

Framed Disinformation by the Media with Special Reference to news coverage of the Citizenship Amendment Act 2019

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ABSTRACT

Informing, educating, and sharing ideas with others are the main objectives of communication. From the dawn of sign languages through the development of communication technologies, society has been held to high standards of knowledge, intellect, and comprehension. For this, they created several media tools. Therefore, human civilization sought a qualitative path from less information to a degree of well-informed understanding. But the aberrations that happened during this journey also need to be researched, implicitly stated, and documented. In India, the media initiates a counterfeit narrative that is so meticulously woven around the legislative acts that it becomes difficult for the 'receiver of the information' to comprehend it rationally. The staging of such 'disinformation' is often done around government legislation to establish 'anti-government' narratives. The paper proposes to present a normative assessment of Indian media reports on the "Citizenship Amendment Act 2019," which was passed through the parliamentary procedure. The paper critically examines how the media worked during the anti-Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) campaign and investigates the news coverage of NDTV, The Wire, and The Hindu. Through content analysis methodology, the study will analyse specific misinformation in media coverage on the issue of CAA in India. The research findings indicate that false information concerning this act might have been a major cause of lawlessness and chaos, under the garb of democratic protest, which spread across India from December 2019 to March 2020.

Keywords: Misinformation, Disinformation, Reporting, Media

Citizen Amendment Act a Brief Introduction

As per the Gazette of India – In the Citizenship Act 1955 (Principal act) in section 2, sub-section (i), clause (b) the following provision shall be inserted namely:

“Provided that any person belonging to Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi or Christian community from Afghanistan, Bangladesh or Pakistan who entered into India on or before the 31st day of December 2014 and who has been exempted by the Central govt by or under clause (c) of sub-section(2) of section (3) of the Passport (Entry into India) Act 1920 or from the application of the Provisions of the Foreigners Act,1946 or any rule or order made there under, shall not be treated as illegal migrant for the purpose of this Act.”

In the third schedule to the Principal Act, in clause (d) the following provision shall inserted, namely:

“Provided that for the person belonging to Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi or Christian community from Afghanistan, Bangladesh or Pakistan, the aggregate period of residence or service of govt of India as required under this clause shall be read as “not less than five years” in place of “not less than eleven years”.”

Not a single word mentioned in this says anything about the withdrawal of any provision for citizenship which exists in the Principal Act.

Key Highlights of Citizenship Amendment Act 2019

This Act adds special provisions to fasten the process of providing Citizenship

- Relaxation for Persecuted religious communities of three countries.
- None of the provisions of Principal Act were withdrawn
- Its not related to citizenship of Indian citizens

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1. To examine how Indian media reported the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) 2019.
2. To identify the role of the media during the anti-CAA campaign.
3. To investigate the journey of media coverage of the anti-CAA campaign from misinformation to disinformation.
4. To investigate the priming and framing effects of news coverage of the anti-CAA campaign that leads to disinformation and affects individual cognitive processes.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a normative assessment of Indian media reports on the "Citizenship Amendment Act 2019," which was passed through the parliamentary procedure. The paper critically examines how the media worked during the anti-Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA) campaign and investigates the news coverage of NDTV, The Wire, and The Hindu. Through qualitative and quantitative content analysis methodology, the study will analyse specific misinformation in media coverage on the issue of CAA in India. The research findings indicate that false information concerning this Act might have been a major cause of lawlessness and chaos, under the garb of democratic protest, which spread across India from December 2019 to March 2020.

Theoretical Framework

The present study of anti-CAA news coverage in India is based on a framework for investigating the misinformation and disinformation effects of news. It also looks into the framing effects of news campaigns and news coverage specifically done by news networks such as NDTV, The Wire, and The Hindu. According to interpretive sociology, the theory of framing is based on assumptions about people's interpretations of reality in their interactions with situations that are mediated by information multiple times. Thus, framing is the process where the receiver is instructed to understand the message included within the produced frame. According to Ervin Goffman (1974), these "produced frames" are societal instruments that allow people to maintain a shared interpretation of such mediated situations.

