THE 2024 RECLAIM THE NIGHT MOVEMENT FOLLOWING THE KOLKATA RAPE AND MURDER CASE: A FRAMING THEORY ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

The "Reclaim the Night" (RTN) movement in India, galvanized by the 2024 Kolkata rape and murder case, exemplifies the dynamic interaction between grassroots activism and collective action framing in addressing systemic gender-based violence. This study investigates the dynamics of the collective action framing process within the 2024 "Reclaim the Night" demonstrations following the rape and murder of a female doctor in Kolkata. Employing Benford and Snow's collective action framing theory, the research qualitatively analyzes the movement's diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing, along with influencing variables and discursive, strategic, and contested processes. Findings indicate that diagnostic framing effectively identified widespread issues, including victim stigmatization and systemic political failures rooted in patriarchal perspectives. Prognostic framing emphasized actionable solutions such as proper legal processes and improved working conditions to prevent future tragedies. Motivational framing leveraged public frustration with legal authorities' neglect to amplify protest momentum. The RTN movement's strategic use of master frames like safety, freedom, and government accountability, coupled with social media mobilization, garnered significant support. However, contested processes, including public and political counter-arguments, highlight the ongoing challenges in reframing societal narratives. This movement offers a model for transformative action, contributing to a broader vision of gender equality by reclaiming public spaces and reconstructing societal narratives.

Keywords: Gender-based violence, Collective action, Framing, India, Women's rights

1. Introduction

Gender equality and protection of women's rights have been a long-standing key issue among Indians across all social status. As a country with richness in customs and religious teachings, India has a lot of key values emphasizing on women's significance within the society. Despite with such recognition, practices such as limiting right of education for girls, immolation of wives in accordance to sati, and child marriage which gained traction as a new normal in the centuries prior to formation of modern-day Republic of India. Women who used to be guaranteed equal rights to men were often subjected to systematic patriarchy and experienced violence in one form or another. After the independence of India, local governments tried to reverse patriarchal trends by establishing a legal basis to improve the status of women in the country. Constitution of India for example recognized gender equality, open access for women in public sector, and rights to work which were

followed with other derivative laws on rights of marriage, domestic violence, and political representation (Kaur, 2009).

Development of laws on women's rights unfortunately has not been followed with improvements of women's positions. From 2011 to 2013 alone, there was an increase of rape prevalence from 19 per 100,000 rising to 52 two years later. Persistence of rigid implementation of caste system has kept some granting of rights to be enjoyed only by a small minority of people from the upper class. With an increase of economic inequality in India, the working class with much lower income have higher risks of violence against them and also often struggle to secure proper protection of judicial process. This difficulty was seen on a case of a woman from Dalit caste, which is considered as lowest status in India's social structure, whose case of violence in 2012 got rejected by the police allegedly due to the perpetrator's background from a well respected Hindu family (Karp et. al, 2015). The issue of sexual violence has been made worse by the communal sentiment in India which frequently flared up in the country. Violence based on religion often targeted minority groups such as Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians in which sexual assault toward women have been a persistent occurrence during a conflict. One of the example of sexual violence in happened happened during the Gujarat Riots of 2002. During the riots, the State of Gujarat under the Chief Minister Narendra Modi's leadership suffered from escalation of communal violence in which women were subjected to systematic assault (Gangoli, 2011).

Amidst the increase of violence came a particular case which caught the attention of India and global citizens. In a tragedy which occured on 9th of August 2024 in R. G. Kar Medical College and Hospital of Kolkata, a trainee doctor fell victim to gang rape by a group of men and died afterwards. The Kolkata Case brought new public anger among Indian society manifested through the start of new RTN movement along with mass strikes from doctors with calls to create a safe space for doctors specifically and all women in general across India. RTN actions in Kolkata and other cities contained aspirations of demonstrators to be able to freely move at night and pushed a firm implementation of law on women's protection. Development of the movement also brought the issue of protection on minorities who were often being targeted by assaults and left vulnerable to other social issues which left them even more exposed to such attacks (Central Organ of CPI (ML), 2024). In this case, movement in India witnessed a reframing which transformed the original purpose from specific sexual violence toward broader issues on India's marginal groups.

