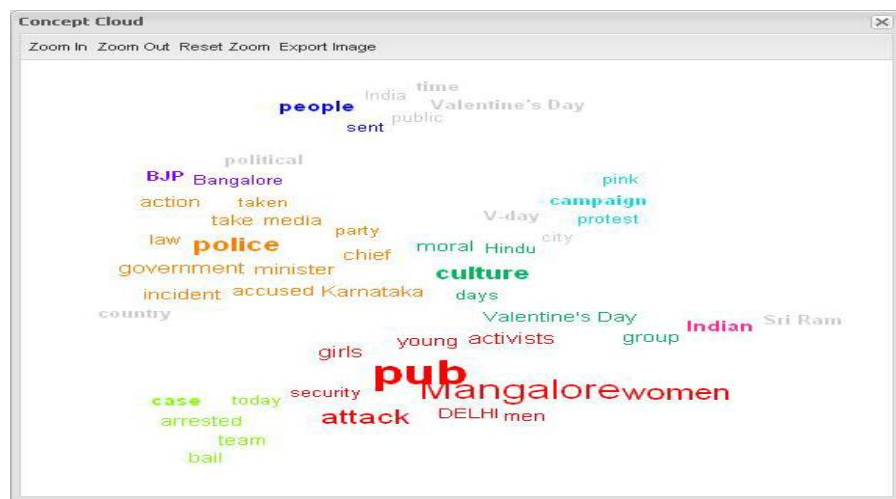
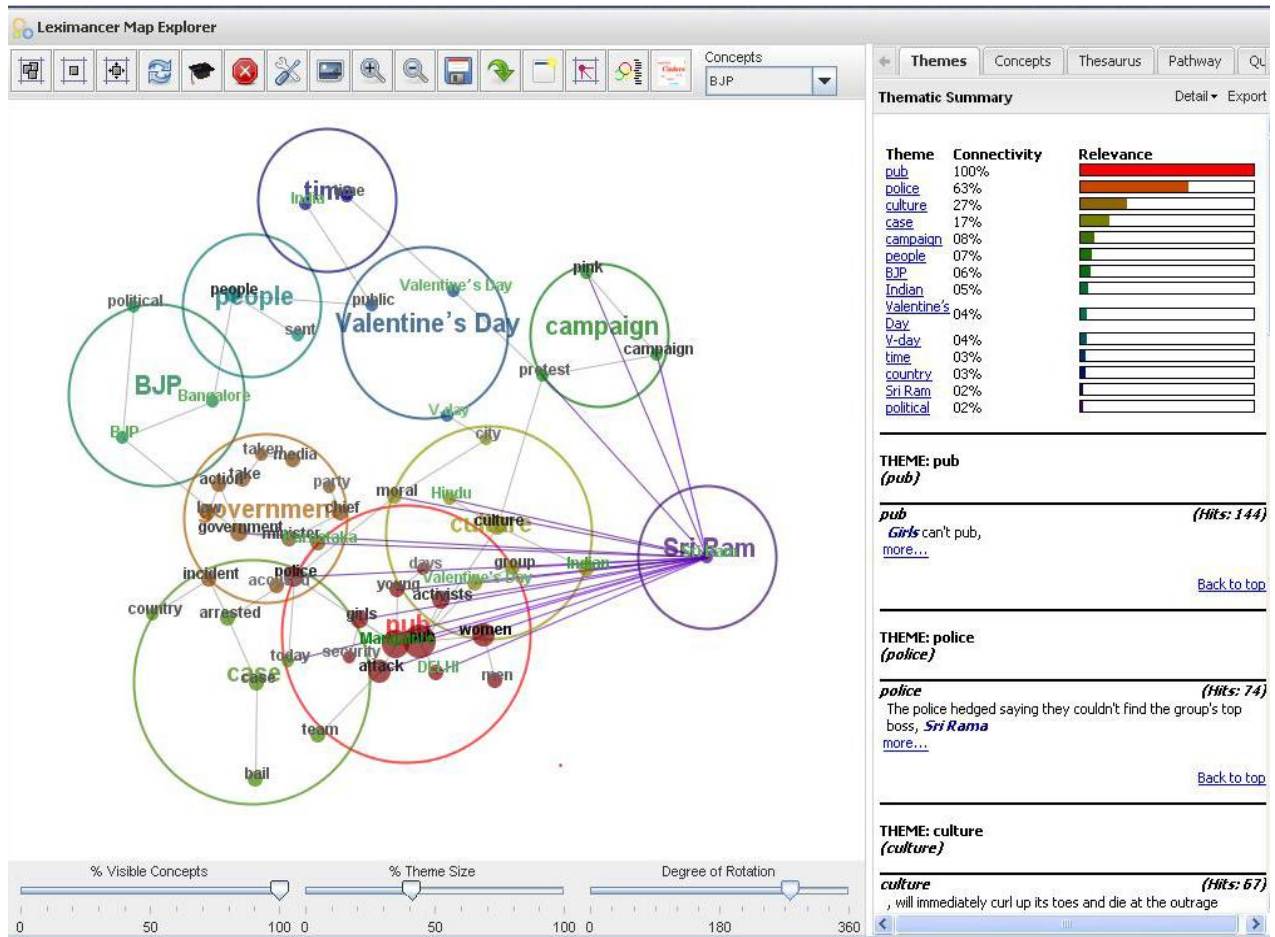


Fig. 8.1 Intra-Media Analysis: Automated Concept Map (above) and corresponding Concept Cloud (below) generated using Leximancer v3.5 on 'The Times of India' news corpus.

