



## POLITICS AND GENDER DYNAMICS IN MEDIA COVERAGE OF FOOD-RELATED NEWS: AN ANALYSIS OF NEW MEDIA REPORTING ON LPG PRICE HIKE PROTESTS

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### ABSTRACT

This paper examines how political parties utilize mass media to reinforce traditional patriarchal stereotypes of women. It explores the presence of outdated gender roles, particularly portrayal and acceptance of women in non-professional, caregiver roles, even in societies perceived as socially progressive and liberal. The study considers how different societies respond to challenges related to the lack of access to fundamental development necessities outlined by United Nations Development Plan (UNDP.) 'Aduppukootti Samaram' or hearth-lighting protest emerged in Kerala in response to rising prices of domestic LPG cylinders. Women take to the streets to cook simple dishes using traditional wood hearths, symbolizing a potential return to this method if LPG prices remain uncontrolled by the central government. The United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) seventh Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) emphasizes universal access to affordable, clean, and modern energy as crucial for sustainable development. While India has extended LPG connections to remote rural areas, concerns persist over its affordability and accessibility. The qualitative study focuses on ten cases chosen based on defined criteria. Each case is analyzed for its tone, narrative structure, and the use of ethos, pathos, and logos. The theoretical frameworks of Feminist Media theory and Framing theory underpin this analysis. Mass media framing of protests related to food-related developments highlights traditional gender norms, portraying women as caregivers and protectors of household. This portrayal can perpetuate societal expectations limiting recognition of women's diverse roles and contributions beyond traditional domestic spheres.

**Keywords:** *LPG Price Hike, Women's protests, Gender Roles, UNDP, Political Parties, Food*

### INTRODUCTION

Media representations of protest movements are never ideologically neutral; they are shaped by prevailing social norms, cultural expectations, and political interests (Gitlin, 1980; McLeod & Hertog, 1999). In the Indian context, where gendered assumptions continue to dominate both public discourse and domestic life, women's participation in protest—particularly when led by homemakers—carries layered symbolic meaning. This paper examines the intersection of gender, media, and political communication in the coverage of the *Aduppukootti Samaram*

(Hearth-lighting Protest), a grassroots mobilization led predominantly by women in Kerala against the rising prices of Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG). By focusing on media narratives surrounding this protest, the study explores how traditional gender roles are invoked, reinforced, or challenged through strategic political messaging and journalistic framing.

Drawing on Feminist Media Theory and Framing Theory (Entman, 1993; Steiner, 2014), the paper interrogates the ways in which women are portrayed—as homemakers,

caregivers, and symbolic custodians of family welfare—within mass media accounts. It argues that such representations not only reflect but also perpetuate patriarchal ideologies, even when situated within ostensibly progressive political contexts. Moreover, it situates the LPG price hike protest within broader debates on energy justice, access to basic resources, and the use of emotion (pathos) and rationality (logos) in mobilizing public sentiment, particularly in digital and hybrid media landscapes (Sreberny & Ross, 1996). In doing so, this paper contributes to the scholarship on gendered citizenship, the politics of everyday resistance, and the strategic use of domestic symbolism in political campaigns in India.

Women's movements in India have multiple layers and narratives depending upon their bandwidth and nature. Indian women have gathered on the roads, participating in regional and local strikes to national and international movements. Not very frequently do homemakers get down on the streets to protest political developments in India. The reluctance is not only because of the patriarchal social order which limits married women from getting involved in the social movements but also due to political ignorance and fear of destroying the family's name. Yet, there have been several instances when Indian women broke all odds by assembling on the streets and raising their voices against injustice.

Traditionally in India's patriarchal society, women were confined to the indoors of their households entrusted with the duties of cooking food and doing household chores. An attempt to study women-led movements must be seen as foregrounding gender as an identity and a tool of social marginalization. It not only assesses women's participation and agency across different areas of life but also examines the evolution of women-led movements through personal, social, and ideological dimensions. It is hard to find a single narrative covering all women's uprisings in India. Yet each women-led strike, regardless of its bandwidth, has been widely noticed both by the mass media and the public.

One reason behind this promised visibility is the low social participation of Indian women, mainly the homemakers. Homemakers being compelled to leave their homes and take to the

streets in protest underscores the seriousness of the social issue they are addressing. This scenario also indicates that women mobilize and engage in collective action when confronting challenges about essential provisions such as food and basic living necessities. As food is being consumed equally by all members of a household, news related to food preparation is being oriented towards women. This is due to the patriarchal belief that women are the custodians of kitchens and anything related to food and cooking affects women more than anyone else.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) identifies universal access to affordable, clean, and modern energy as a fundamental component of sustainable development under its seventh Sustainable Development Goal (SDG). In India, although liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) sources have been extended to include villages and rural areas, the issue of ensuring the accessible and affordable availability of this clean fuel persists. While 'availability' denotes the physical presence of energy resources, 'access' pertains to the effective last-mile connectivity and actual uptake by end-users. In the pursuit of enhancing the quality of life and advancing SDGs, while 'availability' serves as a prerequisite, it alone may not suffice to ensure the comprehensive achievement of these objectives. Ultimately, the affordability of LPG for the average person remains uncertain.

The protest staged by the homemakers of Kerala against the increase in Liquefied Petroleum Gas is an example of the unaffordability of LPG cylinders. The protest series was named '*Aduppukootti Samaram*' (Hearth-lighting Protest). This paper examines the media portrayal of '*Aduppukootti Samaram*' scrutinizing the presence and reinforcement of gender roles within them. The current paper attempts to study whether the political parties make use of media to assert the image of women as sexual objects with definite gender roles.

### **Context and Significance of the Study**

A major share of Indian households has been largely relying upon Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) as a clean source of cooking fuel. Frequent increases in the price of LPG cylinders and the restriction of LPG subsidies to each household have put the home

economy at risk. India has seen several series of protests, strikes, and public awakenings against frequent LPG price hikes. Political parties on the opposition side, non-governmental organizations, and various other organized and unorganized groups have been staging several forms of protests against the ruling party and government in the LPG price hike issue. Food being the most basic living amenity, the fuel being used to cook food directly impacts the living quality of families. As the public takes to the streets every time the center increases the price of LPG cylinders, LPG price protests have almost become a usual thing in India (Dansie et al, 2010).