There is a gap between facts in the field which created an iceberg phenomenon between data of violence against women which have been reported to the police authorities and all the real numbers of all cases which occurred. Data from the fifth edition of National Family Health Survey India (NFHS-5) indicates that 29 % of women aged 18 to 49 years old have experienced physical violence since age 15 and 6 % of them have also experienced sexual violence throughout their lives. NFHS-5 data also reveals that majority of the perpetrator of physical and sexual violence were figures close to the victim. Among married women, husbands constituted 83 % of all perpetrators of physical assault while another 9 % came from ex-husbands. Unmarried women on the other hand see their own relatives as the main source of perpetrator of violence.

Advocacy movement on women's protection through night vigil itself brought an innovation for development of national activist networks and a trigger for new discourse regarding gender positions within the country. One of the key characteristics of such night vigils compared to other advocacies is the rampant labelling that the protesters are a group of "immorals" by the conservatives. Such accusations come from pictures in mass media showing how a woman can interact with strangers openly, women smoking in public, and revealing dresses worn by demonstrators. This view

creates a fraction within women activists, especially from the older generations. A harsh criticism for example was directed by All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA), a women's wing of Communist Party of India-Marxist, with the narratives that describe such protest as nothing more than decadent platform for youths. On the other hand, sympathetic feminist groups view such phenomenons as a form of shift in the meaning of Indian feminism from what traditionally understood as women could gain their right yet still holding to modesty and simplicity. In other words, we investigate how night vigil acted as a granter of space for expressions from women and marginal groups to take risk by breaking free from the construction of "safe limits" while also voicing aspirations through channels previously considered taboo.

2. Literature Review

On the other hand, feminism advocacy in the Republic of India itself has roots on feminist movements in western countries which sprung during the 1960s and inspiring calls to improve women's protection in the country which initially managed to gain political momentum (Tripathi, 2018). In midst of challenges and political intimidation, several movements started to appear among women communities of India, including Reclaim The Night (RTN). The movement of RTN itself came from Leeds, the United Kingdom during the year 1977 inspired by the calls of local feminists to protest an implementation of night curfew for women. Movement in the form of night vigils then spread to multiple countries and carried the focus on intersectionality among marginalized communities such as sex workers, LGBTQ+ communities, and victims of sexual violence (McKnight, 2015). RTN movement in India started to gain attention of local media after the 2012 Nirbhaya Case in Delhi with dozens of street demonstrations reported across several major cities. Movement in response to Nirbhaya successfully increased public sentiment nationwide and gave way to the Criminal Law Amendment Act which changed the legal paradigm of India on victims (Abdelwahed et. al, 2018).

In the aftermath of Nirbhaya Case, development of women's rights in India yet again suffered a decline due to the rise of conservatism in Indian mainstream politics. Body and position of all females within political or social structure were dragged by the patriarchal morality standard which normalized objectification of women along with spreading of dehumanization of marginalized women. Strategies of political hatred on political opponents also worsened the situation due to growing hardline views to denounce any attempt of alteration in society as a threat for India as a whole. Also making things worse for women were the persistent corruption within Indian institutions which made any real attempts to prosecute the perpetrator being hardly sufficient. The pivot to conservative ideals along with institutions' inability to work effectively due to corruption acted as stumbling blocks for any future progress and made a common perception that cases of attacks on women would not be treated seriously. With the lack of significant improvements, trend of sexual violence has seen increases as seen from a 2022 report which indicated the average rape cases in India had reached 90 attacks per day, excluding unreported cases (Krishnan, 2024).\

3. Conceptual Framework
Collective Action Framing

Collective action framing is defined by Benford and Snow (2000) as an active and processual phenomenon implying agency and contention at the level of reality construction. Active means something is being done, and processual means it is a dynamic and evolving process. It involves agency in the sense that what is evolving in an advocacy process is the work of social movement organizations or movement activists. This framing takes various forms, such as images and narratives. Frames are interpreted as interpretations that allow individuals to find, perceive, identify, and label their daily occurrences and the world in

general. Frames also help to give meaning to events or occurrences so that they function to organize experience and guide actions taken. Furthermore, there is a core framing process as a way to construct collective action framing.