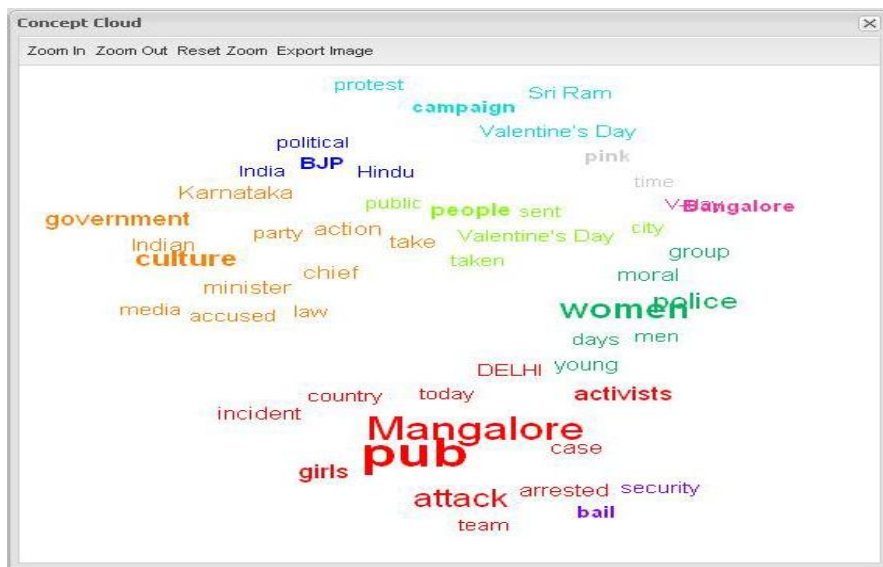
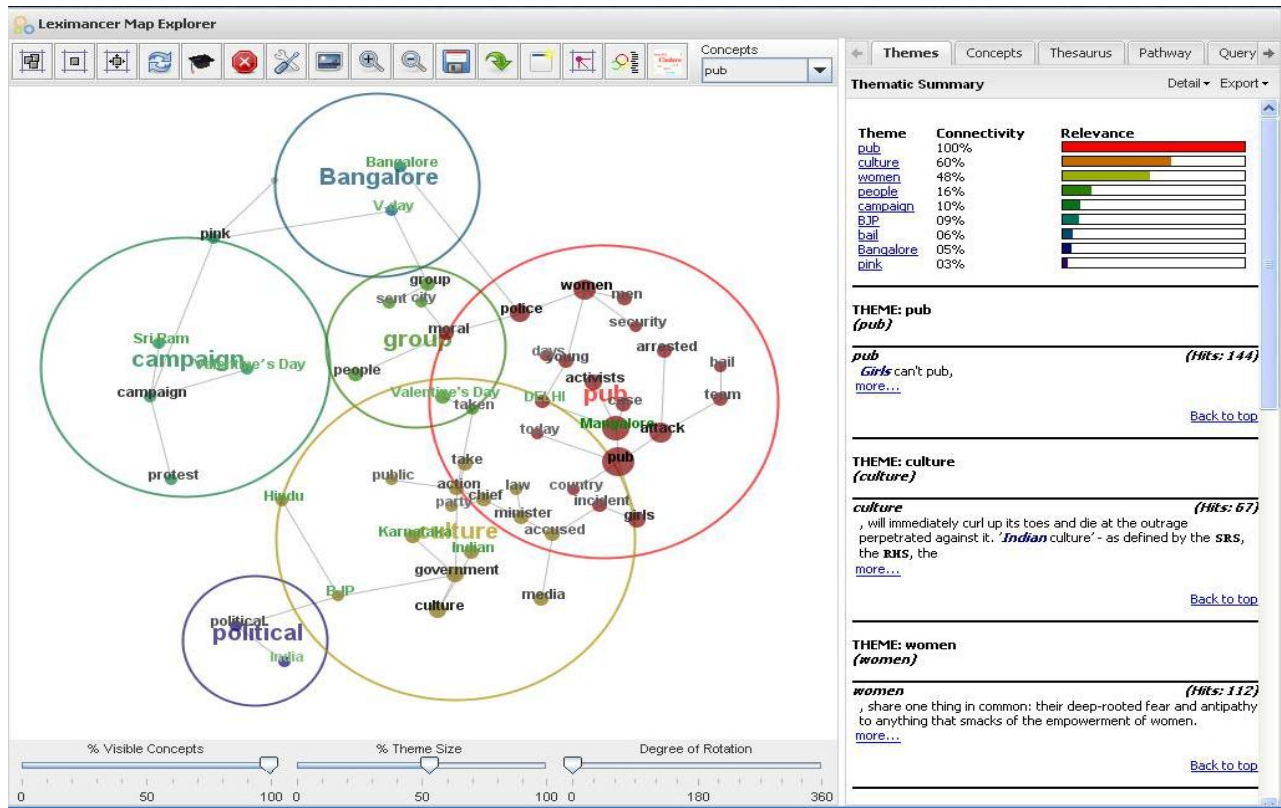