The need for food, a basic sustenance factor for all sections of society, drives people onto streets when LPG price goes unreasonably uphill. Recently when the government increased the price of domestic purpose LPG cylinders by Rs 50 and commercial purpose LPG cylinders by Rs 350 in March 2023, Kerala, the southernmost state of India saw huge public uprisings against the decision. Even the restaurant owners increased the price of dishes accordingly, both to mark their protest and to balance their profit. Kerala, being one of the most literate states of India claiming a luminous 100% literacy rate as on 13 January 2016, has witnessed huge female education and women employment rates.

In response to the uncontrolled LPG price hikes, the Democratic Youth Federation of India (DYFI) organized 'Aduppukootti Samaram' or 'Hearth-lighting Protest' in almost all major towns of Kerala. The protest was either women-led or saw massive participation of women in each town. Women, including the party workers and others assembled on the streets, prepared wood hearths, and lighted them together voicing slogans against the LPG price hike. The message behind the protest was that if the LPG price goes higher uncontrollably, Kerala women will have no option left other than to go back and resume the usage of olden-styled wooden hearths. As a protest driven by political motivations, this movement exerts significant influence on the daily lives of ordinary citizens. This study aims to analyze these impacts objectively, devoid of any political predispositions or biases. This paper intends to study how political parties mobilize

the public evoking family emotions, how gender roles and misogyny are asserted in those family emotions, and how gender stereotypes are portrayed and established through the mass media reports.

### **Women's protests in contemporary India**

On 17 December 2019, Shaheen Bagh, a local township in Delhi witnessed an indefinite sit-in protest by Muslim women. The historical strike was against the Citizen Amendment Act (CAA) a widely opposed bill that was first presented in Lok Sabha in 2016. The protest was widely covered by the mass media because it is unusual for Muslim women, who otherwise are restricted to the indoors of their households due to religious reasons, to step out in public and stage an indefinite protest. Though there was a fear of violence by the police and state, the spirit of 'angry' and 'determined' protestors was not lowered. The image of 'women on the street' conveys a more assertive message about how an issue is fuming in the grassroots of society.

Another impactful women-led protest was following the 'Nirbhaya' case. A physiotherapy student was gang-raped in a moving bus in the national capital. The survivor eventually succumbed to death. This kickstarted the 'Nirbhaya' campaign for the protection of women's rights across India. Large masses of women organized and unorganized flocked the streets in protest to the unfortunate incident. The protests were not led by a specific interest group, but were spontaneous and horizontal, with participants from various social and political backgrounds. Another remarkable nationwide movement that saw huge participation of women was the Farmers' Protest in November 2020. The protests were against the allegedly 'illiberal and authoritarian' measures of the government which lowered the minimum standard price of agricultural goods and refused loan waivers for deserving farmers. Farmers along with their families marched to the national capital from several north Indian states with bare feet leading to a massive mob in Delhi. They demanded a better agricultural policy by the central government that could protect the rights of farmers who are supposed to be the spine of India's economy.

Women's uprisings have not been limited to physical spaces in India. They have expanded

widely to online platforms. A notable online movement led by women was against the government's imposition of goods and service tax (GST) at 14 percent on sanitary napkins. 'SheSays,' a popular women's rights organization in India kickstarted a hashtag campaign named #LahukaLagaan which means Tax on Blood. The campaign took over Twitter in a very short period. Another hashtag #DontTaxMyPeriod was also trending for the same cause. SheSays filed a petition in the Supreme Court demanding to make sanitary napkins tax-free products. #LahukaLagaan was one of the biggest online campaigns completely led by women ever. However, the government later exempted sanitary napkins from any form of tax and declared it a zero-tax product.

## **Review of Literature**

### **Women-led Protests in India**

Bhatia & Gajjala (2020) observe that the political presence and visibility of women in protest spaces cannot be implicitly diffused through an invocation of a model of gendered ethics of care that situates the woman as a support figure and not a leading figure. The 'notion of care' surrounds a group of women protesting on the streets as women's social image as 'caregivers.' This notion of care somehow essentializes non-violences and romanticizes the non-possibility of ferocity in the protests. Ray (2000) records that modern aspirations about an independent nation rendered strength to the ideas of women's rights and liberation in medieval India. Women started assembling under various organizations to demolish social evils like Sati, child marriage, dowry, etc in the medieval period. They started being active part of the social renaissance debates. The author notes that though most of these movements were controlled by men, there were high rates of female participation in the issues affecting them.

Commenting on the social media-led protests, Fadnis (2017) says that it is hard to gauge whether it was the relevance of the message or the timeliness of social media that led to the success of this campaign. Several social activists take it to social media to expose taboos and initiate social change for the larger exposure and visibility ensured by the platform. Women are generally represented as non-professionals, homemakers and fragile

human beings by the mass media (Collins, 2011.) For Indian women, placement of their bodies in public itself is a form of protest against the society's order, as Bhatia & Gajjala (2020).

Framing theory, recently embraced by researchers focusing on media coverage of gender politics, is a valuable tool for examining how political women are portrayed. This theory explores how news media depict events and issues and how individuals interpret them, drawing partly from media representations. Framing involves selecting what to emphasize or omit, much like a photographer framing a picture or a house frame shaping construction style. This theory is particularly pertinent for studying media's role in political contexts, including how it shapes perceptions of women politicians and issues concerning women.

This approach offers a nuanced understanding of how the media represent gender, moving beyond the traditional focus on negative coverage of women (Sreberny-Mohammadi & Ross, 1996). A 1999 European Commission study found that gender portrayal in media is no longer uniformly stereotypical as seen in earlier decades (Gallagher, 2001, p. 5). Norris (1997a) also found that media coverage of women leaders worldwide is more complex than simple stereotypes focusing on appearance or traditionally feminine traits like compassion. Instead, she identified nuanced gendered news frames such as women leaders breaking barriers, being viewed as outsiders, or seen as catalysts for change. These frames reflect a subtler understanding of how women are perceived in politics (Fountaine & Mc Gregor, 2001).

The waves of the U.S. feminist movement have typically been seen as following a three-stage pattern: initially being ignored, then marginalized and mocked, and eventually acknowledged as part of societal norms without posing a threat to the status quo (Robinson, 1978). For instance, Ashley and Olson's (1998) study of feminist movements between 1966 and 1986 revealed that the media often focused on the appearance of protesters and cast doubt on the legitimacy of the movement, which exemplifies marginalization.