The core framing process consists of important tasks and functions performed by a social movement to build the desired framing. This concept is necessary to understand how social movements articulate their goals, mobilize support, and challenge the issues they address. The first element of the core framing process is diagnostic framing, which involves identifying and defining the problem or injustice that is the target of a movement. This includes attributing blame to specific actors or structures responsible for these problems and the parties who are their victims.

The second element of the core framing process is prognostic framing, which involves proposing solutions or alternatives to the identified problem. This framing outlines what needs to be done to address the problem, thereby guiding the direction of the movement's efforts. The last element is motivational framing, which involves inspiring and mobilizing individuals to take action. This emphasizes the importance of collective action and fosters a sense of urgency among potential participants.

Next, Benford and Snow (2000) explain variable features that can influence the collective action framing construction process. The first variable is the locus of attribution, which examines the scope of the issue. The broader the issue, the greater the potential size of the social movement. The second variables are flexibility and rigidity, and inclusivity and exclusivity, which examine the openness of a social movement to other themes and ideas. Flexible movements can produce a 'master frame.' A master frame is a large framework or main narrative used by social movements that includes central elements and can create a broad and deep understanding of the issues faced by the movement. Master frame concepts are usually general, universal, and

popular, making them familiar to potential participants. The third variable is variation in interpretive scope and influence, which examines whether a social movement can accommodate the interests of other groups. The last variable is Resonance, which examines whether a social movement has credibility (consistency, empirical credibility, and claimant credibility) and suitability with the life or culture of the society to be mobilized.

Finally, Benford and Snow (2000) explain the frame development processes in collective action framing that overlap, namely the discursive process, strategic process, and contested process. The discursive process is defined as the process by which narratives and meanings are constructed and exchanged between movement members and the public. This includes the communication used to convey the movement's goals, values, and identity, as well as how language and symbols influence people's understanding of the issue raised. The strategic process relates to the planning and execution of actions aimed at achieving the movement's goals, including the selection of tactics, resource organization, and influence on public policy. Furthermore, the contested process reflects conflicts or debates that arise both with external parties and internally. This process often involves negotiation about the meaning and interpretation of debated issues, as well as adaptation processes to face challenges or criticisms they encounter.

4. Research Method

This study employs a qualitative research design, primarily relying on a comprehensive literature review. Data sources include peer-reviewed books, academic journals, scientific articles, reputable news outlets, and validated internet resources, all critically evaluated to ensure informational integrity and relevance to the research objectives. Specifically, we undergo an iterative process to improve understanding to the scientific community by making new significant distinctions resulting from getting closer to the phenomenon

studied. The objective is achieved by combining two criteria: (i) how to do things, or generating and analyzing empirical material, in an iterative process in which one gets closer by making distinctions, and (ii) the outcome, by improving the novel understanding in the scholarly community (Aspers & Corte, 2019).

5. Results and Discussion
Core Framing Tasks in the 2024 RTN Movement

1. Diagnostic Framing

According to Benford and Snow, diagnostic framing is the process of framing an issue that is being fought for as an issue of injustice against a particular society or group. In the Reclaim The Night (RTN) movement in India in 2024, actors and demonstrators of the movement said that women in India were still not safe from the threat of gender-based violence, especially in public spaces (Nellist, 2024). This case of rape and femicide against a resident doctor who was on a shift at midnight triggered an uneasiness among actors of the movement and demonstrators that there were still a lot of women who do not feel safe from violence because of their gender whenever they go outside, especially in the evening (HT News Desk, 2024). Because of that, this movement was framed as a movement to fight all forms of gender-based violence, especially against women, which remained as a common occurrence in India every year (Mondal & Roy, 2024).