Fig. 8.2 *Intra-Media Analysis: Automated Concept Map (above) and corresponding Concept Cloud (below) generated using Leximancer v3.5 on 'Hindustan Times' news corpus.*



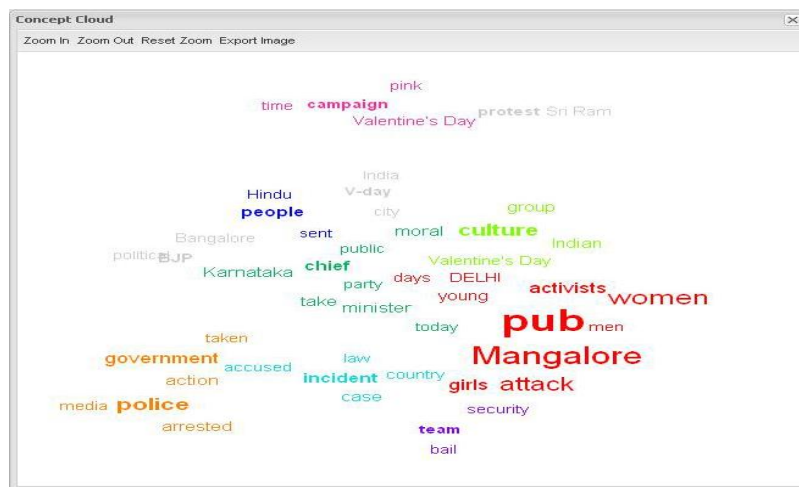
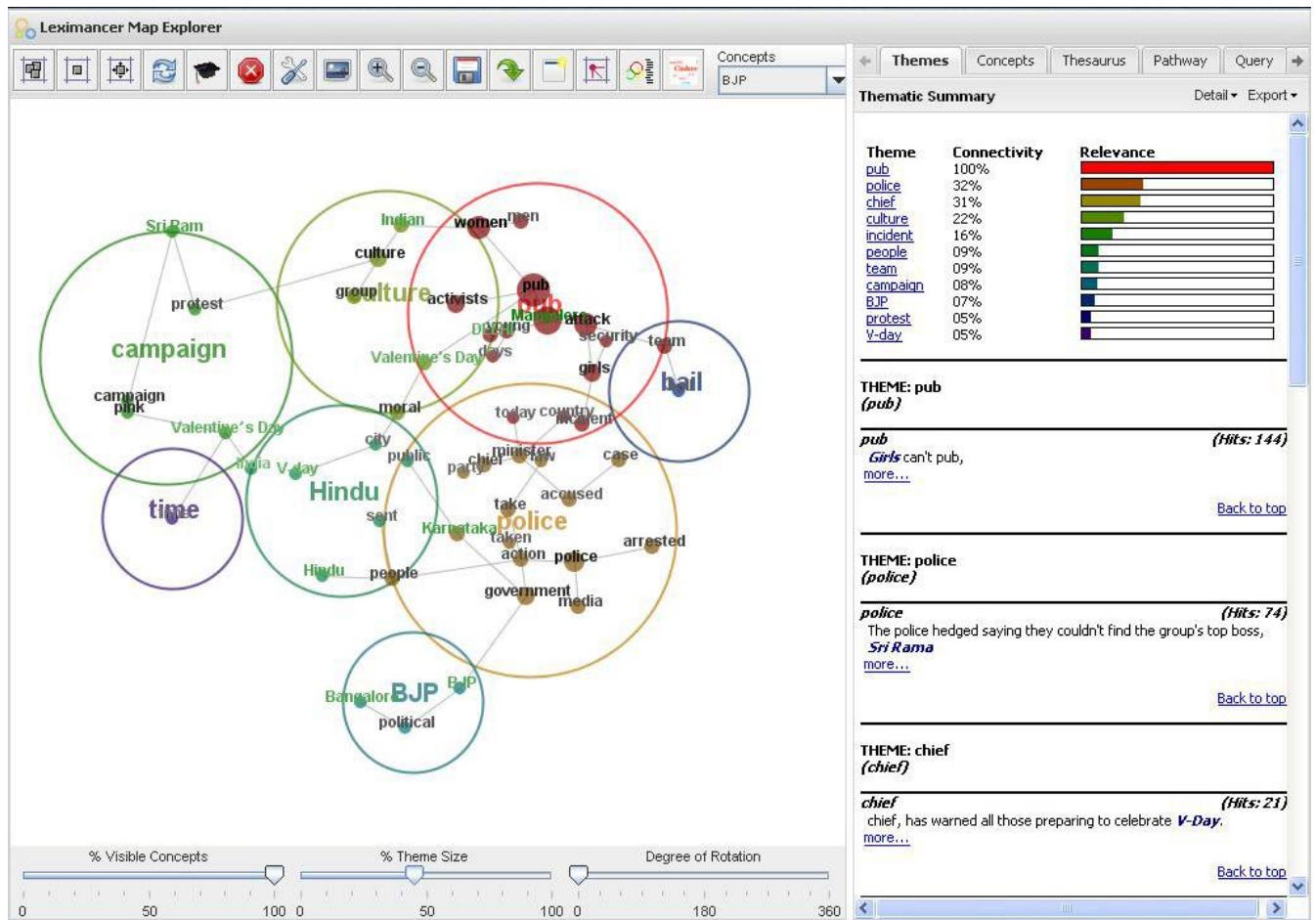