The concept of framing is useful in this study because it helps to understand the media messages and their tendency to fall into high and low, negative and positive, episodic frames of the anti-CAA campaign. It is also useful in determining how and in what ways these news items are responsible for generating and changing social frameworks of interpretation by intervening in the creation of a shared social discourse within these contexts. Iyenger and his colleague claimed in their theory that "media alters the standard by which people evaluate government," which they called "priming" (1982, p. 849). In addition, priming theory provides an opportunity to examine individual-level processes that might account for agenda setting. In this context, the theory of priming will be useful in understanding how and in what ways news coverage of the anti-CAA campaign leads to information retention problems, which lead to negative judgement and protest.

Further study will test how this news coverage provokes people to consider the claims and will try to find out how the agenda settings created through the framing of information later become effective in spreading disinformation. Intentional priming is the result of these framing, which the media re-framed as episodic framing for long-term effects and information problems. Similar to Kai Shu and colleagues' study "Disinformation, Misinformation, and Fake News in Social Media," this study focuses on the disinformation and misinformation effects of CAA news coverage in the way news creators intentionally distribute false information on various news media platforms. Study and try to explore whether such news coverage is likely to influence the people who see or read the information. For instance, Kai Shu and colleagues have argued that "a piece of satirical news may be intentionally distributed out of context to mislead consumers." Disinformation is commonly referred to as "fake news" (Shu et al., 2020, p. 3).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Borrowing the ideas of Kerlinger (1986), the present study follows the content analysis method to study and analyse communication content systematically and objectively. Using content analysis, this study tries to give an accurate representation of a body of messages and news coverage of anti-CAA, as Wimmer and Dominick (2010) have suggested that it "will aid researchers in the quest for precise outcomes of content analyses" (p. 157). Therefore, the study relied on content analyses, and the sample was collected between December 2019 and March 2020.

Units of analyses: NDTV, The Wire, and The Hindu

Universe or Sources of Sample Units: A complete news article (headline, body text) downloaded from these media organizations' websites.

Sample units: 30 samples are selected and categorized into forms of presentation (Headline articles, news, editorials and photographs).

Sampling Techniques: Purposive sampling was used to select news articles.

Sample categorization: 30 news samples are selected, further divided in 14 samples from The Hindu, 8 from NDTV and 8 from The Wire. In addition, 15 samples of photographs were selected, 5 from each media organization. The Hindu and NDTV news are in English while The Wire news is in Hindi and is transcribed in English in a bracket format. For qualitative analysis, each news article has been subjected to a critical textual reading in order to analyse the headline, body text of the article, and written words that would bring out the text's information problems effect. These detailed analyses helped interpret the news articles and understand the framing effects. In addition, it helped code the data for quantitative tabulation.

Coding of Data: Samples are coded and categorized using codes N-1, N-2, N-3 and so on till N-30 as detailed in Table 5.

Scaling of Data: Data was scaled on negative and positive, high and low episodic effects and high and low long-term effects using Laura Illia's (2014) model of Framing and Priming. Entman's Cascading Activation model (2003) is used to categorize elements and factors of framing.

Analyses, Results and Discussions

A selected purposive sample of published information on the anti-CAA news campaign on the websites of The Hindu, NDTV, and The Wire was analysed quantitatively as well as qualitatively as follows:

i. Quantitative Analysis:

The content of The Hindu, NDTV, and The Wire for the period of December 2019–March 2020 was analyzed to find out the total quantity, forms of presentation, and level of coverage given to the anti-CAA news campaign. These data have been presented in Table 1, Table 2, Table 3, and Table 4.

Table 1: Sources of news for anti-CAA campaign

S.No	Sources of Sample Information	Quantity (no. of News Sample)
1	The Hindu	14
2	NDTV	8
3	The Wire	8
	Total	30

Table 1 shows the sample size that was chosen to be qualitatively analyzed in order to determine the effects of anti-CAA campaign news coverage. According to the table distribution, around 14 samples of news articles were taken from The Hindu, 8 from NDTV, and the rest of the 8 were taken from the website The Wire.

