Chapter I

Introduction

Research is a scientific and systematic search for pertinent information on a specific topic. It is an art as well as science of investigation. Some people consider research as a movement which starts from the known situation and ends at an unknown situation.

Due to the advent of Global economy and the introduction of modern technology the world has shrunk to a “Global Village”. In this communication era media plays a key role in disseminating news about one part of the world to the other and similarly the restlessness and unsettlement in one part of the globe has immediate reaction on the other side. “Media plays an important role in portraying the image of other country in a striking way”.

According to McNelly and Izcaray “The Mass media can contribute to people’s understanding or misunderstanding of each other’s country”. Mass media plays a crucial role in constructing the image of various societies and their people as good or bad. “It is noted that it is based largely on journalism that we make up our national mind”. Hence the media propagates the message of intolerance and disinformation or serve as tool of conflict resolution.

Media sets the “Public Agenda” through its selection and rejection of content. By “Framing” the media content the media may share public opinion. “Framing involves presenting and defining the news”. The notion of framing gained momentum in the communication disciplines. The tone of the news can be framed as “Positive” or “Negative”. “The policy of the news Paper, the prevailing political system and the journalist opinion decides the tone of the news”.
Media plays an important role in reporting conflict, as it is the main source of information to the public. Though Sri Lanka is India’s neighbor the people in India were informed about the Sri Lankan ethnic crisis mainly through the mass media. Media has been the vehicle which carries the information about the success or failure of the Sri Lankan government or the THE LTTE to Indian public. It is the Media that plays a vital role as the resource base to the Indians to understand about the conflict in Sri Lanka. For that reason, it is justifiable to say that media plays an important and decisive role in Indo-Sri Lankan relations.

Thus, doing an analysis about the fall of the THE LTTE in Sri Lanka is critical importance to monitor the way in which media has performed the said task. Secondly, Media is the best source which produces the literature in monitoring the regular media coverage; thirdly, the media’s influence in shaping the public opinion, both in India and abroad, was very crucial and finally, media provides a resource base in developing this analysis.

“It is Media that sets the public agenda through Media Framing”\textsuperscript{10}. And so it is important to do a content analysis about the framing of the news. This study concentrates on qualitative content analysis using Framing technique. The idea of news frames refers to interpretation structure which set particular events within broader context. Information processing research suggests that people have cognitive schema which organize their thinking and linking substantive beliefs attitudes and values.

The central aim of this paper is to understand the dominant frame in the news about the fall of the LTTE in Sri Lanka in the news sites \url{www.thehindu.com} and \url{www.thenewindianexpress.com}. The researcher included six frames to analyze the news stories. These are as follows:
Military conflict frame emphasis the military conflict/action. The framing of news about the use of lethal force, usually the use of weapons, in defending its country by combating actual or perceived threats is considered as Military Conflict Frame. Human interest frame emphasis the human participants in the event. This frame presents a person or people in an emotional way. It presents people and their problems concerns, or achievements in a way that brings about interest or sympathy in the reader or viewer.

Diagnostic frame emphasis the cause and reasons for the event. It also identifies a problem and assesses the same. Responsibility frame emphasis the party/person responsible for the event. Media self-referential frame emphasis the media, and the journalists themselves. While the Prognostic frame emphasis the prognosis, the outcome of the event. The news was coded for the presence of these frames.

The unit of analysis includes the headlines, the pull quote and the source of news stories. The presence of the above mentioned frames in the news about the fall of the LTTE in Sri Lanka for a period from 1st January to 31st May 2009 were taken for analysis.

This period of conflict was taken for analysis because Conflict in general will be divided into three phases. They are pre violence, Violence and Post violence. News coverage during pre and post violence is negligible. The news during post violence phase tends to convey about the negative, failed projects, corruption and mismanagement. The news coverage about the conflict will be more only during the violence phase and so the period from January 1st to 31st May 2009 was taken for analysis because violence mounted only during this period.
The online news sites of “www.thehindu.com” and “www.thenewindianexpress.com” were chosen for analysis for a period from 1st January to 31st May 2009 since the fall of THE LTTE in Sri Lanka took place during this period. The online news sites were chosen because ‘The Hindu” has a special correspondent who reports the news from the war front. Whereas “The New Indian Express” shares the news collected through news agencies, So the researcher felt that there will be difference in framing of the news between the online sites of the two English newspapers. The news, views, the headline, the source, Pull quotes from the above mentioned news sites were taken for analysis.

