

1997

# Framing the demise of Manley's government : the case of the Jamaica Daily Gleaner

Jean c. Woolcock  
*San Jose State University*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd\\_theses](https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses)

---

## Recommended Citation

Woolcock, Jean c., "Framing the demise of Manley's government : the case of the Jamaica Daily Gleaner" (1997). *Master's Theses*. 1483.  
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31979/etd.3zpj-49rx>  
[https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd\\_theses/1483](https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses/1483)

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Master's Theses and Graduate Research at SJSU ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of SJSU ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@sjsu.edu](mailto:scholarworks@sjsu.edu).

## **INFORMATION TO USERS**

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

**The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.** Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

# **UMI**

A Bell & Howell Information Company  
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA  
313/761-4700 800/521-0600



FRAMING THE DEMISE OF MANLEY'S  
GOVERNMENT:  
THE CASE OF THE JAMAICA DAILY GLEANER

A Thesis  
Presented to  
The Faculty of the School of Journalism  
and Mass Communications

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Science

by  
Jean C. Woolcock  
May 1997

**UMI Number: 1384732**

**Copyright 1997 by  
Woolcock, Jean C.**

**All rights reserved.**

---

**UMI Microform 1384732  
Copyright 1997, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.**

**This microform edition is protected against unauthorized  
copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

---

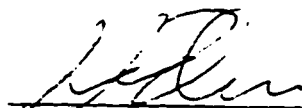
**UMI**  
300 North Zeeb Road  
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

© 1997

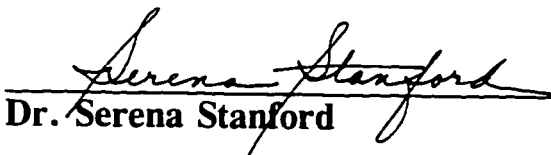
Jean C. Woolcock

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

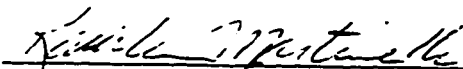
**APPROVED FOR THE SCHOOL OF  
JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATIONS**



**Dr. Zhou He**



**Dr. Serena Stanford**



**Dr. Kathleen Martinelli**

**APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY**



## ABSTRACT

### FRAMING THE DEMISE OF MANLEY'S GOVERNMENT: THE CASE OF THE JAMAICA DAILY GLEANER

by Jean C. Woolcock

This study contends that *The Jamaica Daily Gleaner* (*Gleaner*) played a significant role in the demise of the Manley government between 1972 - 1980. Between 1978 - 1980, in particular, the Jamaican society was deeply involved in a contentious debate between free market capitalism and democratic socialism as models of national development. The *Gleaner*, a privately owned newspaper, representing entrenched capitalist interests, used its enormous influence to frame the debate as the struggle for ideological hegemony ensued.

Using framing analysis as a methodological approach, this study shows how the *Gleaner*, as an instrument of the elite, framed the debate to create specific effects on the public and how these effects became manifest in the general election in 1980. In that election, the Manley government suffered a humiliating defeat. Because the *Gleaner* consistently emphasized negative aspects of the Manley government, the role of the *Gleaner* in that defeat cannot be underestimated.



To my son, J. Andrew Woolcock, III, in the hope that your achievements will be far greater than mine

## Acknowledgments

My sincere gratitude goes to Dr. Stanford for her help, not only with the thesis proposal, but throughout the process. I greatly admire Dr. Stanford for her intelligence and patience. Her dedication, professionalism and integrity are commendable. Thanks to Dr. He for his time, direction and comments. Most importantly, his patience and understanding are greatly appreciated. My sincere thanks also goes to Dr. Martinelli, and to Dr. Stover especially in appreciation of her pep talks. My special and sincere gratitude goes to my husband Dr. Joseph Woolcock, who has been a tremendous source of support and valued guidance. He remained a fountain of inspiration and encouragement for the duration of this thesis.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .....	iv
Dedication .....	v
Acknowledgments .....	vi
Table of Contents .....	vii
CHAPTER	PAGE
1 INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF PURPOSE .....	1
2 THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXT .....	6
3 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE .....	11
4 METHOD .....	24
Sample .....	24
Frames .....	25
Units of Analysis and Measurement .....	33
Intercoder Reliability .....	33
5 RESULTS .....	35
List of Tables .....	36
List of Figures .....	37
6 DISCUSSION .....	46
Further Research .....	47
REFERENCES .....	49
APPENDICES .....	53 - 55