Table 2 Sources of sample photographs for the CAA news campaign

S.No	Sources of Sample Photograph	Quantity (No. of News Sample)
1	The Hindu	5
2	NDTV	5
3	The Wire	5
	Total	15

In addition to news items, 15 photographs were also selected as a sample. Table 2 reveals the sources and numbers of photographs selected as a sample for qualitative analysis. 5 samples were chosen from The Hindu, 5 from NDTV, and the rest from The Wire's website. Additionally, photographs were observed as a major category for framing effects.

Table 3 Forms of presentation of different News samples

S. No	Forms of Presentation	Quantity (No. of News Sample)		
		The Hindu	NDTV	The Wire
1	News	11	6	5
2	Article	2	1	1
3	Editorial	1	1	2
4	Photograph	5	5	5
	Total	19	13	13

The form of presentation is one of the key indicators of the significance attached to any item in the written and printed news. In this study, forms of presentation are measured under the following headings: news, article, editorial, and photographs. The data presented in Table 3 reveals that in the case of the Hindu majority, the items of the anti-CAA campaign were published in the form of "news" (11 items), the largest number among categories, followed by 6 news items from NDTV and 5 from the Wire. Both articles as well as editorials were less common forms of presentation. In total, 4 articles were used as samples, of which 2 are from the Hindu and 1 each from NDTV and the Wire. There are 4 samples from editorials: 2 from The Wire service and 1 each from the Hindu and NDTV. In total, 15 samples of photographs were selected, 5 from each media organization.

Table 4 Level of Coverage of Different News Samples

S.No	Level of Coverage	Quantity (No.of News Sample)	Quantity (No.of News Sample)	Quantity (No.of News Sample)
		The Hindu	NDTV	The Wire
1	National Level Coverage	9	3	4
2	State Level Coverage	5	5	4
	Total	14	8	8

It refers to the reporting of issues at various levels, such as international, national, and state. In this study, coverage level was measured in two categories: national news coverage and state news coverage. The data presented in Table 5 provides detailed samples of news coverage of the anti-CAA campaign at two levels of coverage. In the case of The Hindu, maximum coverage was at the national level (by 9 news samples, the highest), followed by state level coverage (by 5 news samples). There are 3 national-level coverage and five state-level coverage done by NDTV. The Wire only covers 4 national and 4 state-level stories.

ii. Qualitative Analysis:

Table 5 Scaling of Sample of The Hindu on the Basis of Laura Illia's (2014) Model of Framing and Priming and Entman's Cascading Activation Model (2003)

Sampling News	Unit of Analysis (News)	Date of Publication	Media Organization	Used Factor of Framing	Scaling of Sample Effect (Negative and Positive)	Scaling of Sample Effect (High and Low)
N-1	Fear of an uncertain future haunts AMU students, and teachers an uneasy calm prevails on the campus as the central university is enveloped in three layers of police barricading	December 15, 2019	The Hindu	Public and News Frame	Negative	High
N-2	Jamia students protest shirtless against police action on anti-Citizenship Act Students say that the police damages mosques inside the university	December 16, 2019	The Hindu	Public and News Frame	Negative	High

	campus, called them “terrorists”					
N-3	College students stage protests to condemn ‘police brutality’ Agitators express solidarity with students protesting against new citizenship law	December 16, 2019	The Hindu	Public, Administration and News Frame	Negative	High
N-4	<u>Citizenship Act protests live updates</u> <u>Opposition spreading</u> <u>‘falsehood’ about Citizenship Act:</u> Supreme Court will be hearing plea for judicial enquiry on Jamia clashes on December 17	December 16, 2019	The Hindu	Administration and other elite	Positive	Low
N-5	Attack on students is an attack on the soul of the nation, says Priyanka Gandhi. She sits on dharna in solidarity with JMI varsity students	December 16, 2019	The Hindu	Other Elite and News Frames	Negative	High
N-6	Anti-citizenship law hartal poised to disrupt life in Kerala Strike supporters vandalized KSRTC buses, impeded vehicular traffic, staged sit-in demonstrations across State	December 17, 2019	The Hindu	Other Elite and News Frames	Negative	High
N-7	AAP MLA announces ₹5 lakh, job to Jamia student injured in eye during anti-CAA stir The student was injured during an anti-CAA protest at Jamia Millia	December 19, 2019	The Hindu	Other Elite and News Frames	Negative	High

