EXTRA-JUDICIAL KILLINGS: THE FRAMING OF TELEVISION NEWS

Mary Noelle Pineda, Frances Marie G. Birco
and *Anabelle V. Mendoza*

Bachelor of Arts in Communication

Abstract

The purpose of the study is to explore the framing of television news on extra-judicial killings using content analysis. A total of 40 news clips were recorded, transcribed and analyzed using the effects of framing in news framework. Results revealed that the stories about exra-judicial killings are put in the field of meaning by journalists by using the common frames which are the conflict, human interest, and winners and losers.

Keywords: framing, perception, extra-judicial killings

In the social sciences, framing comprises a set of concepts and theoretical perspectives on how individuals, groups, and societies, organize, perceive, and communicate about reality. Framing involves social construction of a social phenomenon – by mass media sources, political or social movements, political leaders, or other actors and organizations. Participation in a language community necessarily influences an individual's perception of the meanings attributed to words or phrases. Politically, the language communities of advertising, religion, and mass media are highly contested; whereas imperceptibly framing in less-sharply defended language communities might evolve imperceptibly and organically over cultural time frames, with fewer overt modes of disputation.

One can view framing in communication as positive or negative – depending on the audience and what kind of information is being presented. Framing might also be understood as being either equivalence frames, which represent logically equivalent alternatives portrayed in different ways or as emphasis frames, which simplify reality by focusing on a subset of relevant aspects of a situation or issue. In the case of "equivalence frames", the information being presented is based on the same facts, but the "frame" in which it is presented changes, thus creating a reference-dependent perception.

The effects of framing can be seen in many journalism applications. With the same information being used as a base, the "frame" surrounding the issue can change the reader's perception without having to alter the facts. In the context of politics or mass-media communication, a frame defines the packaging of an element of rhetoric in such a way as to encourage certain interpretations and to discourage others. For political purposes, framing often presents facts in such a way that implicates a problem that is in need of a solution. Members of political parties attempt to frame issues in a way that makes a solution favoring their own political leaning appear as the most appropriate course of action for the situation at hand.

In social theory, framing is a schema of interpretation, a collection of anecdotes and stereotypes that individuals rely on to understand and respond to events. In other words, people build a series of mental "filters" through biological and cultural influences. They then use these filters to make sense of the world. The choices they then make are influenced by their creation of a frame.

In the field of communication, framing defines how news media coverage shapes mass opinion. Richard E. Vatz's discourse on creation of rhetorical meaning relates directly to framing, although he references it little. To be specific, framing effects refer to behavioral or attitudinal strategies and/or outcomes that are due to how a given piece of information is being framed in public discourse.

News media frame all news items by emphasizing specific values, facts, and other considerations, and endowing them with greater apparent applicability for making related judgments. News media promotes particular definitions, interpretations, evaluations and recommendations.

Review of Related Literature

This study investigates the effects of television news frames on audience interpretations of a political issue, the salience of news frames versus other information in the story and support for future policy. A news story is manipulated to reflect a conflict frame or an economic consequences frame. The two frames provide direction to the audience's thought about the issue but do not yield different levels of policy support. Frames in the news are as important as the core facts in news story when citizens conceive of a political issue.

An extrajudicial killing (also known as extrajudicial execution) is the killing of a person by governmental authorities without the sanction of any judicial proceeding or legal process. Extrajudicial punishments are mostly seen by humanity to be unethical, since they bypass the due process of the legal jurisdiction in which they occur. Extrajudicial killings often target leading political, trade union, dissident, religious, and social figures and are only those carried out by the state government or other state authorities like the armed forces or police, as extra-legal fulfillment of their prescribed role. Section 3(a) of the United States Torture Victim Protection Act contains a definition of extrajudicial killing:

Extrajudicial killings are deliberate killings not authorized by a previous judgment pronounced by a regular constituted court affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized people. Such term, however, does not include any such killing that, under international law, is lawfully carried out under the authority of a foreign nation.