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1

PAGE 36

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1

PAGE 37

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The central contention of this study is that *The Jamaican Daily Gleaner* (*Gleaner*) played a significant role in the demise of the Manley Government during the period 1972-1980. Between 1978 and 1980, in particular, the Jamaican society was deeply engaged in a contentious debate between proponents of democratic socialism and free market capitalism as models of national development. The *Gleaner*, representing entrenched capitalist interests, utilized its enormous ideological hegemony to focus the debate on some deeply held negative assumptions about socialism as a model of national development, by equating it with communism. Since the *Gleaner* became the central medium through which the debate occurred, it was able to set the agenda and frame the issues thus engendering and spreading negative beliefs of democratic socialism in the minds of the Jamaican masses. As the debate over contending models of national development ensued, the Jamaican society became increasingly divided, not only along traditional political party lines, but also along social class affiliations. A coalition comprising private sector interests (the free market) in the distributive trade, manufacturing, real estate and banking, factions of professional groups (lawyers, doctors, nurses, teachers) and international capital, opposed the democratic socialist model as a foreign ideology antithetical to the Jamaican experience. This coalition along with elements of traditional Jamaica Labor

Party (JLP) supporters and petty bourgeois factions coalesced and challenged the government. The pro-democratic socialist faction, on the other hand, comprising elements of manufacturing, international capital, real estate, distributive trade, professional groups (lawyers, doctors, nurses, teachers), finance and banking, certain intellectuals at the University of the West Indies, and significant elements of the masses pushed for a change in economic development and social class arrangements.

The debate and attendant social, economic, and political deterioration that surfaced in the period 1978 to 1980, deeply divided the Jamaican society and led to an “organic crisis” (Hoare, Smith, 1971). Fearful that widespread social class discontent and the threat of “communism” would curtail their freedom and property rights, many Jamaicans sold their assets at below market value and fled to the United States (U.S.) and Canada.

The relationship between the pro-capitalist and pro-socialist factions was antagonistic as they struggled for political hegemony in Jamaica during the 1970's. Given what appeared to be a strong support of the pro-capitalist faction by the *Gleaner*, it was not surprising how difficult it was for the pro-socialist faction to get its message through that medium, and when it did, the message was permeated with innuendo, facetiousness and distortion. Against this background, and with the strong support of the Manley administration and its pro-socialist faction, one of its leading entrepreneurs launched *The Jamaica Daily News (Daily News)* in May 1973. This newspaper was to become the medium through which the pro-socialist ideology would be disseminated to compete with the *Gleaner* for the hearts and minds of the populace.

The *Daily News* was, however, short lived largely because it failed to command both the sponsorship (advertising) and readership enjoyed by the *Gleaner*. In fact, even during its short history of seven and a half years (May 1973 to November 1980), the *Daily News*, according to Stone and Brown (1977) had a circulation of some 30,000 readers compared to the *Gleaner's* 154,000 in 1976. The *Gleaner*, which was in existence for over 100 years, was owned by the Ashenheim family, one of the celebrated members of the elite class in the Jamaican society and a traditional supporter of the JLP, the pro-capitalist faction.