Fig. 8.3 *Intra-Media Analysis: Automated Concept Map (above) and corresponding Concept Cloud (below) generated using Leximancer v3.5 on 'The Telegraph' news corpus.*

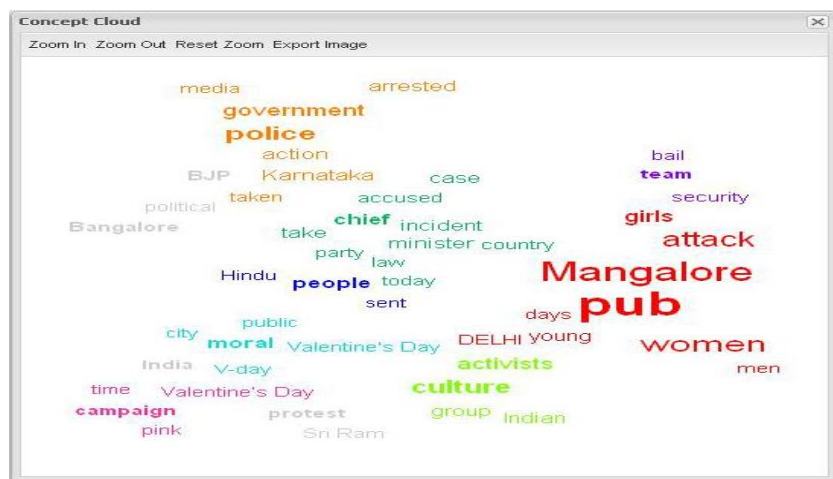
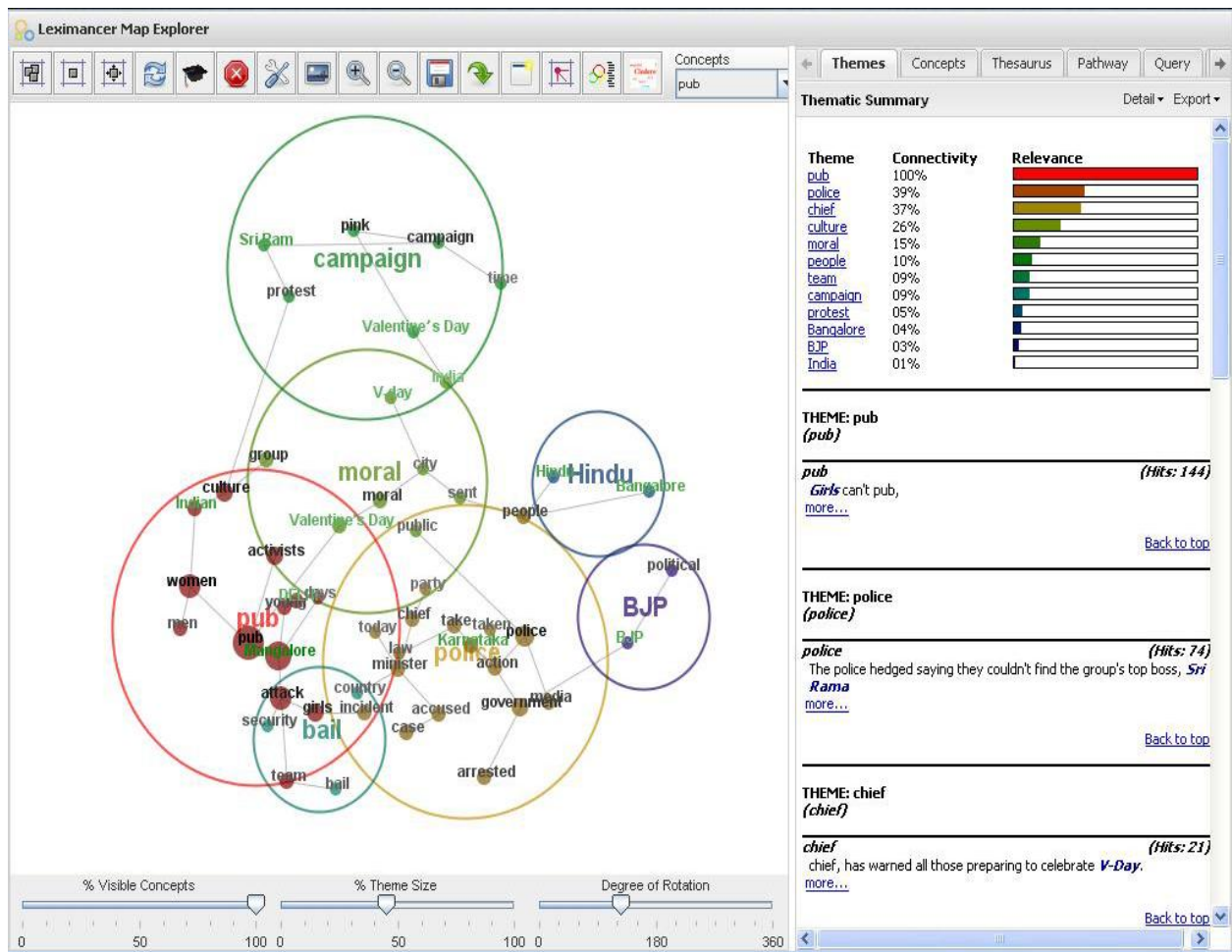


Fig. 8.4 Intra-Media Analysis: Automated Concept Map (above) and corresponding Concept Cloud (below) generated using Leximancer v3.5 on 'The Statesman' news corpus.