In diagnostic framing from the RTN movement in India, this movement focused on a culture of victim blaming as the core problem. Rimjhim Sinha, the initiator of RTN movement, stated that the victim of raping in Kolkata along with other victims of gender-based violence in general were blamed for the violence perpetrated against them and should not have been going out in the middle of the night alone without a male companion (Hindustan Time, 2024). This movement tried to fight such perceptions by shifting the blame toward the perpetrators along with patriarchal structure as the main

source of the problem. This movement also blamed the government because of the failure to provide a safe public space from violence against women.

2. Prognostic Framing

According to Benford and Snow, prognostic framing is the process of framing and articulation of the solution from the source of the problem from the diagnostic framing process so that the problem people fight for can be solved. In RTN movement of India, the actors along with demonstrators of the movement called for justice for the rape victim by asking authorities to fully commit themselves in prosecuting the perpetrator. Other than that, protesters consisting of doctors demanded for creation of a regulation mechanism by the government to guarantee safety of their colleagues who were on the shift. This demand included installation of surveillance cameras in hospitals, alleviation of difficult workloads, and improvement in capacity for inadequate hospitals (Doctors across India, 2024). From here, it was visible that the calls for prognostic framing were enlarged and widened by not only limiting aspirations to legal prosecutions for all victims but rather including calls for improvement within the working environment of Indian medics as part of preventive measures against future gender-based violence in health sector.

3. Motivational Framing

Motivational framing consists of all forms that have rooted and existed so that when an event or problem occurred then such framings will be used as ignition for the movement. In India alone, the masses considered that the state officials including the local police failed to give a sufficient response and performance to handle the case (Sharma & Hamilton, 2024). Police response was considered as reckless and went astray from legal procedures due to a combination of work culture within the institution, social-political environment surrounding the case, a nexus between the police with criminals, and coverage by media from all political spectrums. From here, society's

dissatisfaction toward police performance was one of the driving factors for the movement. However, such insufficient response was identified by social movements as having an underlying factor that has been long rooted within Indian society.

In this case, police's poor performance was considered to be a result of patriarchy itself which historically has been integrated in India. According to India Patriarchy Index which was developed by the National Family Health Survey showed a stagnant change in gender equality from 1992 toward 2016 (Singh et al., 2022). This stagnation pushed male domination in decision making and leadership role while women often put in secondary positions. This patriarchy manifested not just in violence against women but also the underestimation of urgency to address women's protection. Flourishing misogynistic views that slowed the response of the police force which saw such case as smaller issue created a momentum for Indian people to advocate against such systemic discrimination.

Variable Features in the 2024 RTN Movement

1. Problem Identification and Locus of Attribution

Case in Kolkata on August 2024 was seen as one of many cases rooted by the systematic failure in India to create a safe environment and fair legal process against the perpetrators. For the supporters of the movement, rampant patriarchal sentiment in the society and government bodies was the key issue which amplified violent practices toward women and lack of urgency to address it. At the same time, the advocacy network group also assessed that the problem of sexual violence, which in reality was a long-standing problem in India, has been exacerbated by the BJP government's polarizing maneuvers and sidelining of women. This identity-based conservatism was a common criticism of the RTN group when networking with national and transnational groups. This accusation against the BJP was also driven by that right-

wing party's strategy to provide political support for extreme groups such as the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), which often acted as a perpetrator of violence against various minority groups, including women. Other left-wing also viewed that the neglect of corruption issues has slowed down efforts to prevent cases of sexual violence from ever be processed accordingly. They also argued that the absence of surveillance cameras in various institutions or important infrastructure were caused by the failure of fund allocations that were concentrated within the elite group (Central Organ of CPI (ML), 2024).