The closure of the *Daily News* affected the dissemination of Manley's message: his message could not get out. Even before its closure, Stone (1982), in an opinion poll conducted in October 1980, showed that 25% of respondents in the metropolitan Kingston area and 33% in other areas regarded the *Gleaner* as the most reliable news source. The *Daily News*, with its pro-People's National Party's (PNP) position scored 9% in the Kingston area and 6% in other parts of the country. The *Gleaner's* high circulation was therefore unencumbered, and according to Stone (1981), another opinion poll in September 1980, before Manley lost the general election, showed that support for the Opposition JLP was 48% compared to the PNP's 38% with 14% uncommitted. Stone (1981) attributed the largest swings to the JLP in the October 1980 election as occurring in the category of skilled and semi-skilled manual wage labor although the PNP's largest voter support was in this class. Other groupings to which he also attributed the large swings were the unemployed, unskilled labor and white-collar workers.



Stephens and Stephens (1986), in their analysis of democratic socialism in Jamaica, identify the state of the economy as the most important reason for Manley's loss of political support, followed by violence and the fear of communism. Further, they contend that the *Gleaner* played a role in this process. Stone's opinion polls show changes in public opinion, and based on the readership of the *Gleaner* and the people who regard the newspaper as reliable, he suggests that the *Gleaner* played a role in Manley's political demise. Stephens and Stephens (1986) and Stone (1981) seem to concur that the *Gleaner* played an important role in the political discourse during the period under study.

Agenda-setting as a research design has been used by several scholars in studying how the media set the agenda for public discourse. In the case of this study, agenda-setting as a research design poses some limitations because audience data is unavailable and it is now difficult to backtrack such data. More importantly, however, because it is not what people think about, but how they think, framing becomes much more significant as a research design and of crucial importance in identifying:

- 1) What were the issues the *Gleaner* focused on during the period 1972-1980?
- 2) How did the *Gleaner* frame the issues that might have a framing impact on the public during the period under study?
- 3) What image(s) did the *Gleaner* project of the Manley government over time?

From what is known about the history of Jamaican politics, the eight years under study were divided into three periods. The first was from February 1972 to December 1972, when Manley and his Peoples' National Party (PNP) were voted into office. The second was from January 1973 to December 1976, when the Manley government ruled the island for the first term and won its second election. The third was from January 1977 to October 1980, when the Manley government lost its popularity and was voted out of office in the 1980 election.

This study seeks to answer these questions and will incorporate them into two hypotheses:

- 1) The Gleaner would use more frames such as societal liability, social harmony and economic progress during the 1972 and 1973-1976 periods than during the 1977-1980 period.
- 2) The Gleaner would use more frames such as social chaos, economic stagnation, democratic socialism and government liability during the 1977-1980 period than during the 1972 and 1973-1976 periods.

Chapter II of this study will situate the socio-economic and political developments of the period 1972-1980 into the broader context of Jamaica's political economy. This analysis is essential to an understanding of the conditions that gave rise to those developments and to identifying key indicators of the disequilibrium that existed in the society. Chapter III reviews the literature on framing, while Chapter IV lays out the method. The results are presented in Chapter V, and Chapter VI is a discussion which includes implications of the findings.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

When the Manley government took office in 1972, it inherited an economy that was in serious disarray and a social crisis loomed large on its horizon. Although the decades of the 1950's and 1960's were marked by considerable economic expansion and foreign capital inflows, these were not sustained in the 1970's and 1980's. Agriculture, which had been the mainstay of the economy, declined in output from 24% in 1950 to 7% in 1969. On the other hand, bauxite-alumina, which accounted for only 2.5% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1953, rose to 8% of GDP by 1958 and by the end of the 1960's accounted for approximately 11% of total output. It also accounted for the largest share of foreign capital investment in the Jamaican economy during this period (Boyd, 1988).

Unemployment, which began to decline in the 1950's and early 1960, reversed itself by the end of that decade, climbing to 23% by 1972. This occurred in spite of massive labor migration to Britain, the United States and Canada during the early 1950's to 1960's.