	Islamia on Sunday					
N-8	Modi accuses Opposition of Selfishness politics over CAA: Advises Youth to read on Citizenship Law	December 23 2019	The Hindu	Other Elite and Administrations	Positive	Low
N-9	CAA Divides India's Soul: Tharoor	December 22 2019	The Hindu	Other Elite and News Frames	Negative	High
N-10	Anti-CAA protests: All deaths during protests in U.P. caused by police bullets, says Akhilesh Yadav	January 05, 2020	The Hindu	Other Elite, Administrations and News Frames	Negative	High
N-11	BJP begins campaign to douse anti-CAA protests.	January05,2020	The Hindu	Administrations	Positive	Low
N-12	The Indian Constitution's unitary tilt. The Centre-State conflict over CAA in some places may lead to a fresh debate on the federal question (editorial)	January 08, 2020	The Hindu	Media and News Frames	Negative	High
N-13	Top news of the day: Narendra Modi says CAA won't take citizenship away, Amit Shah says every oppressed Pakistan refugee will be made an Indian citizen, and more The major news headlines of the day, and more.	January12,2020	The Hindu	Administrations	Positive	Low
N-14	Delhi violence: Shoot at sight orders issued in northeast Delhi	February 25, 2020	The Hindu	Administrations and News Frames	Negative	High

Table 6: Scaling of Sample of NDTV on the Basis of Laura Illia's (2014) Model of Framing and Priming and Entman's Cascading Activation Model (2003)

Sampling news	Unit of Analyses (Headline)	Date of Publication	Media Organization	Used Factor of Framing	Scaling of Sample Effect (Negative and Positive)	Scaling of Sample Effect (High and Low)
N-15	Police Lathi-Charge At Anti-Citizenship Act Protesters In Ahmedabad	December 19, 2019	NDTV	Administrations and News Frames	Negative	High
N-16	"CAA, CAA, ChhiChhi": Mamata Banerjee's Slogan Against Citizenship Law	December 24, 2019	NDTV	Other Elites and News Frames	Negative	High
N-17	Mumbai Cop Felicitated For Ensuring Citizenship Protests Remain Peaceful	December 26, 2019	NDTV	Other Elite Administrations and News Frames	Positive	High
N-18	"Communist, Arrest Him": Passenger Recalls Mumbai Uber Driver's Threat Mumbai News	February 7, 2020	NDTV	Public and News Frames	Negative	High
N-19	The Nationwide Need For Shaheen Bagh - By Salman Khurshid Disobedience in a democracy has suddenly become central to our public discourse. (editorial)	February 14, 2020	NDTV	Media and News Frames	Positive	Low
N-20	"Don't Know Parents' Birthplace, Will Go To Detention	February 15, 2020	NDTV	Other Elite and News Frames	Negative	High

	Camp": Ashok Gehlot					
N-21	"Peaceful Protesters Not Traitors, Anti-Nationals": Bombay High Court	February 15, 2020	NDTV	Administrations and News Frames	Positive	Low
N-22	Punjab's Biggest Anti-Citizenship Law Protest Held InMalerkotla	February 15, 2020	NDTV	Media and News Frames	Negative	Low

Table 7: Scaling of Sample of The Wire based on Laura Illia's (2014) Model of Framing and Priming and Entman's Cascading Activation Model (2003)