The term 'extrajudicial killing' in its original meaning refers to homicides that are committed outside the legal system with no prior judgment of a court. In this sense, the term comprises a large amount of violent acts with different motives, victims and perpetrators. For instance, acts that are predominantly seen as vigilante killings or lynching, carried out by privately organized groups can be called an extrajudicial killing as well as homicides that are committed by the state

without legal proceedings. Beside this general description, there exist other predominant definitions of the term that differ in that they claim extrajudicial killings to be politically motivated acts.

According to this definition, the state has to be involved in or at least tacitly accept the commission of the killings. This type of definition is also used by the Philippine government. When defining extrajudicial killings that way, they are almost synonymous to the term "political killings" except for the fact that political killings can be committed with or without state involvement; whereas, the term *extrajudicial killing* implies some degree of state involvement at all times. Politically motivated extrajudicial killings usually have in common that they are intended and well-organized murders that give the victim no chance to defend it and that the perpetrator remains unidentified.

This is achieved by either wearing face covering masks or by committing the acts swiftly with an immediate escape after the murder is committed, possibly during night time or in a lonely surrounding. There can even be the attempt of the perpetrators to make the killing look like a suicidal act. In the Philippines, a large amount of killings have been conducted at the victims' home, at work or in between, where the perpetrator was masked and made a fast escape on a motorcycle (Melo et al. 2007).

It is another characteristic trait of politically motivated extrajudicial killings that they are usually followed by impunity. Between 2001 and 2010, there have been a total of 305 incidents of extrajudicial killings with 390 victims in the Philippines. During this period, only 1% of all extrajudicial killings resulted in a conviction (Parreno, 2010).

The definition of extrajudicial killings in its narrow and specific version implies state involvement on the side of the perpetrator. There is a whole spectrum of possible state involvement. It can mean that a state member actually acts as the executing person but can also comprise phenomena such as the state being the client of an assassin or the acquiescence of state agents in the commission of a killing. Unless the executor is an

identified member of a state institution, it is usually very difficult to prove involvement of the state.

On July 2, 2016, the Communist Party of the Philippines stated that it "reiterates its standing order for the NPA to carry out operations to disarm and arrest the chieftains of the biggest drug syndicates, as well as other criminal syndicates involved in human rights violations and destruction of the environment" after its political wing Bagong Alyansang Makabayan accepted Cabinet posts in the new government. On July 3, the Philippine National Police said they had killed 30 alleged drug dealers since Duterte was sworn in as president on June 30. They later stated they had killed 103 suspects between May 10 and July 7.

In the study of communication, framing is "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution" (Entman, 2004). It is defined as "the action, method, or process, of constructing making or shaping anything whether material or immaterial." Framing comes from the word frame, which has many definitions. The most pertinent one, in this case, is "to share, direct (one's thoughts, actions, powers, etc.) to a certain purpose." From these definitions of shaping a person's thoughts, one can see how they relate to the definition specific to the field of communication.

Framing suggests that how something is presented to the audience (called "the frame") influences the choices people make about how to process that information. Frames are abstractions that work to organize or structure message meaning. The most common use of frames is in terms of the frame the news or media place on the information they convey. They are thought to influence the perception of the news by the audience. This way it could be construed as a form of second level agenda-setting--- they not only tell the audience what to think about, but also how to think about that issue.

News organizations are mindful of differences in the interpretation of their language, thus seeking to cater to their target audiences. Reporters can change the frame of stories,

resulting in media bias. (Eveland & Dhavan, 2003).

According to Tettah and King (2011), framing proposes how an idea, issue or personality is presented (framed) in the media and influences how people think about the issue or personality. Individuals usually believe the media and form of opinions based on information received from media sources regardless of whether or not the information is factual.

News media often reframe the event by emphasizing different attributes of the event, consciously or unconsciously, in order to keep the story alive and fresh. Mass communication students relate closely with these media framing statements. The salience of an object increases the amount of news coverage about the topic. The topic could be a public figure, an issue or another topic the media focused on. News media can increase the importance of news story by the amount of time spent reporting on the issue.

Studies have looked at various framing effects of news coverage, but few have considered the framing effects of the support for the status quo produced through the protest paradigm. We did not adopt a narrow, mechanistic or deterministic view of media effects to investigate framing effects of television news. Rather we regarded the audience as actively creating meaning from many sources including media messages. Our approach was similar to what Neuman (1992) called the "political cognition perspective." Rather than conceptualizing audience effects as attitude change, we conceptualized the impact of a news story as shaping the way the audience thinks about the events, issues and groups.