Framing is the main storyline or perspective of a news story, and according to McLeod and Hertog (1999), protest frames in the media are shaped by common journalistic practices. They identify four primary frames: riot (violent and disruptive behaviour), confrontation (conflict with authorities or opposition), spectacle (sensational and dramatic narratives), and debate (discussion of the protest's issues or demands). The riot, confrontation, and spectacle frames tend to highlight action or behaviour, potentially undermining the legitimacy of the protest and influencing public opinion negatively. In contrast, the debate frame focuses on the protest's agendas and offers a chance for the media to involve audiences in understanding the movement's goals. Recent studies in media effects indicate that framing consistently predicts how audiences engage with and interpret social movements (Van Dijk, 2023). Gender-related protests, such as the Women's March, were seldom depicted using the confrontation frame in media coverage. Despite being among the largest global movements ever, these protests received substantial legitimizing attention. Media stories largely omitted any mention of potential conflict, focusing instead on topics like police readiness for large gatherings and calls for peaceful participation (Kilgo et al., 2018).

### News Reports covering 'Aduppukootti Samaram' between 2012 and 2022

**Story 1 (S1).** 'Adukkalayil ninnu Smaragni Theruvilekku' – Dool News, December 2012.

The concept of lighting wooden hearths on streets was started by CPM itself, back in the year 2012. K Vasumathiyamma, the wife of eminent CPM leader and former Chief Minister of Kerala lighted a wood hearth in their kitchen and prepared 'payasam' (a post-meal dessert.) The present Chief Minister of Kerala Pinarayi Vijayan received the dessert from K Vasumathiyamma and distributed it to the public. In an article titled 'From kitchen to the streets – here spreads the fire of protest' Dool News (December, 2012) says that the protest covered almost 750 kilometres. The article says that the CPM leaders and workers participated in the protests along with their family. The photographs showcase the image of a smiling woman feeding the food they

prepared in the road-side hearth to her minor son.



(Picture 1: (S1) The cover image of an article titled 'From kitchen to streets: the protest fire spreads.' The picture shows Kerala Chief Minister Pinarayi Vijayan( left) receiving Payasam from K. Vasumathiyamma (right) who prepared it. Picture Credit: Dool News)

**S2.** 'LPG Price Hike: Protest Fire Spreads All Over.' Desabhimani, 18 February 2021.

The thumbnail image shows a group of homemakers lighting wood hearths on roadsides and preparing food. Mahila Association, a leftist women's outfit, reportedly prepared coffee in the protest hearths and distributed to the public. CPM's women subcommittees also mobilized housewives from across the state to take part in the wood-hearth protest.

പാലകവാതക , പെട്രോൾ-- ഡീസൽ വിലവർധന നാടെങ്ങും പ്രതിഷേധത്തി

വെബ് ഡെസ്ക് Updated: Thursday Feb 18, 2021



(Picture 2: Screenshot of S1 as published by Desabhimani Online on 18 February 2021. Picture Credit: Desabhimani.)

**S3.** Prices Surge: Firewood and LPG Cylinder Costs Soar - Kerala Kaumudi, 31 October 2021

The story starts by sympathizing with the efforts of 'housewives' to cook food for their respective families. Further, the report covers the high prices of firewood from Rubber, Coconut trees, and sawmill waste due to the downfall in agriculture and farming.



**S4. 'Isn't it the government's job to make sure people have food and housing?' Vanitha, 13 June 2022**

The article discusses the hardships faced by working women due to the hike in the price of LPG cylinders and other food articles. A publication that is known to be taking women's side in socio-cultural issues, Vanitha discusses the impracticalities of switching back to wood hearth in this 'advanced age' when women are working and earning as equally as men in a family. The article features quotes from women, with the thumbnail showcasing some working women.



(Picture 3: Thumbnail image of S4. Credit: Vanitha Online.)

**S5. 'Increasing LPG price is 'anti-women' and anti-people, says Congress.' The Print, 18 August 2021.**

A Congress spokesperson said to the news portal that the frequent LPG price hikes will bring imbalance to family economy. As it directly affects cooking food, it primarily affects women – the politician said.

**S6. Female Agricultural Laborers Spearhead Statewide Protest Against Fuel Price Increase. Desabhimani, 2022**

The report says that female agriculture laborers led this state-wide protest against the central government's unjust measures that challenged the smooth process of cooking meals at their houses. CPM intends to bring bare the difficulties downtrodden sections of society face due to LPG price hikes through this media content.

**S7. 'Female Congress Workers Symbolize LPG Price Strain, Carrying Cylinders on Heads in Protest.' The Hindu, 03 March 2023**

Several women joined former MLA NH Konaraddi who led the protest by carrying LPG cylinders on their heads. On contrast, leader Konaraddi and the male protestors were not carrying LPG cylinder on their heads.



Congress members led by former MLA N.H. Konaraddi taking out protest march carrying empty cylinders and blocking Vijayapura National Highway in Navalgund on Friday. | Photo Credit: SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

(Picture 4: Thumbnail image of S7. Credit: The Hindu)

**S8. 'LPG price hike: Women protest in Siddipet.' Telangana Today, 2022**

The article is titled 'LPG price hike: Women protest in Siddipet' shows the image of female party workers cooking food on streets in protests to LPG price hike.

**S9. Future Without LPG: Women May Resort to Firewood for Cooking, Female Congress Leader Warn. The Economic Times, 08 May 2022.**

The report quotes All India Congress Committee secretary Szaritha Laithphlang that given the spiraling cooking gas cylinder price, the day is not far when women will have to bid adieu to LPG and go back to firewood for cooking. She further claimed that the price of the LPG cylinder, which was Rs 410 in 2014, has shot up to Rs 999 with 'zero subsidy' in 2022 triggering fire in the kitchens.

**S10. Puducherry BJP Leader Stumped by Women Workers' Question on LPG Price Hike. India Today, 04 July 2023.**

United Nations Development Plan (UNDP) has mentioned clearly as its seventh Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) that people's access to clean and modern fuel at affordable prices is an integral part of a nation's sustainable development. While India has ensured the 'availability' of LPG sources even in villages and rural townships, 'access' or 'affordability' of this clean fuel remains a question mark. While 'availability' refers to the physical availability of energy carriers, 'access' is more closely related to the last-mile connectivity and final uptake. In the context of improvement in the quality of life and achieving SDGs, while 'availability' can be considered as a necessary condition, it may not be a sufficient condition (Sankhyayan & Dasgupta, 2019.)

