

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

Garvit Garg, Research Scholar, School of Journalism and New Media Studies, Indira Gandhi National Open University, Delhi

Dr. Shikha Rai, Associate Professor & Research Supervisor, School of Journalism and New Media Studies, Indira Gandhi National Open University, Delhi

Abstract

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

Keywords

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

Background

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

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

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

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

Framing: An Overview

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

Frames allow audience "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" the flow of information (Goffman, 1986, p. 21). They "are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual." (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). Neuman et al. defines frames as "conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information" (as cited in Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 94), while Entman (1993) in his influential paper outlined framing as "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." (Entman, 1993, p. 52)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Objectives and Research Questions:

Through this study, the researcher attempted:

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

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

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

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

Research Method and Data collection

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

Literature Search Process

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Inclusion Criteria included studies which were:

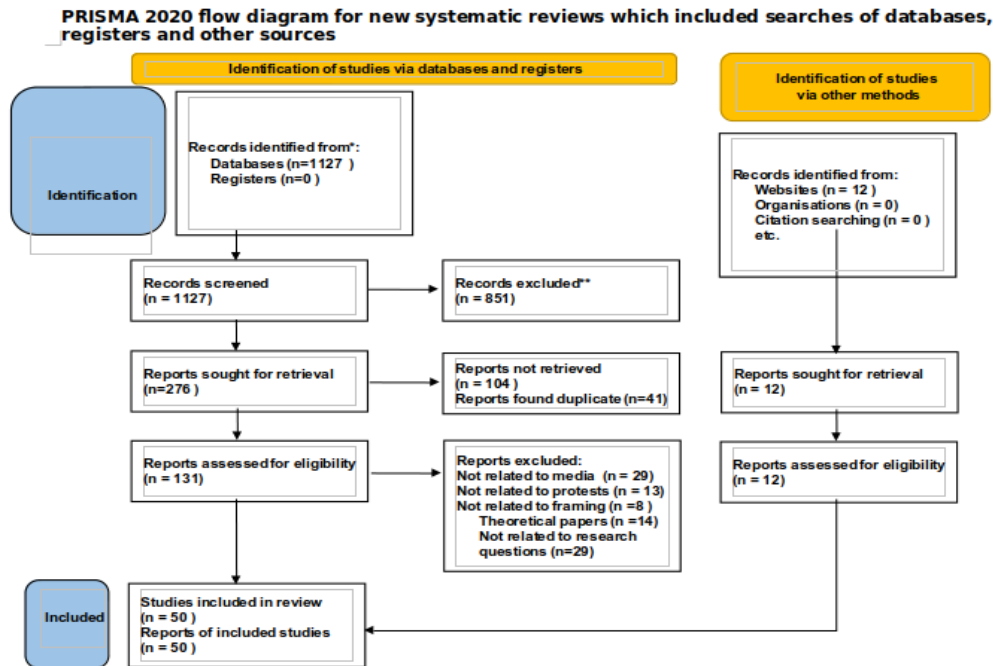
- Published between the period of 2001 to 2021
- Published in peer reviewed journals
- Written in English
- Available as full text
- Looked at media coverage of protest movements using framing theory
- Related to research questions

Exclusion Criteria included:

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

PRISMA

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



Results

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion

RQ1: What definitions of framing have been used?

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

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

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

RQ2: How the frames have been selected?

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

Methods of selecting frames	
Inductive	24
Deductive	25
Mixed Methods	1

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

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

RQ4: What mediums have been analyzed using framing study?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

