

POLITICAL SOLUTION AS GARNERED BY THE NATIONAL DAILIES DURING THE ETHNIC CRISIS IN SRILANKA- FRAME ANALYSIS

Deepa Viswam

Professor, Mother Teresa women's university,
kodaikanal, tamilnadu

Abstract: Tamil United Liberation front Chief V.Anadasangaree vehemently opposed the unitary label within united Srilanka. He expressed concern over media reports about the possibility of the All Parties Representative conferences (APRC) coming forward with package of proposals with unitary label. He warned that such a proposal would only strengthen the LTTE's call for separation and give oxygen to the dying organization and kill hopes of those who have placed their faith in (APRC). A political solution with the unitary label where the state is not willing to recognize the other communities as those with legitimate grounds of power sharing is a defeat for people like who have been changing the Tamil community to forget separation and come into path of a united srilanka. Any solution under unitary constitution will be half baked one. It will give room for further agitation in the future fuelled by the remnants of the LTTE. The result would be a disruption of the hard earned peace and the country back square back one, into another cycle of violence. "No political solution will be acceptable to the LTTE, other than a kingdom for Prabhakaran. fair and just political solution will convince the Tamil people not only in the country but around the world that there is no need for tyranny and terror of LTTE". He advocated the Indian Model as an ideal solution for the ethnic crisis, the Indian constitution does not say federal or unitary but has managed to hold the country together for 60 years. (sep,13,07, The Hindu). The editor –in-chief of the Hindu N.Ram during the annual meeting of the srilanka –India friendship society said democratic governance was the need of the hour in the east and went on to ask if the government was ready to demonstrate the political will and take reasonable risks in its quest to resolve the ethnic question.

"There are huge gaps in the development status of provinces. For instance, while the western province accounts for 50% of the country's GDP the share of the eastern province is more 2.5 percent. That is why we say the issue is not federalism but democracy and equality. President, Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), V.Anadasangaree also wanted the Srilankan government to find out possible solution to ethnic problems the weakening of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam National party (UNP) openly acknowledged federalism as the option to solve the problem and the leftists always supported it. Mr.anadasangaree said though the people had been liberated from LTTE control they were going through enormous hardship. He also urged leaders and people of Tamilnadu to pressure the union government to advise the srilankan government to go in for greater devolution of powers (sep 22 3, 07, The Hindu). United National party (UNP) srilanka, s main opposition party in the statement formulated at a recent meeting of the policy making forum of the party sought to put at rest speculation in a section of the media about a shift in the position of the party vis-à-vis the ethnic question. The UNP has called for amendments to the Norwegian –brokered 2002 ceasefire agreement (CFA) and demanded an "innovative and new constitutional model" drawing on the island nation's own experiences for resolution of the ethnic question.

The hindu expressed official view point where else the new Indian express gave more space for the LTTE during these periods

Anadasangaree for a political solution within united srilanka (sep13,2007), weakening of LTTE gives an advantage to srilanka in finding political solution (sep 17,2007), Jvp leader says election should be held in the east (sep 18,2007) TULF Indian model will work (sep23,2007), UNP calls for changes to ceasefire pact (oct 2,2007) united national party, s special statement (oct4,2008). TULF appeal to tamilnadu leaders (nov21,2007) were the major stories in the hindu

In the new Indian express lanka to announce devolution package soon (dec10,2007) lanka Tamil trio coming to new delhi (dec 19,2007) Lanka rejects LTTE call for truce (jan 12,2008) LTTE peace overtures a joke official (jan 13,2008) Devolution package by jan 23 srilanka (Jan 19,2008), India for political settlement of Tamil ethnic issue (jan 27,2008).

Keyword: Mediation, conflict resolution, hold talks, autonomy, political solution, Several questions arise. In what way did the two different newspapers cover the crisis? Was there any change in coverage two different newspapers through different periods of the tamil ethnic political crisis in srilanka? To answer these questions, the author employed media framing analysis

THIS STUDY EXAMINED THE WAYS DIFFERENT INDIAN NATIONAL DAILIES -- TWO

Newspaper, the hindu and the new Indian express framed the political solution for srilanka. Dominant media frames and framing devices (Gamson & Lasch, 1983) were identified by content analysis of 164 news stories. Frames were compared across these news outlets as well as across different time periods to analyze the role of framing in public deliberation (Simon & Xenos, 2000). The study found that there was a strong influence of ideology on the way two different newspapers framed the news, and that this influence distorted the deliberation pattern. The study found that there were two main patterns of frames used by two different newspapers: the overt propagandistic Pattern and a pattern of hidden attempts at manipulation. The former consisted of the combination of two or more negative frames toward political opponents; the combination of one or more neutral frames and one negative frame toward the opponents comprised the latter. Constructing the discourse, media tried to heavily exploit Similes and depictions were the dominant devices of framing the crisis among the two different newspapers.