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research Question 2: Does the women-led '*Aduppukootti Samaram*' protest LPG price hikes reassert gender roles and mainstream media stereotypes of women as a homemaker?

This study qualitatively analyses ten news stories that appeared in mainstream media news portals that covered '*Aduppukootti Samaram*' in all dimensions. The ten stories were collected using keyword search, readership, reach of the news portal they are published in, and timeline. Keywords used to filter the news articles are LPG price hike, Kerala, Women's protests, Homemakers, Aduppukootti Samaram and Wood Hearth Protest. Major keywords indicating patriarchy and gender roles were filtered out from each news article. A word cloud was generated with frequent keywords across all the news stories. The trend on the word cloud was analyzed qualitatively. The language, tone, and traces of Ethos, Pathos, and Logos in the news content were scrutinized. This study is based on Feminist Media Theory that checks the rationality of gender representation in media and media content. Traditionally in media, men are represented as adventurous, dominant, and sexually aggressive but women are represented as homely, submissive, and caring. Steiner (2014) argues that feminist media theory "applies philosophies, concepts, and logics articulating feminist principles and concepts to media processes such as hiring, production, and distribution; to patterns of representation in news and entertainment across platforms; and to reception."

The word cloud is generated using the words that are repeated in the studied news articles. These words are the keywords that indicate the assertion of gender roles and misogyny in the narrative of the protest series and news reporting pattern. A major share of these keywords is associated with kitchen, food, cooking and women's responsibility of keeping them up. A widely repeated keyword is 'families.' While food is being cooked and consumed by bachelors and other individuals

staying outside a family system, associating LPG cylinders and cooking with families alone has to be considered intentional. It is quite predictable and natural that the second most popular keyword among the selected ten articles is 'kitchen,' as they report the protest series against LPG price hike. However, terming price hike of domestic LPG cylinders 'anti-women' is clearly the assertion of gender roles. As cooking is a life skill that anyone can practice, associating kitchen, cooking and household chores with women alone is a clear assertion of gender stereotypes of this patriarchal society. To substantiate this thought, let us look at some adjectives the selected news articles used to describe protesting women: 'wives, homemakers, mothers, daughters, Vanitha, mahila, working women, housewives' etc. Each of these words has clear indication to patriarchal gender roles.

Traditionally in this patriarchal society, women are considered the cooks and carers of a household. They are expected to feed the family, especially men and children, and ensure the well-being of the whole family. It is often expected as their 'responsibility.'

By analysing the keywords, the ten news reports attempt to appeal to the patriarchal society of India by evoking family sentiments and the gender stereotypes associated to it. DYFI the political outfit which organized 'Aduppukooti Samaram' protest series, despite claiming to be progressive and modern, has effectively made use of mass media to mobilize public against the central government in LPG price hike issue. For this, they have used the 'homemaker' image of women who participated in the protests.

### Tabulation

Code	Date of publishing	Date of retrieval	Title of the article	English Translation	Media platform	Ethos	Pathos	Logos	Substantiating Statement	English Translation of Substantiating Statement	How women are portrayed	Link
S1	01-12-2012	29-07-2023	അടുക്കളയിൽ നിന്നും സമരം എടുത്തുവിളക്ക്	From kitchen to streets spreads the protest fire	Dool News		√		അടുക്കളകൾ പുകയുന്നത് പോലും തടയുന്ന സർക്കാരിനെതിരെ ബഹുജന രോഷത്തിന്റെ ഉയർത്തുന്നതായിരുന്നു ഇന്നത്തെ സമരമുറ.	The protest portrays the flames of public anger against LPG price hike, which is described as government's move of putting down the fire in people's kitchens.	Women are portrayed as the custodians of kitchen. Women are pictured as the most affected sections of society by the LPG price hike owing to their patriarchal image of cooks, servers and caregivers.	<a href="https://www.doolnews.com/kitchens-fire-moved-in-road-malayalam-news-648.html">https://www.doolnews.com/kitchens-fire-moved-in-road-malayalam-news-648.html</a>
S2	18-02-2021	29-07-2023	പാചക വാതകം, പെട്രോൾ-ഡീസൽ വിലവരുന്ന നാളെ പ്രതിഷേധം	LPG, Petrol-Diesel Price hike: Widespread protests all over	Desabhinani			√	പാചകവാതകം, പെട്രോൾ-ഡീസൽ വിലവരുന്നത് കെട്ടിനിർത്തിയ നാളെ അടുക്കളകളിൽ പ്രതിഷേധം. ജനാധിപത്യ മഹിളാ അസോസിയേഷന്റെയും ഡിഫെൻഡ് ഐയുടെയും നേതൃത്വത്തിലാണ് പ്രതിഷേധങ്ങൾ സംഘടിപ്പിച്ചത്. പട്ടണങ്ങളിലും വില്ലേജ് കേന്ദ്രങ്ങളിലും പ്രതിഷേധ പരിപാടികൾ നടന്നു.	Widespread protests across the state against the increase in LPG prices, led by the Democratic Mahila Association and the Democratic Youth Federation of India (DYFI), the youth wing of the ruling CPM party, have extended from rural villages to urban centers.	In the cover image of the story, women dressed in ethnic home-wear are shown as lighting wood-hearthings on street protesting against LPG price hike. The image of non-professional housewives are utilized to influence the minds of readers. Women are portrayed in the picture as those responsible to cook food, serve the family members and sustain the generation.	<a href="https://www.deshabhinani.com/news/kerala-news-kannurkerala-18-02-2021/925258">https://www.deshabhinani.com/news/kerala-news-kannurkerala-18-02-2021/925258</a>
S3	31-10-2021	29-07-2023	കിട്ടാനില്ല വിറകും, അടുപ്പ എങ്ങനെ പുകയും!	Even firewood is unavailable, How will the chimneys fume?	Kerala Kaumudi		√		പാചകവാതക വില കൂട്ടിച്ചുരുക്കത്തോടെ അടുപ്പിലേക്ക് മാറാനുള്ള വിട്ടുമാറ്റമില്ലാത്ത തീരുമാനമായി വിറകു ക്ഷാമവും.	The scarcity of firewood exacerbates the situation as homemakers increasingly turn to wood hearths amidst continuous hikes in LPG prices.	Women are portrayed as people responsible to cook food in household kitchens. As firewood prices go up along with LPG prices, housewives are said to struggle in the kitchens. The report uses patriarchal image of women to convey the message easily to the readers.	<a href="https://keralakaumudi.com/news/news.php?id=673710&amp;u=local-news-kottayam-673710">https://keralakaumudi.com/news/news.php?id=673710&amp;u=local-news-kottayam-673710</a>
S4	13-06-2022	29-07-2023	ജനങ്ങൾ ഭക്ഷണം കഴിച്ച് ജീവിക്കുന്നു	Isn't the government responsible	Vanitha		√		പ്രളയവും കോവിഡും കേരള ജനതയെ തളർത്തി. പലരുടെയും വീടും	The floods and COVID-19 pandemic have left Kerala society	Women are portrayed in the article as those responsible to balance family budget. The	<a href="https://www.vanitha.in/justin/Vilakayattam-">https://www.vanitha.in/justin/Vilakayattam-</a>