*Inter-Media Analysis: Across the four newspapers – Figs. 8.5 to 8.7* represents the concept visualization of National-to-National, Local-to-Local and National-to-Local news corpora respectively.

*National-to-National – Fig. 8.5* represents the concept visualization of news frames for all news items associated to “The Pink Chaddi Campaign” considered for content analyses. The two national dailies were *The Times of India (TOI)* and *Hindustan Times (HT)*. A look at the concept map reveals that the coverage had the following top ‘themes’ according to relevance --- *pub, police, and [Pink Chaddi] campaign*.

The concept map shows the ‘pub’ theme to be the central theme and there is a prominent linkage between the ‘pub’ theme and the ‘[Pink Chaddi] Campaign’ theme. This is shown by the black arrowed line. The black line connects the Mangalore perpetrators, the victims and the campaign protestors with SRS. The other notable theme is the ‘police’ theme depicting the role of the police and government in the events. These frames tend to get more political in tone and shows evidence of political blame-game.

*Local-to-Local – Fig. 8.6* represents the concept visualization of news frames for all news items associated to “The Pink Chaddi Campaign” considered for content analyses. The two local dailies were *The Telegraph* and *The Statesman*. A look at the concept map reveals that the coverage had the following top ‘themes’ according to relevance --- *pub, government, and [Pink Chaddi] campaign*. The central theme is ‘pub’ and it is largely associated with the ‘government’ theme (which is similar to the ‘police’ theme). We again see a causal linkage between the Mangalore attack, the SRS and the ‘Pink Chaddi Campaign’. The nodal point of connection is ‘culture’ which denotes as the main indicator of moral policing and cultural ideology behind the perpetrations. The ‘government’ theme depicts the strong actions taken by the Center and the State, although there is substantial evidence of political blame-gaming, pointing towards a BJP-SRS alliance.

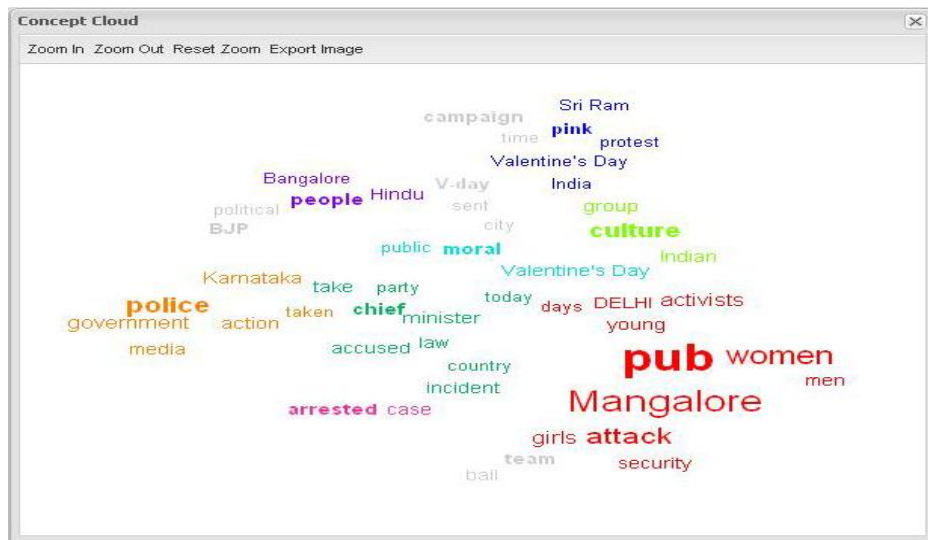
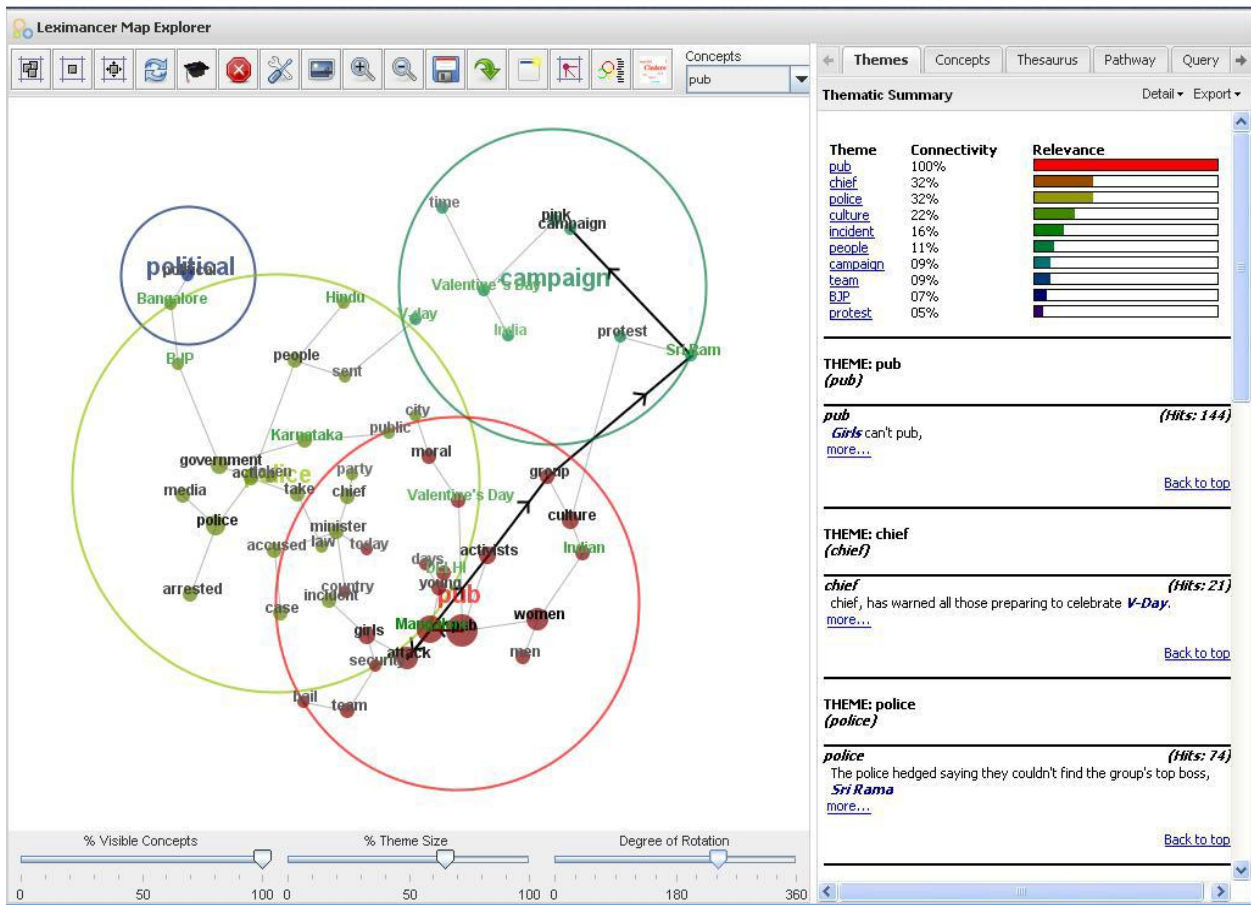