**TECHNIQUES.
REVIEW OF LITERATURE
THEORY OF FRAMING**

With little personal experience in politics, people depend on news media to understand the political world. This provides media with the power to frame reality for the public. Researchers argue, "How people think about an issue, especially a political issue that is inherently ambiguous, is dependent on how the issue is framed by the media" (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 94). Gamson and Modigliani (1987) defined a media frame as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an upholding strip of events.... The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143).

According to Entman (1993), to frame means "to select some aspects of a perceived reality to make them more salient, thus promoting a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Iyengar (1991) differentiates between episodic and thematic media frames. Episodic newscasts depict public issues as concrete instances or specific events that are the results of actions by individuals. Thematic newscasts report systematic problems in society on a more abstract level in the form of general outcomes. Iyengar believes that the type of media framing influences how audience members attribute responsibility -- choosing thematic frames over episodic ones might mean the attribution of responsibility shift from personal to societal causes (Iyengar, 1991). Increasingly, challengers have recognized media framing as a central political activity. Callaghan and Schnell (2001) explain, "Because citizens and pundits alike rely heavily on a 'media-constructed' version of reality, it is critical to determine who controls public policy debates. Control over political rhetoric is an essential tool to influence public opinion, and the entrenchment of some terms, and the disappearance of others, is often a signal of

political triumph and defeat" (Callaghan & Schnell, 2001, p. 184).

FRAMING AND PUBLIC DELIBERATION

Simon and Xenos (2000) have applied media framing analysis to the research of public deliberation that involves the social creation and change of meaning over time. Researchers argue that in the phases of deliberation, media frames compete with each other to define the situation at hand. Each of these frames represents a contention or validity claim (Simon & Xenos, 2000, p. 367). Investigating the interaction of competing frames within media discourse of the UPS strike coverage, the researchers found that validity claims followed a single-peaked pattern of prominence over time. They argued, "Such a pattern suggests that claims are raised, evaluated, and resolved in a manner consistent with deliberation" (Simon & Xenos, 2000, p. 368). While discussing their approach, the authors suggested that such a deliberative process might exist only under the circumstances when communication is free from influence by inequalities in material power and discursive competence. At the same time, according to Simon and Xenos (2000), effective deliberation must exert influence on the physical world as the resolutions of conflicts carried out through discourse are implemented or received by interested parties. Unless both of these conditions are met, deliberation is either nonexistent or of questionable quality (Simon & Xenos, 2000, p. 364).

FRAMING AND REASONING DEVICES

Gamson and Lasch (1983) have pointed out several framing and reasoning devices that can work in combination or alone to create frames. Framing devices (metaphors, catchphrases, exemplars, depictions, and visual images) suggest a framework within which to view the issue, while reasoning devices (roots, consequences and appeal to principle) provide justification or reasons for general positions (Gamson & Lasch, 1983, p. 399). Stone (2002) adds to this list of devices synecdoche and numbers: Synecdoche is

a figure of speech in which a whole is represented by one of its parts; Numbers is a method of describing phenomena or events by means of measurements (Stone, 2002, p. 137). Based on the review of the literature, this study focused on five research questions

in regard to the Ukrainian political crisis case: R1. What were the most popular frames that different Ukrainian media employed in covering the crisis?

R2: How did the coverage of the crisis vary among different types of news media?

R3: How did the coverage frames change over time?

METHODOLOGY**Research Design**

This study comprised a content analysis of news stories of two major newspapers the Hindu and the new Indian express newspapers

The thematic analysis identified media frames as well as framing devices used. Variations across media and

over time were analyzed in tabular forms. A single-peaked pattern of frame prominence over time was conceptualized as characteristic of the deliberation process (Simon & Xenos, 2000).