Another major element of disequilibrium that was evident in the Jamaican economy during this period was manifested in its balance of payments. While the economy enjoyed benefits that accrued from significant investments mainly in bauxite-alumina and also in tourism, the governments of the day seem to have

lacked a vision of the future in investing in other productive enterprises that would generate economic expansion, income and employment and reduce the dependency on bauxite-alumina exports and on the importing of consumer goods. The result was that imports grew from J\$44.8 million in 1950 to J\$116.6 million in 1956. Consumer goods accounted for 44% of total imports in 1958 and 42% in 1968. Food imports alone accounted for 21% in 1958 and 16.2% in 1968 (Boyd, 1988).

Income distribution was another major element of disequilibrium in the Jamaican economy. According to Ahiram (1964), between 1958 and 1972, the income of the lower 40% of households fell from 8.2% to approximately 7% of aggregate income in 1972, while the income of the top 5% increased from 30.2% in 1958 to about 37% in 1972. Girvan (1967) in his study of income distribution in Jamaica argued that the average urban household's income was 2.4 times the average rural household income, and this inequality was much more pronounced in rural than in urban areas.

The period 1972-1980, often referred to as the "Manley years," saw significant exacerbation of these earlier problems. Between 1972 to 1976, the first term of the Manley government, an economic program was formulated. It was designed to increase employment, improve real wages, and reduce poverty and the social and economic disparities that afflicted the masses. This program emerged in direct response to the enormous social and economic inequalities of the 1950's and 1960's which the Manley government inherited in 1972. In its haste to respond to this critical situation, government's revenues did not

match its expenditures, and this resulted not only in an increasing budget deficit, but also in significant foreign borrowing, high inflation, and contraction in production.

The fiscal years 1972/73-1976/77 highlighted government's enormous expenditures, which grew at an annual rate of 32%. As a percent of GDP, government expenditures grew from 25% in 1972 to 46% by 1976, and the gross budget deficit increased from 5% to 24% of GDP in 1976/77 (Boyd, 1988). The budget deficit grew at an average rate of 60% per annum between 1972/73 -1976/77.

With the adoption of democratic socialism as its model of development during this period, the Manley government pursued populist policies in education and social welfare that were designed to mitigate many of the inequalities that were endemic to the society. The programs emerging out of these policies were financed by an imposition of a levy on the bauxite-alumina industry, domestic and foreign borrowing. Both domestic and foreign borrowing grew significantly between 1970 and 1980. But the imposition of the bauxite levy had an immediate negative effect on the economy as the bauxite companies cut back on production and curtailed investments at a time when investments in that industry were expanding worldwide.

The cutback on production in the bauxite-alumina industry reduced export earnings by 14.6% and precipitated a foreign exchange crisis. This crisis exhausted the country's international reserves, recording a deficit of US\$302.6 million in 1976, which was equivalent to 10% of GDP (Boyd, 1988). As the crisis in the bauxite-alumina industry deepened and the country's foreign

exchange worsened, it became increasingly difficult for the government to maintain its level of expenditures. Assistance was sought from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and a two-year standby facility was agreed upon in December 1976. But shortly after the election in December 1976, the victorious, Manley government reneged on the agreement and undertook new policy measures aimed at reversing negative trends in the economy. These new measures devalued the Jamaican dollar by nearly 40%. Wages were frozen, and the government embarked on a program to take over a number of major enterprises, including acquiring an interest in the bauxite companies.

Although the government entered into several new arrangements with the IMF after canceling the 1976 agreement, the conditions under which these agreements were made had an adverse impact on the national economy. Further devaluation of the Jamaican dollar, and tax increases on a number of commodities at the same time that there was a wage restraint, wiped out many of the gains in income generated by earlier policies. Increasingly, it became difficult for many low income and even some middle income wage earners to cope with the cost of living despite government subsidies on certain food items. Associated with these deteriorating economic conditions were significant increases in violent gun crimes throughout the country; these crimes caused fear in the minds of everyone, especially the wealthy, middle, and upper-middle classes. Deteriorating economic and social conditions and fear that the Manley Government was communist, and Manley's own statement that there were ". . . five flights a day to Miami . . ." (Manley, 1976) may have played a major role in the migration to the United States and Canada of many of the upper class. Many of

these people sold their homes cheaply, bought expensive United States dollars on the black market, and fled. As a result, real estate prices fell significantly, creating a boom for the middle class and those who could make initial down payments.