Bibliography

1. Ahmed, S., Cho, J., & Jaidka, K. (2019). Framing social conflicts in news coverage and social media: A multicountry comparative study. *International Communication Gazette*, 81(4), 346–371. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048518775000>
2. Alonso Belmonte, I., & Porto, M. D. (2020). Multimodal framing devices in European online news. *Language & Communication*, 71, 55–71. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2019.12.001>
3. An, S.-K., & Gower, K. K. (2009). How do the news media frame crises? A content analysis of crisis news coverage. *Public Relations Review*, 35(2), 107–112. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2009.01.010>
4. Aruguete, N., & Calvo, E. (2018). Time to #Protest: Selective Exposure, Cascading Activation, and Framing in Social Media. *Journal of Communication*, 68(3), 480–502. <https://doi.org/10.1093/joc/jqy007>
5. Ayodeji-Falade, M. B., & Osunkunle, O. O. (2021). Framing of FeeMustFall students' protest by Daily Dispatch Newspaper and the effect on readers' perceptions. *Heliyon*, 7(8), e07782. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2021.e07782>
6. Barnett, B. (2005). Feminists Shaping News: A Framing Analysis of News Releases From the National Organization for Women. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 17(4), 341–362. https://doi.org/10.1207/s1532754xjpr1704_2
7. Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26(1), 611–639. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611>
8. Bonner, M. D., & Dammert, L. (2021). Constructing police legitimacy during protests: Frames and consequences for human rights. *Policing and Society*, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2021.1957887>
9. Borah, P. (2011). Conceptual Issues in Framing Theory: A Systematic Examination of a

- Decade's Literature. *Journal of Communication*, 61(2), 246–263. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2011.01539.x>
10. Boykoff, J. (2006). Framing Dissent: Mass-Media Coverage of the Global Justice Movement. *New Political Science*, 28(2), 201–228. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07393140600679967>
 11. Brasted, M. (2005). Framing Protest: The Chicago Tribune and the New York Times during the 1968 Democratic Convention. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 13(1), 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15456889ajc1301_1
 12. Cacciatore, M. A., Scheufele, D. A., & Iyengar, S. (2016). The End of Framing as we Know it ... and the Future of Media Effects. *Mass Communication and Society*, 19(1), 7–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2015.1068811>
 13. Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). A Theory of Framing and Opinion Formation in Competitive Elite Environments. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 99–118. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00331.x>
 14. Coman, C., & Cmeciu, C. (2014). Framing Chevron Protests in National and International Press. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 149, 228–232. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.08.222>
 15. Cooper, A. H. (2002). Media framing and social movement mobilization: German peace protest against INF missiles, the Gulf War, and NATO peace enforcement in Bosnia. *European Journal of Political Research*, 41(1), 37–80. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.00003>
 16. de Souza, R. (2010). NGOs in India's elite newspapers: A framing analysis. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 20(4), 477–493. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2010.496863>
 17. DeLuca, K. M., Lawson, S., & Sun, Y. (2012). Occupy Wall Street on the Public Screens of Social Media: The Many Framings of the Birth of a Protest Movement: OWS on the Public Screens of Social Media. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 5(4), 483–509. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1753-9137.2012.01141.x>
 18. Doğu, B. (2015). Comparing Online Alternative and Mainstream Media in Turkey: Coverage of the TEKEL Workers Protest Against Privatization. *International Journal of Communication*, 22.
 19. el-Nawawy, M., & Elmasry, M. H. (2015). Revolution or crisis? Framing the 2011 Tahrir Square protests in two pan-Arab satellite news networks. *Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies*, 4(2), 239–258. https://doi.org/10.1386/ajms.4.2.239_1
 20. Elmasry, M. H., & el-Nawawy, M. (2017). Do Black Lives Matter?: A content analysis of New York Times and St. Louis Post-Dispatch coverage of Michael Brown protests. *Journalism Practice*, 11(7), 857–875. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2016.1208058>
 21. Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x>
 22. Fadaee, S. (2021). The Long 2015 in Germany: Activists' Pro-Refugee Frames and Media Counter Frames. *Sociological Research Online*, 26(1), 44–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1360780420907922>
 23. Gamson, W. A., & Wolfsfeld, G. (1993). Movements and Media as Interacting Systems. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 528, 114–125.
 24. Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making & unmaking of the New Left*. Univ. of California Press.
 25. Goffman, E. (1986). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience* (Northeastern University Press ed). Northeastern University Press.
 26. Gottlieb, J. (2015). Protest News Framing Cycle: How The New York Times Covered Occupy Wall Street. *International Journal of Communication*, 23.
 27. Guzman, A. L. (2016). Evolution of News Frames During the 2011 Egyptian Revolution: Critical Discourse Analysis of Fox News's and CNN's Framing of Protesters, Mubarak, and the Muslim Brotherhood. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 93(1), 80–98.