Sample

The research was based on a content analysis of 164 stories related to the Srilankan ethnic crisis that had been released from September 13,2007 to October 17,2008– the most event-saturated period of the Srilankan ethnic crisis (105 stories released by the hindu, 57stories released by the new Indian express). Based on the list of the most critical events that happened from September 13,2007 to October 17,2008, the period was subdivided into seven smaller periods of time. These periods were used in analyzing the differences between frames distribution from one event to another. The summary of these events with their brief description is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

MAIN CRISIS EVENTS WITHIN THE RESEARCH SAMPLE	
Period	Events Description
September 22,2007	LTTE strategic locations destroyed
September 25,2007	Heavy fighting rages in srilanka
September 29,2007	LTTE attempts to move into wanni failed
October 16,2007	Srilanka clashes may intensify
November 3,2007	Air blow for LTTE again tamilselvan
November 5,2007	LTTE chief declares renewed resolve to continue struggle
November 6,2007	Colombo vows to target LTTE leaders
November 12,2007	LTTE chief's days are numbered :air force chief
November 27,2007	Keys LTTE sites bombed
December 27,2007	Futile to hold talks with LTTE Rajapaksa
January 9,2008	Srilankan minister dies in balst
Januray 8,2008	Srilankan government challenges LTTE might
Januray 24,2008	LTTE hub in kilinochchi bombed
February 1,2008	women,kids forced into LTTE
February 9,2008	claims of heavy casualties in sri lanka
March 17,2008	LTTE ready for talks if srilankan government halts attacks.
March 19,2008	Heavy beating for tigers Colombo
April 19,2008	war in the north rice shortage in the south
May 15,2008	Talks only if LTTE gives up arms
May 29,2008	LTTE held territories captured
May 30,2008	Fighting intensifies in Jaffna
June 25,2008	LTTE must lay down arms
July 6,2008	Srilankan troops capture major LTTE base ,48 killed
July 13,2008	Ready for talks with LTTE says Mahinda Rajapakse
August 21,2008	Killinochi will be captured soon says rajapaksa
September 29,2008	LTTE orders civilians to quit kilonichi
October 4,2008	LTTE intelligence and police headquarters bombed.
October 5,2008	Lankan army creates no free zone

CODING SCHEMES

The nature of the crisis coverage fell into 9 distinct frames as defined in the coding key depicted in Table 1. These frames formed the coding instrument used in the content analysis of the 164 news stories.

The frames presented in Table 1 were pointed out using a two-step technique. First, based on the previous research data, certain frames had been predefined as content analytic variables to verify the extent to which these frames occurred in the news. Second, stories that did not fall into any of these frames were coded as Other with further elaborating of new frames definitions.

For the purpose of the qualitative analysis of framing behavior, the author categorized the frames based on two criteria: their political orientation (neutral vs. propresidential vs. pro-oppositional frames) and their character in terms of thematic vs. episodic representation (episodic vs. thematic frames).

SRILANKAN ETHNIC L CRISIS MEDIA FRAMES CODING KEY

Frame Name Description of the Frame

#	Frame Name	Description of the Frame
	Thematic Neutral Frames	
1	Negotiated settlement	Negotiated settlement alone can bring peace :EU (april 8,2008)the new Indian express
2	consensus	Rajapaksa effort tfor consensus(may 16,2008) the hindu Tamil question gets new dimension (june1,2008) the new Indian express
3	development initiatives	STF to oversee development initiatives in srilanka north(may4,2008) the hindu
	Thematic Pro-Presidential Frames	
4	autonomy	It would be blunder to start talks with prabhakaran says devandanda(dec22,2007)the hindu India should involve itself sri lankan minister (jan 14,2008) the hindu autonomy may elude lanka east (may14,2008) the hindu Voters will reject LTTE: Rajapaksa (april1,2008) the hindu Lanka blames LTTE for the conflict (april25,2008) the new Indian express