2. Flexibility and Rigidity, Inclusivity and Exclusivity

The feminist movement in India and specifically Reclaim the Night had been caught up in debates about which perspectives or interests should be prioritized. When the RTN movement first emerged in the UK by a group of "radical feminists", questions about inclusivity often led to issues about whether the involvement of multiple groups would damage the movement and debates about whether some gatekeeping was necessary so that only women and marginalized groups could be involved in the movement. In its development since the 2010s, there has been a modification of the RTN strategy to be more inclusive to all groups who have sympathy for the movement without any differentiation. At the same time, the idea of a safe space began to be developed which was expected through the openness of the movement and the diversity of aspirations without any intimidation from fellow protesters (McKnight, 2015).

Similar strategy was advanced in India where participants of RTN tend to be very diversified by involving multiple social stratas, each trying to voice their own perspectives of concerns on central issue that was sexual violence. Differences of background were visible in Kolkata where professionals such as doctors could join the marginalized groups like LGBTQ and sex workers within one movement (Peoples

Dispatch, 2024). The push for safe space also caught the attention of people from lower class communities who suffered from house eviction and demolition. Within RTN movement in Mumbai, communities of women who were stranded due to the demolition of Jai Bhim Nagar area also tried to join the action held in Hiranandani Complex, an elite housing zone within that city. Those former Jai Bhim Nagar residents voiced about the lack of sense of safety among the women who were forced to sleep on the roadside after their houses were forcibly demolished for the sake of Hiranandani developers. Their participation attracted scepticism from some upper class demonstrators who questioned whether or not the Jai Bhin Nagar issue was in line with the Kolkata case and thus those protesters were forced to launch a separate protest (Shantha, 2024). This incident of rejection showed that the idea of RTN's inclusivity in practice had yet to be fully diffused among demonstrators and resulting in the lack of acceptance of wider inclusivity in Kolkata to be accepted by Mumbai's upper class.

3. Variation in Interpretative Scope and Influence

The next feature of variables is the variation in interpretative scope and influence. Collective action framing can use a larger frame to attract wider groups and audiences. This widening of frame is called as the master frame and usually its characteristics are general, universal, and popular thus being familiar for future participants of social movement. In the RTN, the master frame manifested in quite diverse themes. Among them, there were themes of safety (Taylor, 2024), government accountability (Green Left, 2024), freedom (Biswas, 2024), and anger (Mondal, 2024). The facilitators of demonstration themselves also mentioned that their movement was part of the greater farming of feminism in India.

Master frame of freedom was used during the same occasion with the commemoration India's Independence Day which was translated to calls for liberation of Indian women. This was visible from the theme of "Swadhinotar Modhyoraatey, Nari Swadhinotar Jonyo" meaning "at the midnight hour of Independence, for women's liberation." Despite such strategy, this move triggered unexpected reaction as some of the participants used a crescent moon symbol or clenched hand within the protest which brought accusations that parties used the momentum as a political ride (Banerjee, 2024).

4. Resonance

Resonance on the other hand sees whether a social movement has the credibility by consistency, empirical credibility, and credibility of claimant along with the match with the livelihood or culture of the society that is about to be mobilized. In the first aspect, RTN had the consistency of messaging which was disciplined and easily acceptable by a wider audience, that was by pointing out systemic injustice of Indian women. Empirical credibility and credibility of claimants also had been very strong because one of the main initiators of this movement was a social science researcher named Rimjhim Sinha, Sinha used messages that was felt could resonate among many women in India that was the uneasiness of walking at night. The massive amount of participants who went to the streets showed the claim made by Sinha which was later amplified by other activists about the issue of gender equality in this state. In the second aspect, this demonstration had been a resistance against lack of will to improve gender equality emitted by patriarchal and misogynistic perspectives. This resistance built a sense of togetherness among women in India and thus RTN managed to gather a high level of support nationwide.