Adapting the idea of different levels of influence on journalistic content to framing leads journalists to distinguish the individual journalist frames (individual cognitive patterns of each journalist combining different schemata to obtain coherent structures of making sense of the world) from newsroom frames representing the dominant editorial policy on a specific issue (Scheufele, 2006, p. 66).

Theoretical Framework

Agenda-setting theory describes the "ability of the news media to influence the importance placed on the topics of the public agenda." With agenda setting being a social science theory, it also attempts to make predictions. That is, if a news item is covered frequently and prominently, the audience will regard the issue as more important. Studies have shown that what the media decides to expose in certain countries correlates with their views on things such as politics, economy and culture. Countries that tend to have more political power are more likely to receive media exposure. Media do not tell us what to think, but rather what to think about.

Mass media have not been proven effective in determining how audiences will accept opinions and point of view in media reports. But mass media are effective in determining what audiences see as newsworthy. By the issues they cover, media can legitimize a story or marginalize either the entire story or certain aspects of it.

In framing theory, media provide a focus and environment for reporting a story, influencing how audiences will understand or evaluate it.

Framing theory deals with social construction on two levels:

- Perception of a social phenomenon by journalists presenting news
- Interpretation of that phenomenon by audiences

Framing provides a rhetorical analysis of the text (an issue, or the reporting of the issue) to identify perception and/or interpretation. It involves the use of metaphor, spin, story-telling, jargon, word choice, and other narrative elements. Framing has been called an exercise in power (who tells the story first) and persuasion (manipulation of audiences).

Through initial reporting, the media may present the facts of a story in such way that the audience is given a particular point of view or frame of reference and interpretation. The media may report that a political candidate has extreme views on an issue, that a budget proposal is harmful to a particular group, that a new medicine is of questionable safety, and so on. By such reporting, the media thus have presented a frame through which the story is interpreted by audiences. It also sets the baseline for future reporting on the issue.
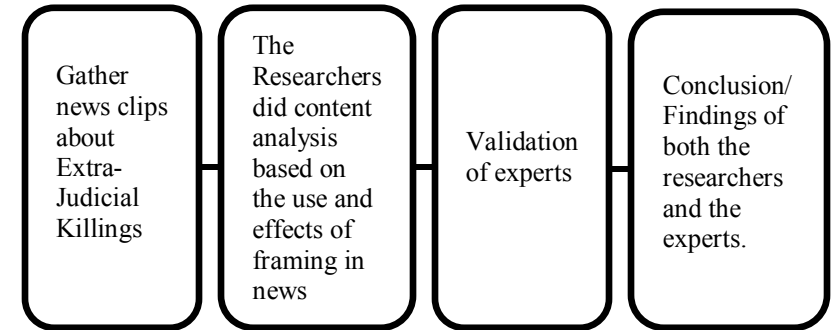
Conceptual Framework

Figure 1. The content analysis process used in analyzing the study.

Figure 1 shows that the process in which researchers would gather data (news clips about Extra-Judicial Killings) to analyze the news using a given criteria about framing, then all the researchers' conclusion will be presented to the media expert to verify the findings. When all findings are verified and when the researchers and the expert arrive at the same conclusion, the study will be deemed correct.

Statement of the Problem

The objective of this study is to analayze the framing of television news on extra-judicial killings. The researchers aim to dissect the news presented about the extra-judicial killings that topped the headlines in the Philippines in the month of August 2017 because this was when all the killings peaked since President Duterte's "war-on-drugs" started.

The Philippine death case of Kian Loyd Delos Santos (17 years old), Reynaldo de Guzman (14 years old, a.k.a "Kulot") with Carl Angelo Arnaiz (19 years old) gave the researchers a unique opportunity to examine the news coverage from murder to execution – all in a timely manner. The Philippines witnessed many killings that are alleged encounters with policemen in the "war-on-drugs campaign" of the President. Considering the foregoing literature review and the tenets of framing theory, this study sought to answer the following questions:

1. What are the narrative techniques journalists use to frame the news?

2. What special angle or perspective was brought to present the story?

3. What kinds of idea were repeatedly mentioned in the story?

4. What concept or content theme could be abstracted from the story?

Methods

Research Design

The study used content analysis to analyze TV news framing. The researchers are concerned with making conclusions based on perspective, so it is extremely important to get as much as data as possible for later analysis. Content analysis is a study designed to manifest latent content of a body of communicated material (as a book or a film) through a classification, tabulation, and evaluation of its key symbols and themes in order to learn and find out its meaning and probable effect.