- <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699015606677>
28. Harlow, S., & Johnson, T. J. (2011). Overthrowing the Protest Paradigm? How The New York Times, Global Voices and Twitter Covered the Egyptian Revolution. *International Journal of Communication*, 17.
 29. Harlow, S., Salaverria, R., Kilgo, D. K., & Garcia-Perdomo, V. (2017). Protest Paradigm in Multimedia: Social Media Sharing of Coverage About the Crime of Ayotzinapa, Mexico: Protest Paradigm in Multimedia. *Journal of Communication*, 67(3), 328–349. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12296>
 30. Jamil, A., & Doktoralina, C. M. (2016). The Save KPK Movement: A Framing Analysis of Coverage in Indonesian News Media Surrounding the KPK and Police Dispute. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*. <https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2016.v7n3s1p229>
 31. Kharroub, T., & Bas, O. (2016). Social media and protests: An examination of Twitter images of the 2011 Egyptian revolution. *New Media & Society*, 18(9), 1973–1992. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444815571914>
 32. Klein, A. G., Byerly, C. M., & McEachern, T. M. (2009). Counterframing Public Dissent: An Analysis of Antiwar Coverage in the U.S. Media. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 26(4), 331–350. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15295030903176658>
 33. Kyriakidou, M., & Olivas Osuna, J. J. (2017). The Indignados protests in the Spanish and Greek press: Moving beyond the ‘protest paradigm’? *European Journal of Communication*, 32(5), 457–472. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323117720342>
 34. Leopold, J., & Bell, M. P. (2017). News media and the racialization of protest: An analysis of Black Lives Matter articles. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, 36(8), 720–735. <https://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-01-2017-0010>
 35. Littell, J. H., Corcoran, J., & Pillai, V. K. (2008). *Systematic reviews and meta-analysis*. Oxford University Press.
 36. Liu, Z. (2020). News framing of the Euromaidan protests in the hybrid regime and the liberal democracy: Comparison of Russian and UK news media. *Media, War & Conflict*, 175063522095344. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635220953445>
 37. Matthes, J., & Kohring, M. (2008). The Content Analysis of Media Frames: Toward Improving Reliability and Validity. *Journal of Communication*, 58(2), 258–279. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00384.x>
 38. McFarlane, T., & Hay, I. (2003). The battle for Seattle: Protest and popular geopolitics in The Australian newspaper. *Political Geography*, 22(2), 211–232. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0962-6298\(02\)00090-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0962-6298(02)00090-2)
 39. McLeod, D. M. (2007). News Coverage and Social Protest: How the Media’s Protest Paradigm Exacerbates Social Conflict. *The Journal of Dispute Resolution*, 2007, 11.
 40. Mendes, K. (2011). Framing Feminism: News Coverage of the Women’s Movement in British and American Newspapers, 1968–1982. *Social Movement Studies*, 10(1), 81–98. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2011.545228>
 41. Miazhevich, G. (2020). Dis/Engagement in Post-soviet Communicative Ecologies: Re-Framing the ‘Chinatown’ Dissent Campaign in Belarus. In A. Karatzogianni, M. Schandorf, & I. Ferra (Eds.), *Protest Technologies and Media Revolutions* (pp. 83–95). Emerald Publishing Limited. <https://doi.org/10.1108/978-1-83982-646-720201007>
 42. Moscato, D. (2016). Media Portrayals of Hashtag Activism: A Framing Analysis of Canada’s #IdleMore Movement. *Media and Communication*, 4(2), 3–12. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v4i2.416>
 43. Mourão, R. R. (2019). From Mass to Elite Protests: News Coverage and the Evolution of Antigovernment Demonstrations in Brazil. *Mass Communication and Society*, 22(1), 49–71. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2018.1498899>