Framing Process in the 2024 RTN Movement

1. Discursive Process

In the framing of the issue process, usage of certain symbols and languages were also used to convey the reason and objectives from the

movement that could help the common masses to understand the cause of such action. The usage of "Reclaim the Night" term itself was not a very new name as they already appeared at the infancy of the movement in Leeds. Despite of that, the name was used as a platform to voice the longstanding and global calls from women who felt unsafe whenever they walked outside during the night. The term, which was used by women and other marginalised gender groups and communities, later on got reinforcement by posters with the clenched hand with burning flame on top of it as symbols of hope and struggle (Ray, 2024).

Despite the meaning and message of this movement were considered to have been directed and specific in voicing the demanded rights of RTN, there were still multiple complexities in interpretation which occurred within Indian society. One of the slogans that was used by the RTN movement was "Kashmir Mange Azadi" which literally meant Kashmir wants freedom, a reference for a troubled state in northern India which suffered multiple violence, political instability, and larger geopolitical rivalry between India and Pakistan (Kolkata Police Files, 2024). Being a comparatively controversial slogan that appeared in this movement, such calls received multiple responses. Although some factions of protesters believed that as a part of larger calls for freedom and justice, others including the political leaders criticized the slogan as separatist rhetoric that distracted the main focus on women's safety. Police even called for investigation toward the anonymous individual who chanted the slogan, showing the nature of polarization among the diverse framing within the movement.

2. Strategic Processes

The strategic process is a part of process elements and framing dynamics related to the planning and execution of action with the purpose to achieve the movement's mission which include selection of tactics, organizing of resources, and influence toward public policy. In the selection of tactics, the organizer along with participants of RTN demonstrations launched massive action across more than 100 locations in Kolkata alone which later spread to other areas in West Bengal along with multiple cities in India (Massive Protests in India, 2024). Process of demonstration occurred not only in one or two days, but rather lasted for several days to pressure the government and legal institutions. More specifically, on 12th of August 2024, thousands of doctors went on strike and joined the protest to send a disruption within medical services across India. They demanded justice for the victim and better security measures within hospital places through stricter control for people who can enter certain areas, more surveillance cameras, and additional security guards. The similar protest on 15th of August also took the momentum of the nation's independence day by a message asking, "when will women gain their independence?" (Dhillon, 2024).

Other than selection of tactics, the other strategic process was organizing the resources which in this case depended on the use of social media. Dhruv Canan from Indian Medical Association's Junior Doctors' Network mentioned that they would continue the action until all their demands were fulfilled formally (Reclaimed the Night, 2024). The necessary resource was organized by participation of local groups which helped the running of RTN protests along with the other communities to increase the momentum of midnight parades such as one in Jadavpur, Kolkata. Influences from notable figures also helped facilitate the flow of resources. Public figures and celebrities such as Swastika Mukherjee, Rituparna Sengupta, Imon Chakraborty openly supported the movement while also aided in attracting more attention to the gender-based violence in Kolkata. Strategic Process later gave an influence toward public policy. During the demonstrations of RTN, the sheer number of doctors and medical workers participating in the parade and strike caused numerous government-run hospitals to close on the day of protest with an exception on emergency services (Chatterjee & Som, 2024). The

tragedy in Kolkata Government's hospital triggered a new discourse within the political community. Numerous members of Trinamool Congress as the dominant party in West Bengal disagreed with such protests and other related events. Despite that, another politician from Rajya Sabha (India's Upper House), Sukhendu Sekhar Ray who happened to be another member of Trinamool Congress stated his support and participation through X regarding RTN movement.