Data Gathering Procedure

The researchers chose four television networks in the country (GMA Network, ABS-CBN, TV5 Network and PTV News Channel). In every channel, the researchers gathered all the news clips presented in television networks about extra-judicial killings (EJK), then everything was analyzed using

framing effects. The researchers picked the top two news stories about the EJK in Pres. Rodrigo Duterte's reign in the Philippines, which are the story of Kian Loyd Delos Santos and the death story of Reynaldo De Guzman and Carl Angelo Arnaiz.

Data Analysis Procedure

For this research, the researcher selected the top stories that bombarded the country about Extra-judicial Killings; they had selected the stories of Kian Lloyd delos Santos and the slay of Carl Arnaiz and Reynaldo "Kulot" de Guzman both happened on August 2017 since President Rodrigo Duterte's war-on-drugs campaign. Data were collected by the social media pages of ABS-CBN, GMA Network, Philippine TV 4 (PTV4) and TV5 Network.

The unit of analysis for this study was the top stories of EJK that became the headline of the TV networks. The variables of this study included the theme of the news story, the tone of the story portrayed, the dominant frames used within the news story, and framing. The researchers yielded the most relative stories relating to the goals of the study.

This study was an analysis of the variables extra-judicial killings and framing. The theme, tone, and dominant frames used were examined. Theme was contracted by using a coding by transcribing every news, selecting the meat of the story and then extracting the theme. After that, the theme was analyzed by the tone used in the theme, whether it is positive (pro-victim statement) or negative (pro-suspect statement). Positive included those that portrayed the victim to be innocent while negative were those that criticized the victim and protected the suspects. The dominant frames used in the study were the top three usual frames the journalists were using: conflict, morality and winners and losers.

Inter-coder Reliability Analysis

The researchers transcribed the news video clips and coded them to extract the theme. The researchers also determined from the theme if the story has a positive, negative, or neutral

tone. The researchers also discussed what the dominant frames were used in the stories. Then the researchers, their study adviser, and an investigative journalist had verified their analysis and suggested improvement in the themes.

Limitations

Televisions news and their online news sources were the only form of media used in this study. Future researchers might include other forms of media such as newspaper, radio, and magazines.

Results and Discussion

The following charts shows how the researchers extract the theme from the news clip gathered. The charts consist of three columns: condensed meaning unit, code, and theme. The condensed meaning unit is the summarization of the thought of the meaning unit. The code is the latent analysis of the condensed meaning unit and lastly, the theme is the main thought with the latent analysis. From the extraction of the theme, the researchers collected all needed data to examine the presented news frames inside the news video clips.

The second chart discusses the three dominant frames that were present the news video clips, namely conflict, human interest and the winners and losers. The frames were selected based on a study that used the same concept.

Conflict-reveals how two ideas contradict each other and show how presented ideas are being criticized by another idea.

Human interest- shows something that can trigger the human interest; for example violation of morality, doing an unethical work, conflict between the victims and the suspect's side.

Winners and losers- relating the idea of the conflict, winners and losers show who is being accused and who is receiving bias from the news stories.

GMA Network /s: Kian's Case Theme
1. The policemen who were accused acted even they lacked evidences.
2. Kian was intentionally killed.
3. Justice for Kian.
4. The PNP was lying.
5. Kian was killed. Homicide was not possible.

Tone	Positive 3	Negative 1, 2, 4, 5	Neutral
Dominant Frames	Conflict 1,2,3,4,5	Human Interest 1,2,3,4,5	Winners and Losers 1,2,3,4,5

The theme of the third news clip was positive stating Kian was innocent from the things he was accused of, while the other four news clips were classified as negative tone because it was questioning the act.