Fig. 8.5 *Inter-Media Analysis – (National-to-National): Automated Concept Map (above) and corresponding Concept Cloud (below) generated using Leximancer v3.5 on ‘The Times of India’ & ‘Hindustan Times’ news corpora.*

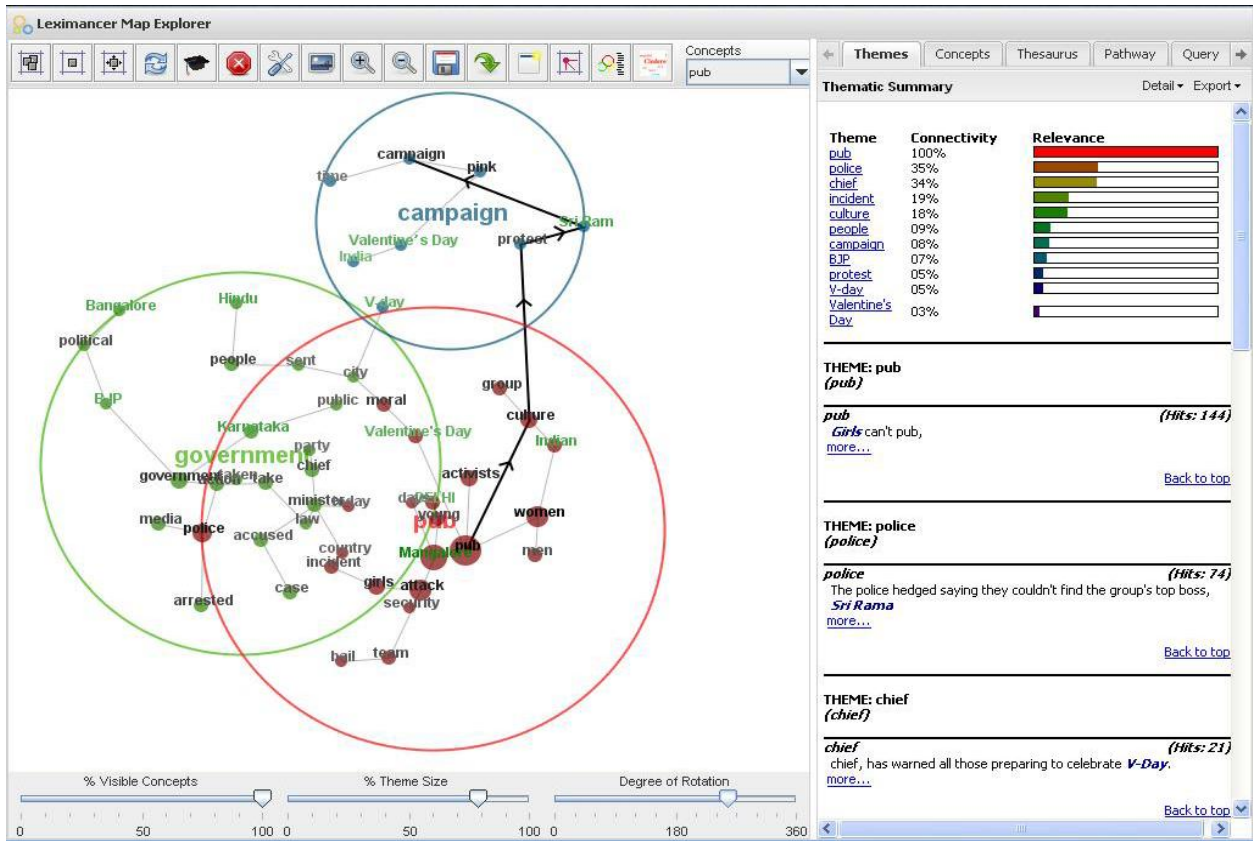