3. Contested Processes

Contested processes are aspects which mirrored conflicts or debates which appeared from elements within or outside of a movement. This process often involves negotiation regarding the meaning of a movement and interpretation of the debated issue along with adaptation process to give response regarding challenges or critics toward the movement. One of the statements by external parties during the RTN movement that resulted in more debates was a position of West Bengal Minister Swapan Debnath who said that women of the movement were frequently drinking alcoholic beverages during a demonstration and asked parents that they should watch their daughters' activity at night. This counter argument tried to discredit the meaning of the movement and interpretation of the issue on women's rights advocacy. The solutions themselves which included calls for stricter parental watch and ban on women drinking alcohol were patriarchal, misogynistic, and sexist against women while pushing back any attempt to fix those three issues. On the contrary with the previous statement by Debnath, the local ruling Congress Trinamool distanced themselves from the minister's comment. Party's senior leader Kunal Ghosh stated that his party did not support such comments, and they should not dictate individual behaviors, regardless of gender (Women were Drinking, 2024). According to him, women should own the rights to choose whether or not to drink alcohol along with the decision to go

wherever they want according to the choice of the women themselves.

In the meantime, India's federal government under Prime Minister Modi eventually attempted to fix the terrible social status of women in the country. The government passed a revised law which gave more female representation through the seating quotas in legislative bodies. Regardless of the perception of a leap in improvement of Indian women's conditions, this move was not a new attempt as there had been six attempts of fixing gender quota since 1996, yet they went unpassed due to the critics by oppositions regarding voices of women from lower castes. Other than that, many critics argued that quota for women's membership in parliament would be a mere symbolic gesture to show inclusivity without necessarily giving any systematic changes across India (Brechenmacher, 2023). The political dynamics also narrowed the potential impact of any reform in seating quota as party leaders, mostly dominated by men, would support candidates they could control as the member of parliament. Overall, there were still a lot of challenges regarding the improvement of women's living conditions in India, especially regarding the right to be free and the calls from the RTN movement.

6. Conclusion

This paper took a scope at the dynamics of the collective action framing process, originally conceived by Benford and Snow in the "Reclaim the Night" demonstration in India in 2024. Overall, the RTN demonstration marked the dynamic interaction between grassroots activism and collective action framing in addressing systemic gender-based violence. This movement showed the critical role of the framing process in mobilizing multiple actors, shaping public discourse, and challenging patriarchal narratives that marginalize women in public spaces.

Through diagnostic framing, the movement could effectively identify widespread issues such as the culture of

stigmatization of victims along with systematic failure in the political system dominated by conservative perspectives. Meanwhile, prognostic framing emphasized implementable solutions through proper legal process along with improvement of working conditions which could be used to deal with the Kolkata case and prevent such tragedy from ever happening again in the future. Motivational framing utilized emotional appeals and solidarity-building strategies by using the public's frustration on neglect by legal authorities to enhance the momentum of protest. RTN also offered a model for a transformative action.

Framing strategies provided valuable insights for activists, policymakers, and academics who had been trying to build effective mobilization methods in the context of social injustice. Through RTN of 2024, it was visible that a protest movement always went into a dynamic contestation of frames in which By reclaiming public space accompanied by the reconstruction of societal narratives, this demonstration movement will contribute to a broader vision of gender equality.

Building on these findings, future research could expand by conducting longitudinal studies to assess the sustained impact of the "Reclaim the Night" movement's framing strategies on policy changes and long-term shifts in public discourse surrounding gender equality in India since 2024. Comparative analyses with similar movements in other South Asian or developing contexts could offer valuable insights into the universality and cultural specificity of collective action framing in combating deeply entrenched patriarchal norms, especially in settings where sexual violence is still rampant. Furthermore, investigations into the role of digital activism and online counter-framing efforts would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the contemporary dynamics of social movements, particularly concerning how they navigate evolving communication landscapes and opposition narratives. Finally, exploring the effectiveness of various prognostic frames in translating advocacy into tangible improvements in women's safety and broader societal inclusivity remains a critical avenue for subsequent studies.

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