Code	Date of publishing	Date of retrieval	Title of the article	English Translation	Media platform	Ethos	Pathos	Logos	Substantiating Statement	English Translation of Substantiating Statement	How women are portrayed	Link
			മെന്ന് ഉറപ്പി ക്കാനു ഇള ഉത്തര വാദി ത്വം സർക്കാരിനിപ്പോ? എങ്ങനെ ജീവിക്കുക ശമ്പള ക്കാർ?	le to check whether the public eats food? How will the salaried people lead a smooth life?					കൃഷിയും എല്ലാം പോയി. കോവിഡിന്റെ തെരുകത്തിൽ ബിസിനസ്സ് തകർന്നവർ അതിലേറെ. തെരുകത്തിൽ നിന്ന് കര കയറുന്നതിന് മുമ്പേ അവശ്യ സാധനങ്ങളുടെ വിലക്കയറ്റം!	vulnerable, leading to the closure of numerous businesses. As society strives to endure these challenges, the significant increase in prices of essential goods presents a formidable setback.	women quoted in this article are middle-class and upper middle-class working women, self employed or professionals. Still, they share their anxieties about how they would run the kitchens, take care of children and sustain economic balance in the family as LPG price goes up. The article suggests that however educated, self sufficient and independent women are, they are responsible to cook food and serve family members and take care of their children.	vanitha-special-focus-feature.html
S5	18-08-2021	29-07-2023	LPG price hiked by Rs 25/cylinder, Congress says move 'anti-women, anti-people'	LPG price hiked by Rs 25/cylinder, Congress says move 'anti-women, anti-people'	The Print			√	Subsidised LPG now costs Rs 859 per 14.2-kg cylinder in Delhi, according to a price notification of oil companies. The government eliminated subsidies on LPG by raising rates every month. These monthly increases led to the elimination of subsidies by May 2020.	Subsidised LPG now costs Rs 859 per 14.2-kg cylinder in Delhi, according to a price notification of oil companies. The government eliminated subsidies on LPG by raising rates every month. These monthly increases led to the elimination of subsidies by May 2020.	Women are portrayed as a section that is directly affected by LPG price hike. The Congress spokesperson uses media to call LPG price hike 'anti-women' implying that cooking food in a household is women's responsibility, so anything adversely affecting the process is against women. The narrative affirms the patriarchal gender role of women as cooks, servants and custodians of kitchen.	<a href="https://theprint.in/economy/lpg-price-hiked-by-rs-25-cylinder-congress-says-move-anti-women-anti-people/717899/">https://theprint.in/economy/lpg-price-hiked-by-rs-25-cylinder-congress-says-move-anti-women-anti-people/717899/</a>
S6	10-05-2022	29-07-2023	പാചക വാതക വിലവർധന : കർഷക തൊഴിലാളി സ്ത്രീകളുടെ പ്രതിഷേധം 12ന്	LPG price hike: female agricultural labourers of Kerala set to protest on 12th	Desabhimani			√	മോദി സർക്കാർ രണ്ടാമത് അധികാരത്തിൽ വരുമ്പോൾ 405 രൂപയുണ്ടായിരുന്ന പാചകവാതക വില 1000 കടന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. 255 രൂപയാണ് ഒമ്പതുമാസത്തിനിടെ വർദ്ധിച്ചത്. ഉപയോക്താക്കൾക്ക് സബ്സിഡിയും മാസങ്ങളായി നൽകുന്നില്ല.	During the second term of the Modi government, the price of LPG cylinders surged from Rs 405 to Rs 1000, marking a Rs 255 increase within a span of 9 months. Additionally, consumers have reported not receiving the subsidies promised to them.	Women working in unorganized daily-wage sectors are reportedly protesting against LPG price hike under the banner of KSKTU, the agriculture labour union of CPM. LPG price hike is portrayed as a women's issue. Women are shown as protesting against a govt policy that adversely affects fulfilling of their responsibility to cook and serve food to their family members.	<a href="https://www.deshabhimani.com/news/kerala-10-05-2022/1018773">https://www.deshabhimani.com/news/kerala-10-05-2022/1018773</a>
S7	03-03-2023	29-07-2023	Protest against LPG price hike continues	Protest against LPG price hike continues	The Hindu			√	Addressing the protestors, Mr. Konaraddi said that the price of domestic LPG cylinder which was ₹450 during the Congress government had increased to ₹1,150 under the BJP rule. "The BJP government is directly responsible for the price rise. Already the prices of petrol, diesel and other essential commodities have skyrocketed and people are being burdened by GST on everything. Instead of rubbing salt on the wounds, the government should immediately withdraw the hike", he said.	Addressing the protestors, Mr. Konaraddi said that the price of domestic LPG cylinder which was ₹450 during the Congress government had increased to ₹1,150 under the BJP rule. "The BJP government is directly responsible for the price rise. Already the prices of petrol, diesel and other essential commodities have skyrocketed and people are being burdened by GST on everything. Instead of	To show that women are over-burdened by LPG price-hike, female party workers are shown in the cover picture as carrying LPG cylinders on their heads. The story not only reaffirms gender roles surrounding housewife-image of women but also normalizes infliction of physical pain and pictures women as patient sufferers.	<a href="https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/karnataka/protest-against-lpg-price-hike-continues/article66576804.ece">https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/karnataka/protest-against-lpg-price-hike-continues/article66576804.ece</a>