As the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist political rhetoric of the government became increasingly strident, its foreign policy began to reflect such ideology in its support of liberation struggles in Cuba, Latin America, and Africa. The support of liberation struggles abroad combined with an increasingly strident political rhetoric at home was met with a cool reception by the United States State Department and the White House. The Gleaner played up these differences, which lent increasing credibility to the position held by the pro-capitalist faction led by the JLP that the Manley government was communist. Added to this perception was an increasing belief that the government was unable to control some of its "radical" cabinet ministers and the "extreme left" in the party. As the economic conditions deteriorated, factions within the commercial sector that were hostile to the government tended to hoard some basic commodities, which further incited the masses. It was not unusual for members of this class to storm supermarkets or rob them in search of scarce food items. At the same time, the pro-capitalist faction led by the JLP exploited the crisis both domestically and internationally, aligning itself closely first with the Reagan campaign and subsequently with its administration after defeating the Manley government in 1980.

## CHAPTER III

### LITERATURE REVIEW

The concept of framing is now used more and more frequently by media critics and communication scholars. It is defined by Gamson (1989) as "a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue" (p.33). Frames can give meaning to details in a news story by arranging them in a coherent way to emphasize particular facts; they can also de-emphasize or neglect other stories.

Framing, in a sense, acts as a sorter. Goffman (1974) also discusses framing in a similar way. He makes reference to Bateson's work in this field, to his use of "unseriousness and seriousness" and to the notion of "bracketing" what is usable and unusable (p.7).

"Bracketing" is synonymous with punctuating. Bateson (1972) suggests that people punctuate social episodes by placing what they are doing within frames (pp. 184-88). Gitlin (1980) describes the framing of an issue as influenced by which pieces of information are included or excluded. Hence, a story can be projected or ignored by editors or journalists.

Information within the frame is essentially separated from the outside information. This idea is further articulated by Pearce (1994). He suggests that the imposition of a frame stipulates that what is included is set off from the outside. Conversely, what is inside excludes the outside and derives its



meaning from the frame itself. This concept intertwines with Bateson's (1972) definition of frames as a metacommunication about how one should interpret what is (said and) done in the episode. The emphasis here is not so much on what is done in the frame, but on how it is done. In this way, the emphasis is not on what the public thinks about as in agenda-setting, but on how the public thinks.

Essentially, framing is a collection of categories or strips. Goffman (1974) refers to a frame as a "rendering" or tearing apart into pieces or strips. For him, frames function to make "what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful" (p.21).

Schiller (1981) uses the same term "bracketing," previously used by Bateson, not to define framing, but to suggest that an invisible frame "brackets news reports" as a certain type of public understanding (p.2). It would therefore seem reasonable to assume that framing is synonymous with slanting the news. Selection of the pieces to be included and excluded, to be emphasized and de-emphasized affects and influences politics. This is the same point made by Graber (1989) in her suggestion that journalists create their audiences' reality by framing content, which is then interpreted and judged within a certain context. Gramson (1989) notes that the issue is suggested and specific facts are divulged about the issue, while other facts are omitted.

This corresponds to Graber's (1989) suggestion of an interpretive background and Gitlin's (1980) suggestion of patterns of interpretation. This is also equivalent to setting a tone through the selection of strips or frames, which derive their meaning from the interpretive background and patterns of

interpretation, which set the tone for how content is viewed.

Another school of thought supports the media giving issues a political "frame." Williams, Shapiro, and Cutbirth (1980) in a study on the 1980 presidential campaign find that when the media give issues a political "frame," they are better able to set personal agendas as compared to when the media are simply communicating about the day's events without relating them to the campaign. This study points out that a campaign agenda of issues is more effective than the traditional aggregate media agenda when setting personal agendas, at least in a presidential campaign.