The five news clips fell into the three common frames used by journalists. It all shows conflict for two opposing party that presented different ideas. The policemen who were supposed to protect were the ones involved in killing an innocent teenager. And this conflict caught human interest because the news portrays violation of morality. And it showed what the field of meaning was labeling as the winner and the loser.

GMA Network Carl and Kulot's Case Theme/s:
1. Carl's death was staged or scripted.
2. Carl was innocent.
3. Carl hold-up Tomas Bagcal. Carl shot them first.
4. The suspected policemen technically separate Carl and Kulot's body to mislead.
5. Carl got the justice he deserves.

Tone	Positive 2,5	Negative 1, 3, 4	Neutral
Dominant Frames	Conflict 1,2,3,4,5	Human Interest 1,2,3,4,5	Winners and Losers 1,2,3,4,5

The positive tones are the second and fifth transcribed news. It is saying that Carl, the victim was innocet from all the accusations he received. While on the negative tones, especially on the third transcribed news Carl was said to have held-up Tomas Bagcal and that he fired a gun first against the policemen. The fouth transcribe news fell on the negative tone, because the policemen were being portrayed as wrongdoers. In the original transcript, Tomas Bagcal was saying there was a staged play that happened on Carl's death.

Witnesses said they saw Carl and Kulot inside the police car that night but their dead bodies were found in different places. The five news clips fell into the three common frames used by journalists. It all shows conflict between two opposing parties. Policemen who supposed to protect were the ones involved in killing a man. And this conflict caught human interest because the news portrayed violation of morality.

ABS-CBN Network Kian's Case Theme/s:
1. The witnesses were afraid to go out.
2. Kian was framed up as an illegal drug runner.
3. Kian deserves justice.
4. Kian did not deserve being killed and accused of being an illegal drug runner.
5. Stop systematic killings.

Tone	Positive 3,4	Negative 1,2,5	Neutral
Dominant Frames	Conflict 1,2,3,4,5	Human Interest 1,2,3,4,5	Winners and Losers 1,2,3,4,5

The third and the fourth transcribed news theme fell on the positively toned when it comes to the victim. It is clear that Kian was not an illegal drug runner and that he was just framed, but the news became negative on the side of the accused who gave the statement. Witnesses were afraid to go out and gave a statement because they were against policemen and many say that the killings were all systematic and government-ordered killing.

The five news clips fell into the three common frames used by journalists. It all showed conflict between two opposing parties. Policemen who were supposed to protect were the ones involved in killing an innocent civilian was the conflict. And this conflict caught human interest because the news portrays violation of morality.

ABS-CBN Carl and Kulot's Case Theme/s:
1. Kulot deserves justice.
2. Tomas Bagcal was a conspirator of the crime.
3. The PNP was being sabotaged.
4. The PNP acted without consent.
5. Teenagers and students were condemned EJK.

Tone	Positive 1	Negative 2,3,4,5	Neutral
Dominant Frames	Conflict 1,2,3,4,5	Human Interest 1,2,3,4,5	Winners and Losers 1,2,3,4,5

The four news transcribed themes fell into the negatively toned news because it was pointing a finger against the state witness, Tomas Bagcal who might be a conspirator of the crime. President Duterte said that the PNP was being sabotaged using his war-on-drug campaign. But in the fourth news transcribed, PNP was said to have acted without the consent of De Guzman's family to take another DNA test of the body found in Gapan which allegedly was not Kulot's body. The fifth theme was all about the fear the students and teenagers were feeling during the months of killings that usually victimized their age. The only positively toned news was the first which said was Kulot deserves justice.

The five news clips fell into the three common frames used by journalists. It all shows conflict between two opposing parties. Policemen who were supposed to protect were the ones involved in killing an innocent civilians is the conflict. And this conflict caught human interest because the news portrays violation of morality.

TV5 Network Kian's Case Theme/s:
1. Kian was a drug runner.
2. Kian's not an illegal drug runner. Kian was set-up by the policemen. The whole country wants justice for him. Kian was innocent
3. The policemen involved were lying. They were hiding something.
4. Kian was deliberately killed. Even politicians were on Kian's side.
5. The suspected policemen were guilty.