The tool selected for analysis is framing analysis. The prime objective of this study is to understand and examine how media frames the news about the “fall of the LTTE in Sri Lanka and to understand how media perceive Indo Sri Lankan relationship, and the ethnic issue”.

To gain knowledge in the field of, conflict news reporting, nature of conflict, its intractability and also in framing techniques, Literature in this area was reviewed by the researcher. Literature Review helped to focus and refine the research question by articulating the knowledge gap.

Review of Literature

The researcher reviewed books, journals, research articles, blogs and many web sites. Sri Lanka being India’s neighbor, there are many books journals and research articles about Indo Sri Lankan relationship, India’s foreign Policy towards Sri Lanka were available. Researches done on war news analysis using Framing technique were also reviewed by the researcher. The articles, books journals, documents pertaining to the topic are reviewed by the researcher some of them are listed below.
In the research paper entitled "Framing as a theory of Media effects" by Dietram A. Scheufele, defines the "Research on framing" is characterized by theoretical and empirical vagueness. This is due to the lack of a commonly shared theoretical model underlying framing research. In this paper he systematizes the fragmented approaches to framing in political communication and integrates them into a comprehensive model.

The work on "A Tale of Two Wars: Framing Analysis of Online News Sites in Coalition Countries and the Arab World during the Iraq War by Daniela V Dimitrova, Colleen Connolly-Ahern" describes the Iraq War as a defining media event. This study used quantitative content analysis to explore the websites of news media in the United States and the United Kingdom, as well as Egypt and Qatar, examining the frames used by news media in their coverage of the conflict. The voices heard and unheard throughout the coverage are analyzed in this research.

Semantic framing in the build up to the Iraq war Fox v CNN and other US broadcast news programs by Mark Harmon and Robert Muenchien. The authors conduct an exhaustive analysis of broadcast news transcripts from the one-year anniversary of the 9/11 terror attacks to the US and the Congress’s authorization of use of force against Iraq. News organizations overall used framing words and phrases complementary to the Bush Administration push for war.

Metaphor and War: The Metaphor System Used to Justify War in the Gulf George Lakoff, Linguistics Department, UC Berkeley In this study use of metaphor in war news analysis was discussed it state that ,It is important to distinguish what is metaphorical from what is not. Pain, dismemberment, death, starvation, and the death and injury of loved ones are not metaphorical. Military and international relations strategists do
use a cost-benefit analysis metaphor. It comes about through a metaphor that is taken as definitional by most strategic thinkers in the area of international politics.

*The Journal of the South East Asia Research center Framing Analysis of a Conflict: War / Peace Journalism for Communications and Humanities.* Framing Analysis of a Conflict: War / Peace Journalism Nicole Yang Lai Fong Taylor’s College, Petaling Jaya, Malaysia. This article was based on a content analysis of news items from Sin Chew daily, the Chinese daily newspaper with the largest circulation in Malaysia. This study investigated the extent of coverage as well as the actualization of war/peace journalism frames in Sin Chew Daily’s coverage of the keris wielding incident in 2007 and subsequent apology by Hishammuddin in 2008. The theoretical framework was built on war/peace journalism and framing theories.

*Daniela V.Dimitrova, Lynda Lee Kaid, Andrew Paul Williams, and Kaye D. Trammell in their work War on the Web The Immediate News Framing of Gulf War II* examined the immediate coverage of the 2003 Iraq War on the home pages of 246 international news Web sites. The results show that most of these online publications provided coverage and made Gulf War II their top story only hours after the war began. However, foreign news sites framed the war differently than U.S. sites. Domestic news sites focused more heavily on the military conflict, human interest, and media self-coverage while the responsibility frame was more common for international sites, also online news coverage in countries officially supporting the war was more positive than in the countries opposing the war. The implications of these differences are discussed, and examples to illustrate the differences are offered.
The research articles like *The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy: A Decision-Making ShubhamSrivastava* explain that “the media remain low-key and timid in their reporting on the political crisis”. The paper discusses how media is involved in all stages of foreign policy formulation processes and that political leaders take the media into consideration in its national and international aspects. The involvement of the media in this decision-making process is complex. The paper develops and presents a framework for the analysis of foreign policy decision as well as reflecting the role of the press and TV in the formulation stage of policy-making.