5	Conflict resolution	Rajapaksa seeks panel report on conflict resolution (jan 11,2008) the hindu Democracy only answer for sustainable peace :srilanka (sep11,2008) the hindu Peace mission feels violence escalating (Nov4,2008) the hindu
6	devolution package	Lanka to announce devolution package soon (Dec10, 2007)the new Indian express Devolution package by Jan 23srilanka (jan 19,2008) the new Indian express Lanka ready to devolve power (jan26,2008) the new Indian express
	Thematic Pro-Oppositional Frames	
7	model for election	Jvp leader says election should be held in the east(sep 18,2007)The hindu Tulf Indian model will work(sep23,2007)the hindu
8	ceasefire	UNP calls for changes to ceasefire pact (oct 2,2007) the hindu Lanka rejects LTTe call for Truce (jan12,2008) the new indian express
9	mediation	United national party for special statement (oct4,2007)the hindu Tulf appeal to tamilnadu leaders (nov21,2007) the hindu Lanka tamil trio coming to new delhi (dec19,2007) the new Indian express JvP split could pave way for indian mediation (april13,2008) the hindu Help may be sought from muslim countries (may18,2008) the new Indian express
	Episodic Neutral Frames	
10	political settlement	LTTe peace overtures a joke official (jan 13,2008) the new Indian express India for political settlement of tamil ethnic issue(jan27,2008) the new Indian express
11	political solution	Weakening of LTTe gives an advantage to srilanka in finding political solution(sep 17,2008)the hindu Sri lanka sets up political council for war-torn north (may4,2008) the new Indian express I am committe to poitical solution and ending tamil civilian hardship (

12		
	Episodic Pro-Presidential Frames	
13	Pro-government	Help extend benefits to tamils rajapaksa (jan 8,2008) the hindu We will wipe out LTTe PRajapaksa (mar,2008) the hindu Pathnabhan Colombo maintains silence (sep13,2007) the hindu Colombo vows to target LTTe leaders (nov6,207) the hindu Lanka to accept ltte offer only if conditions met(july23,2008) the new Indian express
14	Revive talks	Lanka to announce devolution package soon (dec10,2007)the new Indian express Rajapaksa may address LTTe charge s (sep26,2007) the hindu Lanka ready to revive talks with LTTe (june 20,2008) the new Indian express
15	surrender	Forces closing in on LTTe in wanni says Colombo (feb8,2008)the hindu LTTe arms carrying ship sunk;Colombo (oct8,2008) the hindu Talks only if LTTe gives up arms (may15,2008) the hindu Surrender only options for LTTe(the hindu) Fonseka asks LTTe leaders to surrender (oct6,2008) the new indian express
	Episodic Pro-Oppositional Frames	

16	LTTE cadres killed	<p>24 tamil tigers killed in intense fighting (sep28,2007)the hindu.</p> <p>LTTEarms carrying ship sunk :Colombo (oct 8,2007)the hindu</p> <p>LTTE arms ship destroyed 24 believed killed (oct 8,2007)the new Indian express</p> <p>11 tigers killed Colombo(oct13,2007)the hindu</p> <p>30LTTE cadres killed says army (oct 17,2007)the hindu</p> <p>10 tigers killed (oct28,2007)the hindu.</p> <p>Air raid blow for LTTE again tamilselvan killed (Nov3,2007)the new Indian express.</p> <p>22 LTTE cadres killed (nov2,2007)the hindu</p> <p>13 tamil tigers killed in lanka (nov 12,2007)the new indian express.</p> <p>Root out pro LTTE activities (feb4,2008) the new Indian express</p> <p>Heavy beating for tigers Colombo (mar19,2008) the hindu</p> <p>High values LTTE base pounded (april3,2008) the hindu</p> <p>Key LTTE commander dead(may 22,2008) the hindu</p> <p>Fighting intensifies injaffna(may30,2008) the hindu</p> <p>30percent of the recent conscripts have died(july12,2008) the new Indian express</p>
17	detenus freed	<p>Karuna group to split (oct 9,2007) the hindu</p> <p>LTte chief declares renewed resolve to continue struggle (Nov 5,2007) the hindu</p>
18	hold talks	<p>Sinhalese tamils divided on peace process (dec19,2007) the hindu</p> <p>It would be blinder to hold talks with prbhakaransays devananda (dec22,2007) the hindu</p> <p>Pro- LTTE party,s appeal could tilt scales (may9,200*) the new indj express</p> <p>LTTE ready fro talks with lankan government halts attacks (mar17,2008) the new Indian express</p>

were: Negotiated settlement (found in 1.6% of all stories covered), consensus (1.22%), development initiatives (0.62%),

Together, these represented 2.44% of all the coverage. All of these frames belong to the group of thematic neutral frames (frames possessing neutral connotation toward the participants of the crisis). As the analysis of data revealed, it was the neutral character of these frames that partly contributed to their frequent usage: all the channels, despite their political orientation, were free to frame the stories using neutral themes of Negotiated settlement, consensus, development initiatives

Research Question 2 asked how did the coverage of the crisis vary among different types of news media. As it has been found, each medium had its own priority in choosing the Predominant frames. Table 3 summarizes the finding, reporting the top frames used by the five media.