Code	Date of publishing	Date of retrieval	Title of the article	English Translation	Media platform	Ethos	Pathos	Logos	Substantiating Statement	English Translation of Substantiating Statement	How women are portrayed	Link
										rubbing salt on the wounds, the government should immediately withdraw the hike", he said.		
S8	28-07-2023	29-07-2023	LPG price hike: Women protest in Siddipet	LPG price hike: Women protest in Siddipet	Telangana Today			√	Women leaders of Siddipet town demanded that Prime Minister Narendra Modi reverse the decision of hiking the price of cylinders.	Women leaders of Siddipet town demanded that Prime Minister Narendra Modi reverse the decision of hiking the price of cylinders.	Women are portrayed as the ones responsible for cooking food in households. The narrative of angry women in the article implies that primary victims of LPG price hike are home makers and they are potential to mark their protest even against central government. The women shown in the cover image are traditionally dressed rural women bearing the image of non-professional care givers, mothers and wives.	<a href="https://telanganatoday.com/lpg-price-hike-women-protest-in-siddipet">https://telanganatoday.com/lpg-price-hike-women-protest-in-siddipet</a>
S9	08-02-2022	29-07-2023	LPG price rise is triggering fire in kitchen, says All India Congress Committee Secretary	LPG price rise is triggering fire in kitchen, says All India Congress Committee Secretary	The Economic Times	√			If this trend continues, the day is not far when the women will have to offer shraddhanjali to LPG cylinders and go back to old age method of cooking in firewood.	If this trend continues, the day is not far when the women will have to offer shraddhanjali to LPG cylinders and go back to old age method of cooking in firewood.	Women are portrayed as the primary sufferers of increasing LPG prices. Asserting that only women are responsible to cook food and serve it to others in a family, the politician uses the media to state that women will have to switch to firewood hearth if LPG prices continue to go up.	<a href="https://telanganatoday.com/lpg-price-hike-women-protest-in-siddipet">https://telanganatoday.com/lpg-price-hike-women-protest-in-siddipet</a>
S10	04-07-2023	29-07-2023	Puducherry BJP minister keeps mum as women raise concern about LPG price hike	Puducherry BJP minister keeps mum as women raise concern about LPG price hike	India Today	√			To Saravana Kumar's surprise, women workers raised questions about LPG cylinders being sold at Rs 1,200 and urged him to reduce it. However, the minister chose not to respond and continued with his puja.	To Saravana Kumar's surprise, women workers raised questions about LPG cylinders being sold at Rs 1,200 and urged him to reduce it. However, the minister chose not to respond and continued with his puja.	Working class women are shown as suffering population who are unable to afford revised high LPG price. As those responsible to cook food and sustain family economy, the women are portrayed in the article as genuinely raising their personal requests to lower LPG prices. LPG price hike is shown as a women's issue in the report.	<a href="https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/puducherry-bjp-minister-keeps-mum-as-women-raise-concern-about-lpg-price-hike-2401581-2023-07-04">https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/puducherry-bjp-minister-keeps-mum-as-women-raise-concern-about-lpg-price-hike-2401581-2023-07-04</a>

## DATA ANALYSIS

**Sample 1 (S1).** According to the report, about 25 lakhs of people are said to have participated in the first 'Aduppukootti Samaram,' which was against the price hike of food articles. People lighted hearths along the sides of national highways and prepared food items. The protest that started from a woman spread like fire across the households of Kerala. There is a sentence in the article that goes like 'The protest portrays the flames of public anger against LPG price hike, which is described as government's move of putting down the fire in people's kitchens.' This article attempts to evoke pathos in the minds of readers by reflecting family sentiments. The portrayal of

women as 'a section supposed to cook food and serve others' is asserted in the report. Women are picturized as the most affected sections of society by the LPG price hike owing to their patriarchal image of cooks, servers and caregivers. While CPM leader VS Achuthanandan himself could have inaugurated the protest, bringing in his wife who is not an active CPM worker conveys the message that price hike of food articles affects women, particularly housewives the most, as they are the ones who cook food and serve it to other family members. Moreover, in a patriarchal society where men are portrayed as protectors of women at home, anything adversely affecting or involving 'women at

home' is expected to evoke stronger rage in men. This news report uses pathos through family sentiments to influence the minds of readers. The picture that showcases the present chief minister Pinarayi Vijayan receiving fire from K Vasumathiyamma substantiates this observation.

Major Keywords indicating patriarchy and gender role assertion:

- ഭാര്യ (wife)
- അടുക്കള (kitchen)
- കുടുംബങ്ങൾ അടുപ്പുകൂട്ടി (families lit hearths on road)
- മുഖ്യമന്ത്രിയുടെ മകളും പേരക്കുട്ടിയും (Chief minister's daughter and grandchild)

Behl (2022) observes that the farmers' protest owes its success to the labor and leadership of women, which has been fostered in part by responding to women's experience of gendered violence, at large and in the protests themselves. Women's contribution to the farmers' protest has been celebrated with headlines proclaiming that women have been "leading India's farmers' protest." Similarly, Kerala women's experience of gendered violence became a tool for the political party to mobilize them against the LPG price hike.

**S2.** The second strongest edition of 'Aduppukootti Samram' was launched in March 2021. (The protest model was replicated locally at several places in an unorganized manner during the nine years between 2012 and 2021.) In March 2021, the BJP-led NDA government increased the retail prices of both domestic and commercial LPG cylinders which kicked a series of strikes and protests around the nation.

In the cover image of the story, women dressed in ethnic home-wear are shown as lighting wood-hearths on street protesting LPG price hike. The image of non-professional housewives is utilized to influence the minds of readers. Women are portrayed in the picture as those responsible to cook food, serve the family members and sustain the generation.

The language and tone of the news article published by Deshabhimani suggest that women are the most affected section of society

by the frequent hike in LPG prices. The emphasis given to the protests by women clearly indicates the affirmation of gender roles. By reporting how women served coffee they prepared to the public gathered around, the patriarchal gender values surrounding women as the ones supposed to serve men around them, is asserted. The news article attempts to appeal to the public through ethos. Major keywords indicating patriarchy and gender role assertion:

- Women
- Homemakers
- Protesting women served coffee
- Kitchens
- Families
- Mahila Association

Varigonda (2013) observes a phenomenon called 'energy insecurity' which is supposedly caused by the inadequate and unreasonably priced fuel supply, which is unreliable for the public. The author argues that this situation causes chronic socio-political instability which in turn invites destabilisation in an already weakened state. This instability should be considered the basis of nationwide protests LPG price hikes in India.