Tone	Positive	Negative 1,2,3,4,5	Neutral
Dominant Frames	Conflict 1,2,3,4,5	Human Interest 1,2,3,4,5	Winners and Losers 1,2,3,4,5

All five themes fell on the negatively toned frame. This news was biased to the victim, Kian Loyd delos Reyes. The latent analysis of all the news themes was that Kian was innocent and that the accused policeman really was the wrongdoer. They framed Kian after the killing to escape justice. It then showed that politicians who were against the EJK were on Kian's side also.

The five news clips fell into the three common frames used by journalists. It all showed conflict between two opposing parties. Policemen who were supposed to protect were the ones involved in killing an innocent was a conflict. And this conflict caught human interest because the news portrayed violation of morality.

TV5 Network Carl and Kulot's Case Theme/s:
1. Carl was innocent. Everything was a set-up. The taxi driver may be a conspirator of the crime. The state witness was threatened. Dante Jimenez wants justice.
2. Carl Arnaiz was killed and everything else was a setup. EJKs in the country was state sponsored.
3. Tomas Bagcal, considered one of the state witnesses, said that everything seems to be scripted. Edgar Gabriel was threatened to take back his statement.

4. The Department of Justice was in favor of the victims.
5. Reynaldo was kind. Reynaldo was a resourceful and loving lad. Reynaldo didn't deserve a death like that.

Tone	Positive 5	Negative 1,2,3,4	Neutral
Dominant Frames	Conflict 1,2,3,4,5	Human Interest 1,2,3,4,5	Winners and Losers 1,2,3,4,5

The only positively toned news theme was the fifth one, describing the victim as innocent from all the accusations that was being said to him by the accused policemen who killed them. The other four news theme fell under the negatively toned news accusing Tomas Bagcal as a conspirator and that Kulot's brother was threatened so that he took back his initial interview about his doubt that the body found in Gapan was not his brother. It also shows that the Department of Justice was in favor of the victims.

The five news clips fell into the three common frames used by journalists. It all shows conflict from two opposing parties. Policemen who supposed to protect were the ones involved in killing an innocent civilian is the conflict. And this conflict caught human interest because the news portrays violation of morality.

PTV4 Kian's Case Theme/s:
1. The policemen setup Kian. Kian's case was recommended as a high-profile complaint.
2. Kian's case was the talk of the town.
3. No self-defense happened. Kian's parents didn't buy the accused policemen's excuse.
4. Kian was intentionally shot. Kian was killed defenseless.
5. PAO will help the delos Santos family. Kian was killed mercilessly.

Tone	Positive	Negative 1,3,4,5	Neutral 2
Dominant Frames	Conflict 1,2,3,4,5	Human Interest 1,2,3,4,5	Winners and Losers 1,2,3,4,5

The four transcribed themes fell into the negatively toned news stories because it was all in favor of Kian's innocence. It was saying that Kian was framed up and got only involved with drugs after he was killed. The respondents only based their action on social media posts and Kian was killed defenseless. However, the second transcribed theme fell under the neutral toned news story because it only reported how Kian's death was such a big talk of the town because of different ideas clashing.

The five news clips fell into the three common frames used by journalists. It all shows conflict between two opposing parties. Policemen who supposed to protect were the ones involved in killing an innocent is conflict. And this conflict caught human interest because the news portrays violation of morality.

PTV4: Carl and Kulot's Case Theme/s:
1. Carl was tortured. The PNP was just doing what needs to be done. Intentional killing. PNP was just doing their responsibility.
2. Carl was just accused.
3. The result of the autopsy still lacks information on how Carl was killed.
4. The case was prioritized by the NBI. Justice should prevail.
5. False conclusion about Kulot's body. Every information was only made to mislead.