Frame rank	The hindu	The new Indian express
1	LTTE cadres killed Episodic pro-oppositional 5.4%	Political settlement Episodic neutral frame 1.2%
2	Surrender Episodic pro-presidential 3.6%	Devolution package Thematic pro-presidential 1.2%
3	Pro-government Episodic pro-presidential 2.4%	Mediation Thematic oppositional 1.2%

The Hindu employs episodic pro-oppositional, episodic pro-presidential, episodic pro-presidential frame. episodic frames towards political orientation but reveals that it was more ideological.

The new Indian express episodic neutral frame, thematic pro-presidential frame and thematic oppositional frame which is more oriented towards conflict resolution.

Research Question 3 asked how the coverage frames changed over time?

Figure 1 depicts graphically the patterns of frames occurrence across different periods of time under investigation. As it demonstrates, different frames dominated in media coverage of the sri lankan political crisis at different periods of time, forming single-peaked patterns of prominence.

The analysis revealed that the majority of these cases were observed with neutral frames, when each of the media used the same frame frequently: political settlement, political solution, and consensus. The single-peaked patterns of prominence were observed with these frames at Time Periods 1, 5, 6 and 7 (see Figure 1), which, according to Simon and Xenos (2000) could be interpreted as a presence of deliberation pattern.

However, as it could also be seen from Figure 1, single-peaked patterns of prominence were also observed in the cases of the pro-government, surrender, revive talks, pro-presidential frames. As the quantitative analysis of the data revealed, the high percentage rates of these two frames had been achieved mainly due to the extreme scores demonstrated by pro-presidential. This finding challenges the assumption about the single-peaked pattern of prominence over time to be a characteristic of deliberation (Simon & Xenos, 2000), since it is arguable that the deliberation could take place under conditions when at least

DATA ANALYSIS

For examining the research questions of the study, cross-tabulations of data obtained from content analysis were done. Based on the cross-tabulations results, tables were built where the mean percentages of frames and framing devices occurrence in different media and within different periods of time were calculated. The figures were also constructed to plot that most frequently used frames by medium and over time.

Research Question 1 asked what were the most popular frames that two different Indian newspapers employed in covering the crisis.

As it has been found, the frames most frequently used by the media at the period of time under investigation

one of the discourse participants withholds from a discussion due to political reasons. Other frames, which were not frequently used during all the time periods, as one can judge from Figure 1, had rather stable, peak-less patterns of behavior throughout all the time periods, which can be explained either by absence of interest toward the theme or by influence of “outside power forces” (Simon & Xenos, 2000). In the case of the neutral frames Negotiated settlement, consensus, development initiatives an absence or lack of interest was observed. Such a conclusion can be drawn from the fact that both pro-presidential and pro-oppositional media employed these frames with approximately equal and low frequencies. This suggests that there were no ideological restrictions toward their usage. In the case of pro-oppositional and pro-presidential frames hold talks, revive talks, model for election the conflict resolution frames were in action. This conclusion could be drawn from the fact that there was an obvious difference in frequency of the frames usage by pro-oppositional vs. pro-presidential media.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Framing

The analysis of frames used by different two different newspapers showed that no media Organization was free of ideological bias in covering the srilankan political crisis of 2001.

The most overt display of political orientation was demonstrated by the new Indian express.

All of the most frequently used frames within this medium were pro-presidential frames.

The Hindu used a little less explicit pattern of political preferences:.

The most interesting case, however, was observed within the new Indian express that had declared non-biased, centrist political attitude. As the framing analysis revealed, contrary to political declarations, the crisis coverage by the new Indian express and the hindu was not free of bias. The combinations of the frames most frequently used by these media included Several neutral frames and pro-presidential frame or one Pro-oppositional frame. Some researchers believe, however, that such implicit attempts at sub consciousness manipulation have a potential to influence audiences' perceptions even more effectively than overt propaganda (Kara-Murza, 2001). More research is needed in this area.

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- v. United national party's special statement the Hindu (oct 4,2007)
- vi. Lankan tamil trio coming to new delhi the new Indian express (dec19,2007)
- vii. Lanka rejects LTTE call for truce the new Indian express

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viii. Lanka peace overtures a joke official the new Indian