Sampling news	Unit of Analyses (Headline)	Date of Publication	Media Organization	Used Factor of Framing	Scaling of Sample Effect (Negative and Positive)	Scaling of Sample Effect (High and Low)
N-23	□□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□ □□□□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□ (CAA and NRC are an insult to the feeling and freedom of every citizen of the country) editorial	December 26, 2019	The Wire	Media and News Frames	Negative	High
N-24	□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□ : □□□□□□ □□□□□ □□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□ □□□ (Media Breakdown: Media is in the hands of those whose work is no longer journalism)	December 22, 2019	The Wire	Media and News Frames	Negative	High
N-25	□□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□□□ □□ '□□□□ □□□□□□' □□: □□□□□□□□ □□□□□□ (Police violence against journalists 'strangulating' the voice of	December 24, 2019	The Wire	Media and News Frames	Negative	High

	democracy: Editors Guild) Editorial					
N-26	<p>दिल्ली: 'राज्यपाल' (Citizenship Act: 'Police shot straight in the head so they couldn't escape')</p>	December 24, 2019	The Wire	Administration and News Frames	Negative	High
N-27	<p>दिल्ली: 'शांतिपूर्ण' (Peaceful anti-CAA movement not anti-national and traitors: Bombay High Court)</p>	February 20, 2020	The Wire	Administration and News Frames	Positive	Low
N-28	<p>दिल्ली: 'CAA' (CAA protest: Notice of damages of Rs 63 lakh to 28 people including Sadaf Jafar, Darapuri)</p>	February 20, 2020	The Wire	Other Elites and News Frames	Negative	High
N-29	<p>दिल्ली: 'पुलिस' (Police stopped Jamia students marching to Parliament against CAA-NRC, many injured)</p>	February 24, 2020	The Wire	Public and News Frames	Negative	High
N-30	<p>दिल्ली: 'CAA' (CAA protest: Notice of damages of Rs 63 lakh to 28 people including Sadaf Jafar, Darapuri)</p>	February 24, 2020	The Wire	Public and News Frames	Negative	High

	(Uttar Pradesh: Five injured in violence during anti-CAA protest in Aligarh, internet off)					
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Tables 5, 6, and 7 indicate the units of sample news that are taken from the websites of The Hindu, NDTV, and The Wire. Further coding of news was done, and every news item has been assigned a code from N-1 to N-30 and detailed separately in the above table on the basis of media organization. These codifications were further used to analyse news items for qualitative analyses and to identify news frames (framing words and framing images) in the text elements such as headlines, paragraphs, and statements.

According to Table 5, in a sample of 14 news stories from The Hindu, nearly 10 were found to be negative on the scale, while only 4 were found to be positive. Furthermore, all 14 negative news items were found to be high on the framing factor scale, whereas positive news items were low on the scale due to not being broadcast episodically. So, while The Hindu's positive content had a small impact on audience perceptions of anti-CAA news.

According to the sample in Table 6, approximately 5 of the 8 news samples from NDTV were negative, while the remaining 3 were positive. Only four of the five negative news stories have a high framing effect, while one has a low framing effect. Out of 3 positive news samples, 2 have low framing effects, while 1 has high framing effects.

Table 7 shows that 7 of the 8 news samples were negative, with only 1 being positive. Among these scales, all the negative news had high framing effects on perceptions, while positive news had low framing effects.

Table 8 News Frames of sample news of The Hindu, NDTV and The Wire

Sample News	Media Organization	News Frames	Effects
N-1	The Hindu	Fear of an uncertain future haunts, an uneasy calm and police barricading.	Negative
N-2	The Hindu	protest shirtless, against police action, police damaged mosques and called them terrorists.	Negative
N-3	The Hindu	protests to condemn police brutality and Agitators express solidarity with students	Negative
N-4	The Hindu	<u>Opposition spreading 'falsehood' about Citizenship Act: Shah</u>	Positive
N-5	The Hindu	Attack on students is attack on soul of the nation says Priyanka	Negative
N-6	The Hindu	hartal poised to disrupt life	Negative
N-7	The Hindu	AAP MLA announces job to Jamia student injured in eye	Negative
N-8	The Hindu	Modi: Advises Youth to read on Citizenship Law	Positive
N-9	The Hindu	CAA Divides India's Soul: Tharoor	Negative
N-10	The Hindu	All deaths during protests in U.P. caused by police bullets: Akhilesh Yadav	Negative
N-11	The Hindu	BJP begins campaign to douse anti-CAA protests	Positive
N-12	The Hindu	The Indian Constitution's unitary tilt and The Centre-State conflict	Negative
N-13	The Hindu	Narendra Modi CAA won't take citizenship away and Amit Shah: every oppressed Pakistan refugee will be made an Indian citizen	Positive
N-14	The Hindu	Shoot at sight orders issued	Negative
N-15	NDTV	Police Lathi-Charge	Negative
N-16	NDTV	CAA, ChhiChhi: Mamata Banerjee's	Negative
N-17	NDTV	Cop Felicitated and Protests Remain Peaceful	Positive
N-18	NDTV	Communist, Arrest Him	Negative
N-19	NDTV	Disobedience in a democracy and become central to public discourse'	Positive