44. Mourão, R. R., Kilgo, D. K., & Sylvie, G. (2021). Framing Ferguson: The interplay of advocacy and journalistic frames in local and national newspaper coverage of Michael Brown. *Journalism*, 22(2), 320–340. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918778722>
45. Muncie, E. (2020). 'Peaceful protesters' and 'dangerous criminals': The framing and reframing of anti-fracking activists in the UK. *Social Movement Studies*, 19(4), 464–481. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2019.1708309>
46. Nicolini, K. M., & Hansen, S. S. (2018). Framing the Women's March on Washington: Media coverage and organizational messaging alignment. *Public Relations Review*, 44(1), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2017.12.005>
47. Page, M. J., McKenzie, J. E., Bossuyt, P. M., Boutron, I., Hoffmann, T. C., Mulrow, C. D., Shamseer, L., Tetzlaff, J. M., Akl, E. A., Brennan, S. E., Chou, R., Glanville, J., Grimshaw, J. M., Hróbjartsson, A., Lalu, M. M., Li, T., Loder, E. W., Mayo-Wilson, E., McDonald, S., ... Moher, D. (2021). The PRISMA 2020 statement: An updated guideline for reporting systematic reviews. *Systematic Reviews*, 10(1), 89. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13643-021-01626-4>
48. Papaioannou, T. (2015). Overcoming the Protest Paradigm? Framing of the 2013 Cypriot Protests in International Online News Media. *The Cyprus Review*, 27, 35.
49. Papaioannou, T. (2020). Dominant and Emerging News Frames in Protest Coverage: The 2013 Cypriot Anti-Austerity Protests in National Media. *International Journal of Communication*, 20.
50. Petticrew, M., & Roberts, H. (2006). *Systematic Reviews in the Social Sciences*. 354.
51. Pu, Q., & Scanlan, S. J. (2012). COMMUNICATING INJUSTICE?: Framing and online protest against Chinese government land expropriation. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(4), 572–590. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2012.665937>
52. Rauch, J., Chitrapu, S., Eastman, S. T., Evans, J. C., Paine, C., & Mwesige, P. (2007). From Seattle 1999 to New York 2004: A Longitudinal Analysis of Journalistic Framing of the Movement for Democratic Globalization. *Social Movement Studies*, 6(2), 131–145. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14742830701497244>
53. Schulenberg, J. L., & Chenier, A. (2014). International Protest Events and the Hierarchy of Credibility: Media Frames Defining the Police and Protestors as Social Problems. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 56(3), 261–294. <https://doi.org/10.3138/cjccj.2012.E12>
54. Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. V. (2000). Framing European politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News. *Journal of Communication*, 50(2), 93–109. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02843.x>
55. Supadiloke, B. (2015). Framing Thailand's Political Crisis: Press Coverage of Protest Movements during the 2014 General Election. *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, 25(2), 319–332. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1326365X15604964>
56. Taylor, M., & Gunby, K. (2016). Moving Beyond the Sound Bite: Complicating the Relationship Between Negative Television News Framing and In-Depth Reporting on Activism. *Sociological Forum*, 31(3), 577–598. <https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12264>
57. Trivundža, I. T., & Brlek, S. S. (2017). Looking for Mr Hyde: The protest paradigm, violence and (de)legitimation of mass political protests. *International Journal of Media & Cultural Politics*, 13(1), 131–148. https://doi.org/10.1386/macp.13.1-2.131_1
58. von Zabern, L., & Christopher D. (2021). Rebel with a cause: The framing of climate change and intergenerational justice in the German press treatment of the Fridays for Future protests. *Media, Culture & Society*, 43(1), 23–47. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443720960923>
59. Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal*, 13(1), 51–62. <https://doi.org/10.1075/idjdd.13.1.06vre>
60. Watkins, S. C. (2001). Framing protest: News media frames of the million man march. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 18(1), 83–101. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15295030109367125>

61. Weaver, D. A., & Scacco, J. M. (2013). Revisiting the Protest Paradigm: The Tea Party as Filtered through Prime-Time Cable News. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(1), 61–84. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161212462872>
62. Xie, L. (2015). The Story of Two Big Chimneys: A Frame Analysis of Climate Change in US and Chinese Newspapers. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, 44(2), 151–177. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17475759.2015.1011593>
63. Xu, K. (2013). Framing Occupy Wall Street: A Content Analysis of The New York Times and USA Today. *International Journal of Communication*, 21.
64. Zengjun Peng. (2008). Framing the Anti-War Protests in the Global Village: A Comparative Study of Newspaper Coverage in Three Countries. *International Communication Gazette*, 70(5), 361–377. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048508094293>
65. Zhang, T., Kim, J. Y., Mohr, T. L., Myslik, B. A., Khalitova, L., Golan, G. J., & Kioussis, S. (2017). Agenda-Building role of state-owned media around the world: 2014 Hong Kong protest case. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 29(5), 238–254. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1062726X.2017.1396988>