Tone	Positive 2,4	Negative 5	Neutral 1,3
Dominant Frames	Conflict 1,2,3,4,5	Human Interest 1,2,3,4,5	Winners and Losers 1,2,3,4,5

The second and fourth news transcribed themes fell into positively toned news stories because the victim was cleared of involvement in crimes accused him. While the fifth news transcribed theme fell into negatively toned news stories

pointing to the accused, the information they are giving aims to mislead the case. The first and third news transcribed themes fell in the neutrally toned news stories because it only focuses on the two sides of the story; the victim's and the suspects' side. Especially the third one, it only focuses on how the autopsy of Carl still can't figure out how he was killed. It all shows conflict between two opposing parties. Policemen who supposed to protect were the ones involved in killing an innocent civilian is the conflict. And this conflict caught human interest because the news portrays violation of morality.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Journalists must constantly decide which facts to include or emphasize, whom to use as sources, and what is really to focus on in reporting a story (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). These choices combine to create a frame that both supports the story (like the frame of a house) and defines what belongs inside (like a picture frame), and thereby signals what news consumers should find important.

The explanatory frames used in the study revealed that journalists somehow were putting biases about on how they present the news stories from the four different television networks in the Philippines even the government network. But the ethics of every journalist will never be forgotten.

From the 40 selected news video clips, transcribed and analyzed, it was stated the idea of journalists being biased most especially to the victims when it comes to the consistency of the news, the repeated idea presented that the victim was rather innocent, and the length of the airing time of the news are noticeable. They showed that EJK must be condemned because it was killing innocent lives. They presented mostly the three selected frames which are the conflict, human interest, and winners and losers.

Increasingly, news originates from decisions made in the newsroom rather than by events from the outside. While statements by government officials represented the most common trigger for headlined news, the next three most common

were all newsroom initiated–a decision by news organizations to show enterprise, to analyze and interpret, or to preview what comes next.

The press is not simply negative or cynical. In those stories deemed to contain some kind of underlying message, optimism was actually the most common theme (as in suggesting perseverance pays off). But when stories were triggered by journalists' own enterprise, the message became more distrustful.

Recommendation

Definitely, the drug problem has to be tackled head-on before it gets any worse. As it is now, it is really ugly. But we need to further develop our systems-police, judicial, penal, medical, political, economic, social, etc. to cope with this highly complex problem.

References

D'Angelo, P. (2002). News Framing as a multiparadigmatic research program: A response to Entman. Journal of Communication, 52(4), 870–888. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2002.tb02578.x

D'Angelo, P., &Kuypers, J. A. (Eds.).(2010). Communication series.Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives. New York: Routledge.

deVreese, C. H. (2002). Framing Europe: Television news and European integration. Amsterdam:

Aksant.deVreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. Information Design Journal + Document Design 13 (1) 51-62, 13(1), 51–62. 10.1075/idjdd.13.1.06vre

deVreese, C. H. (2010). Framing the economy.Effects of journalistic news frames.In P.

D'Angelo& J. A. Kuypers (Eds.), Communication series.Doing news framing analysis.Empirical and theoretical perspectives (pp. 187–214). New York: Routledge.

deVreese, C. H. (2012). New avenues for framing research. American Behavioral Scientist, 56(3), 365–375. doi:10.1177/0002764211426331

deVreese, C. H., &Lecheler, S. (2012). News framing research: An overview and new developments. In H. A. Semetko& M. Scammell (Eds.), The SAGE handbook of political communication (pp. 282–307). London: Sage.

Fishman, M. (1997).News and nonevents.Making the visible invisible.In D. Berkowitz (Ed.), Social meaning of news.A text-reader (pp. 210–229). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Iyengar, S. (1991). Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Scheufele, D. A. (1999).Framing as a theory of media effects. Journal of Communication, 49, 103–122. doi: 10.1093/joc/49.1.103

Schuck, A. R., & de Vreese, C. H. (2006).Between risk and opportunity.News framing and its effects on public support for EU enlargement. European Journal of Communication, 21(1), 5–32. doi: 10.1177/0267 323106060987

Schudson, M. (1995). The power of news.Cambrid

Strömbäck, J., &Esser, F. (2009).Shaping politics: Mediatization and media interventionism.In K. Lundby (Ed.), Mediatization.Concept, changes, consequences (pp. 205–223). New York: Peter Lang.

van Dalen, A. (2011). Political journalism in comparative perspective. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark.

vanGorp, B. (2007). The constructionist approach to framing: Bringing culture back in. Journal of Communication, 57 (1), 60–78. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00329.x

Vliegenthart, R. (2012). Framing in mass communication research – An overview and assessment. Sociology Compass, 6(12), 937–948. doi:10.1111/soc4.12003