For other researchers, framing is seen as a main idea, a launching pad. Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss and Ghanem (1991) posit that a frame could also be seen as an organizing structure or a main idea on which a house or story is built. The building or story evolves into the issue. Hence Tankard, et al. definition of a frame is a central organizing idea, which supplies a context. They suggest that through framing, the media set a tone for an event or issue.

Newswork uses frames to set the bases for discussions. In her discussion of news coverage and the sociology of knowledge, Tuchman (1978), in her book *Making News*, used Goffman's (1974) notion of frame as an organizing principle for the analysis of newswork. She recounts coming home from school to watch the 1954 Army-McCarthy hearings and to later hear the adults "discuss the issues at family gatherings" (p.ix). She reaffirmed that knowledge "is always socially constructed" (p.217). For Tuchman, knowledge organizes experience and shapes meaning. It is the telling of stories of social life; it is a source of power and hegemony.

This hegemonic view is also supported by Rachlin. In his book, *News as Hegemonic Reality*, Rachlin (1988) set out to observe whether "consequential frames . . . originate not in organizational or professional concerns, but instead within political culture, society's dominant world view, the hegemonic order" (p.3). He used the American press coverage of the Soviet shooting of Korean Airlines Flight 007 (KAL 007) and compared it to the Canadian press coverage to show that the coverage did not reflect objective presentations. In the presentations, he noted inconsistencies uncharacteristic of what should be freedom of the press in democratic societies.

Also noted was the deliberate downplaying of the issue. Rachlin wrote that it was as long as two weeks after the incident before *Time* presented a one-page article of ten paragraphs. Even then, the magazine failed to provide any hint about the "emotional involvement, concern, or crisis" (p.3). This downplaying of that issue parallels Bateson's (1972) and Gitlin's (1980) findings on punctuating, including or excluding, also referred to as slanting.

Framing is also ignoring the issue, not presenting a sense of urgency, by delaying and ignoring. The *Time*'s delay in presenting the incident of KAL 007 is a case in point. Rachlin therefore concludes that a hegemonic world view determines media frames. He argues that democratic ideals can be realized only when the press rises above "the parochial concerns of individual journalists, [and] particular organizations . . . and recognizes its own location in the totality of social life" (p.134).

Framing suggests subjectivity. In an earlier discussion by Schiller (1981), his use of the term "bracketing" was shown as parallel to slanting. The same argument about the lack of objectivity is advanced in Rachlin's treatment of framing. Robert Entam (1989) also concurs with Rachlin. In his work, *Democracy Without Citizens*, Entam highlights the paradox of the notion of the "free press," which is supposed to contribute to democracy in the United States. In fact, he states that "America's 'free press' cannot be free" (p. 3). He describes, instead, a restricted press, one reliant upon journalists and political elites for information: "the slant of their coverage," he concludes, "is politically potent."

If the news is not objective, and if the slant is politically potent, then it seems reasonable to say that accountability can also be shifted. The question asked by Shanto Iyengar (1991) in his study, *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*, goes to the root of the problem of accountability. Rhetorical as the question may seem, Iyengar responds by drawing attention to the preponderance of episodic framing in television news. By portraying the news as discrete events and instances, he maintains that the public gets a distorted view of political responsibility. His central argument is that ". . . By diverting attention from societal and governmental responsibility, episodic framing glosses over national problems and allows public officials to ignore problems" (p.143). Here again, one gets another sample of the potency of political involvement in the framing of the contents of the news. According to Iyengar, framing at its most general level refers "to subtle alterations in the statement or presentation of judgment and choice problems" (1991, p. 11).