**S3.** The news article published by Kerala Kaumudi tries to catch the attention of readers by evoking pathos – emphasizing the efforts of women in serving their family members. Women are portrayed as people responsible for cooking food in household kitchens. As firewood prices go up along with LPG prices, housewives are said to struggle in the kitchens. The report uses the patriarchal image of women to convey the message easily to the readers. The report advocates women's lower position as facilitators to men. The report says that the scarcity of firewood exacerbates the situation as homemakers increasingly turn to wood hearths amidst continuous hikes in LPG prices. The article attempts to appeal to the public through pathos.

Major Keywords indicating patriarchy and gender role assertion:

1. KSRTC South Vanitha Subcommittee
2. Housewives
3. Cooking Food
4. Firewood
5. LPG cylinders

**S4.** What goes unnoticed in the Vanitha article is restricting the responsibility of a house's kitchen to the women living there. Several women including professionals, entrepreneurs, and homemakers have shared their thoughts on how to save money for children's needs in the time of general price hikes. The article has pictures of women it quotes. The thumbnail image is that of the working women and 'caring mothers/wives' who are concerned about their families.

Women are portrayed in the article as those responsible for balancing family budgets. The women quoted in this article are middle-class and upper-middle-class working women, self-employed or professionals. Still, they share their anxieties about how they would run the kitchens, take care of children and sustain economic balance in the family as LPG price goes up. The article suggests that however educated, self-sufficient and independent women are, they are responsible to cook food and serve family members and take care of their children. This article is a clear example of gender role assertion through mass media.

The appealing sentence is: The floods and COVID-19 pandemic have left Kerala society vulnerable, leading to the closure of numerous businesses. As society strives to endure these challenges, the significant increase in prices of essential goods presents a formidable setback. The article uses pathos to connect with the readers.

Major keywords indicating patriarchy and gender role assertion:

- Women
- Homemakers
- Housewives
- Cook food for families
- Wood Hearth
- Price Hike
- LPG cylinder
- Working Women
- Feeding Children
- Cooking for family
- Multitasking
- Caring
- Concerned
- Mother
- Wife
- Family
- Responsibility

**S5.** In a news report by The Print, a congress spokesperson said that the frequent LPG price hikes will bring imbalance to the family economy. As it directly affects cooking food, it primarily affects women. Through this statement, the political party is attempting to utilize mass media to mobilize people by evoking family sentiments by affirming the patriarchal gender roles. The thumbnail image of the news article shows the hand of a married woman turning off a domestic-purpose LPG cylinder.

Women are portrayed in this article as a section that is directly affected by LPG price hikes. The Congress spokesperson uses media to call the LPG price hike 'anti-women' implying that cooking food in a household is women's responsibility, so anything adversely affecting the process is against women. The narrative affirms the patriarchal gender role of women as cooks, servants, and custodians of the kitchen. The article attempts to connect with the audience through logos, by describing the graph of fuel price hike and its potential threat to domestic financial ecosystem. Substantiating statements: Subsidised LPG now costs Rs 859 per 14.2-kg cylinder in Delhi, according to a price notification of oil companies. The government eliminated subsidies on LPG by raising rates every month. These monthly increases led to the elimination of subsidies by May 2020.

Major Keywords indicating patriarchy and gender role assertion:

- Anti-women
- LPG Price-hike
- Anti-People
- Household budget
- Cowdung and firewood

**S6.** Deshabhimani indirectly reinforces the gender roles by portraying women as cooks and servers of a household in this news report. A sentence in the news story says 'The LPG price when Modi government came to power was just Rs 405. Now, it has crossed Rs 1000. Rs 225 has increased in a month on average. Customers have also denied their deserving subsidies for the past several months.' This part of the news story attempts to influence the readers through logos. Now, the portrayal of women as the keepers of the kitchen is not restricted to Kerala mass media. It must be considered as a nationwide phenomenon as

several national publications follow the same format while reporting news related to LPG price hikes. LPG price hike is portrayed as a women's issue. Women are shown as protesting a govt policy that adversely affects the fulfilment of their responsibility to cook and serve food to their family members.

The article attempts to appeal to the public through logos. The rate of LPG price hikes during each term of Narendra Modi - led NDA government is listed in the article. 'During the second term of the Modi government, the price of LPG cylinders surged from Rs 405 to Rs 1000, marking a Rs 255 increase within a span of 9 months. Additionally, consumers have reported not receiving the subsidies promised to them,' it says.

Major Keywords indicating patriarchy and gender role assertion:

- Female agricultural laborers
- Women
- LPG cylinder
- Cook food
- Family / Household

**S7.** Through this news article in The Hindu, Congress intends to mobilize people by sympathizing with the homemakers carrying extra burdens. However, the protest turned out to be anti-women as its media image not only asserts the gender roles but also inflicts physical torture to the female protestors. To show that women are over-burdened by LPG price, female party workers are shown in the cover picture as carrying LPG cylinders on their heads. The story not only reaffirms gender roles surrounding the housewife image of women but also normalizes the infliction of physical pain and picturizes women as patient sufferers.

This article attempts to connect with the readers through ethos and logos.

Major Keywords indicating patriarchy and gender role assertion:

1. Homemakers
2. Women
3. Housewives
4. LPG cylinders
5. Price Hike
6. Burden

**S8, S9.** Both these articles portray political leaders using mass media to influence readers evoking both pathos and logos.

In S8, women are portrayed as the persons responsible for cooking food in households. The narrative of angry women in the article implies that the primary victims of LPG price hikes are homemakers, and they have the potential to mark their protest even against the central government. The women shown in the cover image are traditionally dressed rural women bearing the image of non-professional caregivers, mothers, and wives. The style of this message indicates appealing to the public through ethos.

In S9, women are portrayed as the primary sufferers of increasing LPG prices. Asserting that only women are responsible to cook food and serve it to others in a family, the politician uses the media to state that women will have to switch to firewood hearth if LPG prices continue to go up. This article tries to communicate with the audience through logos.