Fig. 8.6 *Inter-Media Analysis – (Local-to-Local): Automated Concept Map (above) and corresponding Concept Cloud (below) generated using Leximancer v3.5 on ‘The Telegraph’ & ‘The Statesman’ news corpus.*

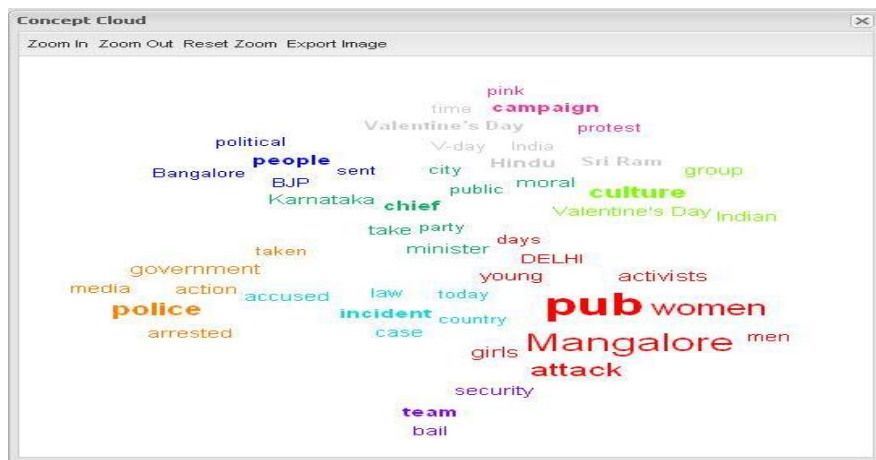
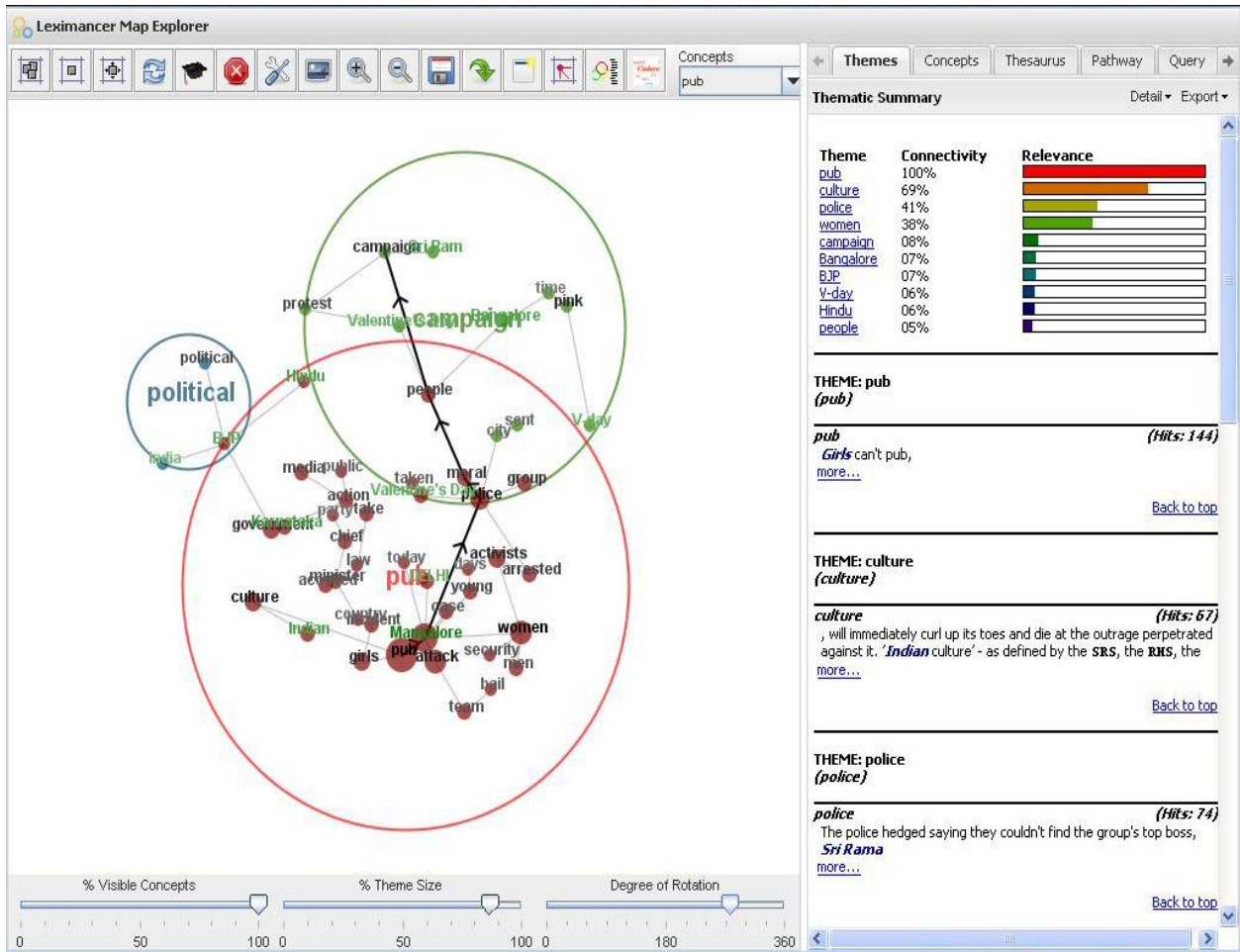