N-20	NDTV	Don't Know Parents' Birthplace, Will Go To Detention Camp: Ashok Gehlot	Negative
N-21	NDTV	Peaceful Protesters Not Traitors, Anti-Nationals: Bombay High Court	Positive
N-22	NDTV	Biggest Law Protest	Negative
N-23	The Wire	एक व्यक्ति को हर एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में (an insult to the feeling and freedom of every citizen)	Negative
N-24	The Wire	एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में, एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में	Negative
N-25	The Wire	एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में, 'एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में' (Police violence against journalists 'strangulating' the voice)	Negative
N-26	The Wire	एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में, एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में (Police shot straight in the head so they couldn't escape')	Negative
N-27	The Wire	एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में, एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में (Peaceful movement not anti-national and traitors)	Positive
N-28	The Wire	एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में : एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में (CAA protest: Notice of damages)	Negative
N-29	The Wire	एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में, एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में (Police stopped Jamia students marching to Parliament many injured)	Negative
N-30	The Wire	एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में, एक व्यक्ति को एक व्यक्ति के रूप में (Five injured in violence and internet off)	Negative

(Source) <https://www.thehindu.com/>, <https://www.ndtv.com/>, <https://thewire.in/>

Table 8 details the "news frames" (framing words and sentences) that are used along with other elements such as administration (government, police, and judiciary), other elites (opposition members and staffers, ex-officials, and experts), media (journalists and news organization) and the public (polls and other indicators) to produce news of the anti-CAA campaign. Such framing elements were responsible for creating negative effects on consumer behaviour that led to violations of the Act and also represented the government negatively. The news frames used in the N-5, N-6, N-7, N-9, N-10, and N-16 samples evidently revealed how other elites are used by media for framing news of the anti-CAA campaign. News samples N-1, N-2, N-14, N-15, N-25, N-26, and N-25 clearly indicate that negative news frames for the administration are used to portray the negative images of police during the anti-CAA protest. According to some news reports, police are responsible for killings; this is a claim made by an opposition leader mention.

In samples N-4, N-8, N-11, and N-13, where news frames inform that PM Modi "advises youth to read up on citizenship laws," He claimed that "CAA won't take citizenship away" and "every oppressed Pakistani refugee will be made an Indian citizen." Because information about these positive news stories was not published infrequently, they had no long-term positive effects. It is clear from these images that even after the Prime Minister's appeal, the media kept framing the protest rather than focusing on positive appeal-based news. News samples N-3, N-18, N-28, and N-30 detailed the news frames where public behaviourism that is the priming aftereffect of framing is used for further framing. It clearly shows the bias and intention of the media to create anarchy and chaos by not being satisfied with controlling riots but disappointingly stopping anti-CAA protests. Hypothetically Relating the NPR-NRC Manufacturing Theory of the RSS Conspiracy

Thus, the negative news frames sampled and shown here (such as sensational words, provocative and misleading headlines, and sentences published by NDTV, The Wire, and The Hindu) demonstrate that these news coverage attempts to create information problems in communicating government. In headlines, frames such as "disrupt life in Kerala," "police is unlawful," "Black Law," "Muslims as Second Class Citizens," and "CAA divides Indian Soul" are used to incite citizens' resentment of the CAA and government. Text language such as "**authoritarian tendencies of the BJP**" and "**government aims to stifle progressive thought of students**" in these statements indicates that the government deliberately projected negatively. It was clear from the news frames of this sample unit of analysis how the media used the administration, other elites, celebrities, and the public to frame the anti-CAA news campaign against the government. The process includes mainly framing, which leads to priming, and then that primed perception is repurposed for episodic framing in order to create long-term effects of an information problem in the form of misinformation, followed by disinformation.