Major keywords indicating patriarchy and gender role assertion:

- Women
- Protest
- LPG cylinder
- Price Hike
- Female Party workers
- Cooking food
- Zero subsidy
- Firewood
- Cooking
- Fire in the kitchen
- Women bidding adieu to LPG

**S10.** The structure of this news article juxtaposes both genders and marks men as 'providers' and women as 'facilitators.' While the men and women assembled in the inaugural venue are both affected equally by the LPG price hike, the minister being answerable only to the women asserts the patriarchal roles of women as custodians of the household kitchen.

Working-class women are shown as a suffering population who are unable to afford revised high LPG prices. As those responsible to cook food and sustain family economy, the



women are portrayed in the article as genuinely raising their requests to lower LPG prices. LPG price hike is shown as a women's issue in the report. The style of messaging in this article indicates ethos.

Major keywords indicating patriarchy and gender role assertion:

- Women workers
- Puja
- MNNREGA
- Cooking Gas
- Women
- Price Hike
- Cylinders

### **Observations: From Liberation to Patriarchy as from LPG to wood hearths**

By analysing the collected news stories, it is evident that political parties attempt to influence people by placing women, especially housewives in protests. They use mass media to multiply reach and exposure to their ideas. As S1 implies, custody of the kitchen and the responsibility of cooking food for all family members is placed on women's shoulders despite the high literacy rate, women empowerment, and employment. Assertion of this patriarchal image of women helps easily evoke family sentiments among the public. Politicians and political parties use it as a tool to propagate their ideologies and mobilize people. The placement of these images in mass media offers them unlimited visibility and exposure. New Media with its typical globalized access, instant response mechanism, and cross-geographical accessibility opens vast opportunities in front of campaigning politicians and parties.

The image of protesting women as shown in S7 and S8, draws the quick attention of the readers. The women in the photographs wear traditional ethnic homemakers like sarees and salwar suits while protesting on streets in front of press cameras. The image is intended to make readers/audience relate the participants of the strike with the women at their homes, empathize with the protestors, and thus be convinced by the political propaganda. The reason why political parties do not dress up the participants of their strike in modern couture or Western wear which is popular among today's working women links

to the affirmation of sartorial and cultural values linked to housewives and Indian mothers. The image of non-professional, submissive, caring, traditional indoor women is utilized to evoke sentiments among the public. Mass media, especially new media is used as a tool to mobilize the public.

S6 and S10 have images of working women protesting LPG price hikes. Both the news stories do not follow the trend of portraying 'indoor women' protesting in public. Instead, they portray women working in unorganized sectors protesting LPG price hikes. The women shown in these news stories are daily wage labourers who struggle to meet both ends of their family economy. In contrast to the housewives who seldom appear in public, this section of working women are active participants in public life. Despite their public participation and physical labour, they have the additional burden of taking care of the household kitchen. S4 shows another class of working women who are professionals, some of them self-employed and well-educated. Though both these groups of women hail from totally different social classes, what they share is the image of a homemaker who is responsible for cooking food, bringing up children, and taking care of other members of their family.

### **CONCLUSION**

In contemporary mass media, the portrayal of women continues to be shaped by patriarchal values, often influenced by the pursuit of greater public acceptance and readership. This phenomenon is evident not only in media representations but also exploited by politicians to garner rapid attention, as exemplified in the cases of S3 and S5. These instances highlight how political parties leverage and perpetuate traditional patriarchal stereotypes of women through mass media channels, seeking broad societal acceptance. Moreover, this trend underscores a concerning persistence of antiquated gender roles, particularly evident in the promotion and normalization of the non-professional, caregiver-centric image of women, even within societies considered socially advanced and liberal. This portrayal emphasizes women primarily in roles associated with domestic care and household management, thereby reinforcing historical stereotypes that undermine the recognition of women's diverse

capabilities and contributions beyond traditional domestic spheres.

Thus, the contemporary media landscape not only reflects but also perpetuates patriarchal norms, influencing public perceptions and contributing to the maintenance of gender inequalities. This analysis underscores the ongoing relevance and impact of media representations on societal attitudes towards gender roles and women's status in modern contexts. The use of pathos and logos serves as a strategic tool to influence readers' perceptions and beliefs. Pathos, or emotional appeal, is effectively employed to evoke empathy and connection with readers, thereby enhancing the persuasive impact of a story. This technique is often complemented by logos, the use of logical reasoning and factual evidence, which substantiates the emotional appeal and lends credibility to the narrative. An exemplary illustration of this approach can be observed in case S3, where an emotionally compelling statement is supported by empirical data and statistics, resulting in a more convincing story format.

An extensive analysis of collected stories reveals significant findings about Research Question 1 and Research Question 2. These findings underscore the effectiveness of emotional and factual appeals in shaping public opinion through media narratives. Media platforms serve as crucial arenas for mobilizing public support and galvanizing social movements. Political parties adeptly harness media channels to orchestrate and amplify women's participation in protests and strikes. This strategic mobilization is evident in initiatives such as the women-led 'Aduppukootti Samaram' protest, which protested the hike in LPG prices.

The coverage and framing of such protests often highlight traditional gender norms, portraying women primarily as caregivers and protectors of household welfare. This portrayal can inadvertently perpetuate societal expectations and limit the recognition of women's diverse roles and contributions beyond traditional domestic spheres. Understanding these dynamics is essential for fostering more inclusive and equitable representations of women in media and society at large.

## Recommendations & Suggestions

This paper focuses on how the media portrays protests increased LPG prices. Despite this, it's important to note that prices of essential items like food and groceries have risen significantly in recent years, leading to widespread protests across the country against inflation and price hikes. By analyzing how the media frames these protests, further investigation can explore how narratives convey messages about gender, political perspectives, and other potentially manipulated themes.

This study aims to understand how media framing influences public perception and shapes discussions on economic challenges and civic actions in response to price increases. Increase in the price of essential goods is a global phenomenon. There is a possibility of conducting an international study on how political parties use mass media to mobilize public through asserting gender stereotypes and family emotions. Usage of logical facts and figures to endorse the messaging shall also be particularly studied.

Another interesting topic is how supposedly progressive political organizations like the Communist Marxist Party of India and its youth wing use family emotions, gender stereotypes, and outdated patriarchal values to appeal to the public.

It is recommended to study how accessible are the fundamentals listed in United Nations Development Plan to the developing nations. The response of the societies who are denied of specific SDGs must be culturally analysed to understand how political parties and mass media are framing narratives out of them to harness support and visibility.

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