Fig. 8.7 *Inter-Media Analysis – (National-to-Local): Automated Concept Map (above) and corresponding Concept Cloud (below) generated using Leximancer v3.5 on 'The Times of India', 'Hindusthan Times', 'The Telegraph' & 'The Statesman' news corpora.*

*National-to-Local* – Fig. 8.7 represents the concept visualization of news frames for all news items associated to “The Pink Chaddi Campaign” considered for content analyses. The two national & two local dailies were *The Times of India (TOI)*, *Hindustan Times (HT)*, *The Telegraph* and *The Statesman*. A look at the concept map reveals that the coverage had the following top ‘themes’ according to relevance --- *pub*, *[Pink Chaddi] campaign and political*. The two main themes are ‘pub’ and ‘[Pink Chaddi] campaign’. Here, we see that the ‘pub’ theme is connected with ‘[Pink Chaddi] campaign’ theme but it doesn’t connect SRS in the pathway. This is primarily due to lesser portrayal of SRS in the perpetrations by the local dailies. What is interesting to note, that there is an anecdotal ‘political’ theme now. In earlier analyses, the frames relating to government and politics were substantially large but here, it is greatly lessened. Nonetheless, it shows influence of political angles in the news framing.

## Discussions and Conclusions

The analyses revealed that there were similar news frames in the discourses of all of the newspapers. The primary frame was ‘pub’ which was associated with the Mangalore perpetrations. Other notable frames were ‘culture’, ‘[Pink Chaddi] Campaign’ and ‘government’. It can be said that both the national and local newspapers put the spotlight on the Mangalore incident and the subsequent Valentine’s Day moral policing by SRS activists. The media also portrayed the role of the government and police authorities in bringing the perpetrators to justice.

Another noticeable thing that surfaced was the ‘political’ frame which is a subset of the ‘government’ frame. The content analyses revealed that the national newspapers highlighted the political blame-game and other details not directly associated with the acts of violence. For eg., the BJP were accused by the Karnataka Govt. for its terms with the SRS. Having said that, it was felt that none of the newspapers really focused on the SRS and its founder Pramod Muthalik, on who’s saying, the attacks and moral policing were carried out. This leads to probable hypotheses testing for future studies: did the media downplay the perpetrators? was the political blame-game a ‘diversion’ from the perpetrators of VAW?

Bull (2007) and others feel that VAW & femicidal cases should be exposed and researched to a far greater extent. *“Caputi, Russell, Radford, Chesler, and Wilson call for an exposure of the issue of femicide. They express the need for these crimes to be identified, labeled and exposed ..... the public must be more aware of femicide, understand what it is and what some of its causes are. Feminism has helped to bring awareness to the extent of VAW in the United States and globally, but the common practice of femicide has not received enough individualized attention ..... the frequency of femicide compounded with the lack of awareness on the issue justifies the need for further research into this idea and how to apply it. We must consider all factors influencing femicide including current views of VAW, definitions of femicide, and how patriarchy and the media affect femicide”* (Bull, 2007).

This calls for a globalized *socio-media reform*, both intrinsically and extrinsically. Global media institutions should intrinsically cleanse their own ideologies, policies and priorities first, so that they can extrinsically trigger a reformation, intrinsically within societies. Most of the global media organizations are owned & run majorly by men. Women working in the media do have limited freedom and role to play. It is absolutely critical that the media breaks free from the patriarchal clutches and start taking feminist perspectives into serious considerations, so that it can infuse healthy attitudes towards femininity within the society. Harnessing strong public opinion, governmental & public policies towards VAW and ‘Femicide’ are paramount; a task that should be carried out by the media. It’s a tall, tough ask but a concerted start is needed. *“The goal is that one day women will be able to walk down the street, enter their homes, attend college classes, obtain successful careers and go about their day without fear”* (Bull, 2007).

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