The research also concentrates on the ethnic crisis and civil war and the books and research papers reviewed by the researcher about ethnic crisis and civil war are *Manekshaw Paper no. 22, 2010 Sri Lanka’s Ethnic Conflict: How Eelam War IV, Centre for Land Warfare Studies victory through vision CLAWs Centre for Land Warfare Studies, Brig Gurmeetkanwal (retd) Managing editor : Dr N Manoharan Deputy editor : MrSamarjitGhosh Copy editor : MsRuchiBaid*.

*Paper prepared for presentation at the International Association for Mass Communication Research*, The American University in Cairo, Egypt in 2006 Media Coverage of Conflict in Jaffna (Sri Lanka) Arul Aram In this paper he discussed about the ethnic crisis news coverage of Jaffna newspapers using War/Peace Journalism.

*Prof. V.Suryanarayan, Center for South Asian Studies*, discussed about the basic realities, New Delhi’s Ignorance, cultural and political interaction, Tamil Nadu and ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, Rajiv Gandhi’s assassination and after, resurgence of interest in Tamil Nadu.
The researcher also viewed the blogs written by Thuppahi, a Sri Lankan scholar who writes about many important issues taking place in Sri Lanka in his blogs, which was very useful for the researcher to do research about the Sri Lankan ethnic crisis.

The book written by G.HPeiris “Twilight of the Tigers” by Oxford University Press discussed about the peace efforts and power struggles in Sri Lanka tabulated the schedule of Peace talks between the Sri Lankan government and the THE LTTE, key macroeconomic indicators, destruction caused by tsunami, voters turnout, Un Intervention in internal conflict.

Dissanayake’s war or Peace in Sri Lanka (Mumbai2004) gives an account of Tamils expectations and Sri Lankan action which went wrong. He conducts research on the happenings in Sri Lanka against Tamils and the efforts of Indian intervention to bring peace and normalcy through ISLA in resolving the ethnic issue.

J.N. Dixit’s External Affairs: Cross Border relations (ed) NewDelhi: 2004) is a compilation of research papers which is a comprehensive study on the policies of India and its neighboring countries.

P. Ramaswamy’s New Delhi and Sri Lanka: Four Decades of Politics and Diplomacy (Ahmadabad: 1987) is a research work which gives details on Sinhalese and Tamils relations and causes for the differences. He quotes the course of events and even prior to the independence and the sequence of factors has precipitated to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. S.u. Kodikara’s Indo Ceylon Relations since Independence 9Colombo: 1965)
To do the study on war news analysis it is essential to know about the techniques of war news analysis so the researcher reviewed the web site, *Reporting on Conflict A userguide to the beyond intractability*. In this web site essays on Role of the media in Conflicts, High profile conflicts, and checklist to consider when covering conflicts nature of conflicts were all discussed.

With the knowledge gained from the above books, articles, blogs, web sites, and research papers, motivated the researcher to formulate the following.

**The significance of the study**

This study is important for the promotion of better understanding of *Media literacy*. Understanding the media text is very important in this communication era. News media can also serve as a tool for *Conflict Resolution*. How the media Frame the conflict news may shape public opinion and so it is important to study the *Framing of Conflict News*. Sri Lanka being our neighbor the news about the internal conflict in Sri Lanka and the news about the fall of the LTTE may have direct or indirect reaction among the people of India especially among people of Tamil Nadu, and so the framing of news about the fall of the LTTE in Sri Lanka by the news sites [www.thehindu.com](http://www.thehindu.com) and [www.thenewindianexpress.com](http://www.thenewindianexpress.com) were taken for analysis.

**Research Questions**

Q1. What are the frames present in the news stories about the fall of the LTTE in Sri Lanka from 1st January to 31st May 2009 in online news sites [www.thehindu.com](http://www.thehindu.com) and [www.thenewindianexpress.com](http://www.thenewindianexpress.com)
Q2. Which are the dominant frames in the news about the fall of the LTTE in Sri Lanka from 1\textsuperscript{st} January to 31\textsuperscript{st} May 2009 and how the news reflects the foreign policy of India toward Sri Lanka?