From the above, it could be concluded that most of the coverage of the anti-CAA campaign by The Hindu, NDTV, and The Wire is in the form of news, articles, and editorials. The results show that news published on the websites of these media organizations is a very strong source for a negative portrayal of "communicating government," not only by the content of the article but also by the use of framing factors in the campaigning issue.

FINDINGS

1. The news coverage on NDTV, The Wire, and The Hindu framed the protest movement as a homegrown conspiracy. Media framing factors such as the opposition's statements, citizen bites, paid framing actors, and negative portrayals of the government administration led to a volatile public sphere.
2. It was discovered that the Citizenship Amendment Act of 2019 (CAA), passed by the Indian Parliament, had been deliberately communicated by the media in the wrong context.
3. It was found that the media organisations - NDTV, The Wire, and The Hindu mediated and circulated disinformation that led to intentional framing, fueling, and polarisation between communities.
4. There is not a single news item or article that presents the exact provisions of the CAA under the Indian Gazette.
5. According to the study, NDTV, The Wire, and The Hindu unjustifiably reported the events of the anti-CAA campaign, which escalated into public violence and resulted in Delhi riots.
6. It was observed that media messages with framed preconceptions and notions were circulated against the Muslim community in order to provoke them and incite them against the government. The issue was later framed and primed as Hindu vs. Muslim. Thus, the priming after-effects of framing resulted in Arvind Rajagopal's (2009) "split public."
7. In their news, NDTV and The Hindu portrayed misinformation regarding the anti-CAA amendment, claiming that it would affect Muslim communities as "vulnerable" and "helpless citizens," and framing the news around their social actions as likely contrary to national interests. On the other hand, neither the Citizenship Amendment Act of 2019 (CAA) nor its amendments are anti-Muslim.
8. Thus, the primed and framed issues of vilifying anti-CAA campaign protests lead to an information problem. Firstly, it was misinformation and then disinformation.
9. The government was deliberately projected negatively by these media houses, and The news items were found to be highly negative in "Communicating Government."
10. Unsubstantiated conspiracy theories fuel more protests, deaths, and casualties; property loss (both public and private); and calls for a forcible shutdown.
11. The words, headlines, statements, and images were clearly phrased negatively.
12. Finally, this news coverage was a conspiratorial attempt that aimed to discredit the prime minister by manufacturing and exaggerating the false dangers posed by the anti-CAA. this news coverage attempted to frame the protests as anti-Modi campaigning.

CONCLUSION

The current study's findings show that the repetition of similar messages and news causes an information problem with mindless effects and recalled experiences for citizens. Thus, such mindless coverage of news plays a major role in propagating specific messaging in the context, with the messaging focused on negative imaging of the government by sympathizing with and demonizing the news' effects on the experiences of specific communities. Mass media framing and protest movements are some of the most common interests of the research area in communication studies. The purpose of this content analysis was to figure out the misinformation and disinformation effects that may explain inconsistent findings in a body of research on media framing. This study gave a systematic picture of the effects of mass media framing of anti-CAA campaign news coverage.

It has differentiated the magnitudes of the effects of published protest news on the protest movement by testing some moderating variables, such as headlines, words, and sentences used in news text, and their relationship with communicating government. This study identified that the effects of protests and their news coverage have negatively affected the government. The anti-CAA campaign protest movement has been framed by NDTV, The Wire, and The Hindu as having a greater negative impact on citizens' access to information. These details were also responsible for negatively communicating government policies. Thus, disinformation was perceived as a significant cause of violence, chaos, and communal riots in the Indian capital at the time of the important visit of the US president.

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Authors' contributions

All authors contributed toward data analysis, drafting and revising the paper and agreed to be responsible for all the aspects of this work.

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Authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

Declarations

Authors declare that all works are original and this manuscript has not been published in any other journal.

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