**Hypothesis:**

H1. The presence of “Military-Conflict frame” is more dominant than the presence of “Human interest” frame.

H2. The framing of the news about the fall of the LTTE in Sri Lanka in the newssites “www.thehindu.com” and “www.thenewindianexpress.com” from 1\textsuperscript{st} January to 31\textsuperscript{st} May 2009 reflects the foreign policy of India towards Sri Lanka.

**Aims of the Study**

To observe and analyze the framing of the news about the fall of the LTTE in Sri Lanka in the news sites The Hindu and The New Indian Express and to find out the different frames, used to describe the fall of the LTTE in Sri Lanka and

To find out the dominant frame over the other Frames in presenting the news about the fall of the LTTE in Sri Lanka and how the foreign policy of India towards Sri Lanka influenced the news framing.

**Chapterisation**

The first chapter deals with the need and importance of Mass Communication, the significance and the role of media, the importance of online news sites, aims and Objectives of the study and review of Literature.

The second chapter deals about various theories and the role of Media in Conflict Reporting and Frame Analysis.
The various stages of Sri Lankan ethnic crisis and the Foreign policy of India towards Sri Lanka and the LTTE are discussed in the **Third Chapter**. The graphs describing the stages of war are presented. The *Rise and growth of the LTTE* is discussed in this chapter.

The presentation of news about fall of *THE LTTE in Sri Lanka* in the news sites, [www.thehindu.com](http://www.thehindu.com) and [www.thenewindianexpress.com](http://www.thenewindianexpress.com) are analyzed. The presence of dominant frame over the other frames is studied in the **Fourth chapter**.

The *findings are interpreted* and the hypothesis is proved in the **concluding chapter**.

**Methodology:**

The researcher applied historical, descriptive and analytical methods by using both primary and secondary sources to study the fall of the LTTE in Sri Lanka for a period from 1st January to 31st May 2009. The primary sources are agreements and parliamentary debates, and unpublished documents. The secondary sources are books, journals, periodicals, unpublished articles and newspaper reports. The news frames are grouped in a sequential pattern using *conflict news analysis technique*.

**Limitations:**

This study restricts to analyze other type of media like print, audio-visual and film and other debates which describe the fall of the LTTE in Sri Lanka from 1st January to 31st May 2009. Online news has an edge over other news medium because of its interactive nature and also for its universal reach. Though the period chosen for analysis was limited to 1st January to 31st May 2009 violence reached its peak and the LTTE was controlled by the Sri Lankan army during this period.
Review of Literature helped researcher to understand the theories of frame analysis, nature of war, rise and growth of militant organization in Sri Lanka, India’s external affairs policy towards Sri Lanka. The researcher summarizes the theories in the second chapter.
Chapter I

End Notes

1) ¹Roger D.Wimmer and Joseph. R. DominickMass Media research : An Introduction- 2010 Wardsworth Publication.( USA)

2) ¹Mcnelly and Izcaray;Navasky cited in Zetize reporting conflict stage P.42

3) ¹Malek Cate, Conflict Information Consortium: University of Colorado. USA, p.125


6) ¹Seow and Maslog Framing Analysis Himalayam publication page 120(2005)

7) ¹Entman, Framing Analysis Kalyani Publishing P. 167

8) ¹W.Presis, Barbara Mac gayl, Nancy Burrell: Mike Allen. Jennings Bryant Mass Media Effects Research 2007 Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. USA

9) ¹Ibid.p.168

• ¹Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph. R. Dominick. Mass Media research: An Introduction- 2010 Wardsworth Publication. (USA)

• ²Mcnelly and Izcaray Navasky cited in Zetize reporting conflict stage P. 42

• ³Malek Cate, Conflict Information Consortium: University of Colorado. USA

• ⁴William Gamson, Talking Politics: Cambridge University Press New York 1992


• ⁶Seow and Maslog Framing Analysis Himalayam publication page 120 (2005)

• ⁷Entman, Framing Analysis Kalyani Publishing P. 167

• ⁸W. Presis, Barbara Mac gayl, Nancy Burrell: Mike Allen. Jennings Bryant Mass Media Effects Research 2007 Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. USA
• 9Ibid.p.168