Occasionally, the reverse works, and this collusion between journalists and political elites is not very evident. In *The Battle for Public Opinion*, Lang and Lang (1983) use the concept of framing to show how the press entered a political controversy, Watergate, and expanded it as a major crisis of confidence in the Nixon administration. The book traces changing public perceptions over the Watergate issue. Using data collected in polls on shifts in attitudes and newspaper content analysis, the authors were able to include framing as a vital part of the agenda-building process. The press, they note, was very involved in the initial stage of Watergate, when Woodward and Bernstein of the *Washington Post* first connected the Watergate burglars to the Nixon campaign committee. At that time, according to Lang and Lang, early media reports made the public aware of the hidden dimensions of the break-in. While they did not contend that the media reports were the only factors in Nixon's political demise, they concluded that without the media, which sponsored and reported polls, there would have been no real public opinion on Watergate.

The foregoing reference to the Watergate issue positions framing as a vital part of the agenda-building process. It is therefore important to discuss this process and its connection to frame analysis. Cohen (1963) posits that while studies on the impact of the media go back several decades, the term "agenda-setting" is more recent. He argued that while the press may not tell us what to think, it is very successful in telling us what to think about. This formulation suggested that what the media considered newsworthy was what had mass effects on audiences. Termed the agenda-setting influence of the press, this

perspective on mass communication effects underscores the role of the press in determining which issues, events and persons gain attention.

This notion is supported by McCombs and Becker. In their book, *Using Mass Communication Theory*, McCombs and Becker (1979) argued that in bringing the issues to the forefront, the press, in the very way it selects and positions the news, also brings its own priorities to the public, thus making its priorities the public's priorities. They also made the point, as did Lang and Lang, that it is not typical for the public's reactions or responses to be directly and immediately observed: "Only on rare occasions is it possible to document a behavioral response" (p.122). McCombs and Becker suggested that the Orson Welles' broadcast had such an effect when people fled their homes in panic. They felt that while the responses to the news may not be so dramatic, by making people aware, a news story can provoke feelings. However, their thinking was that ". . . usually some time passes before that decision is translated into any overt behavior" (p. 122).

Clearly, agenda-setting is more concerned with what people think about and not so much with how they think. This would, therefore, be the point of departure of agenda-setting with frame analysis, which extends beyond agenda-setting to examine how people think. In the past, the focus was on quantitative content analysis studies on what events are presented in the media. More recently, however, there is a thrust toward qualitative research, a move toward more comprehensive studies based on how the media present issues and how people think about such issues. Tankard, et al. (1991) posit the theory that mass communication research needs a method to examine not just what events are

reported in the news media but how the events are reported. It is no wonder that Shoemaker and Reese (1991) argue for qualitative research to examine the nature of coverage. Also arguing for framing analysis were Pan and Kosicki (1993). In studying the American political process, they agreed that news is carefully constructed and should therefore be examined by framing analysis so that evidence of the news media's framing of issues in news texts may be gathered.

Also in support of framing analysis are Cutbirth, Shapiro and Williams (1983). They contend that as a methodological tool, framing is a departure from the original McCombs and Shaw's study. That study (of 1972) argued that agenda-setting is restricted to salience rather than to direction or intensity of attitude. Cutbirth et al. argue, instead, that the development of awareness results from the media's presentation of information within a series of frames or contexts.

The concept of framing can best be understood in terms of an early study of perceptions of the MacArthur parade in Chicago during the Korean War. Cutbirth et al. (1983) note that one group of observers watched the parade in person, directly experiencing the event. A second group viewed the event on television. Questions pertaining to perception of the parade revealed many differences between the two groups. They conclude that how an event is portrayed affects how it is perceived.

Similarly, the way in which the media present information influences the audience's reaction to it. For Cutbirth et al., the state of the economy was the most significant issue in the 1980 campaign. They examined 158 economy-

related news stories broadcast between September 15 and October 31, 1980 by the three major television networks: ABC, NBC and CBS (1983). The analysis was guided by three questions: To what degree was economic information presented as related to the 1980 presidential election? Was the link provided by the network or was it part of the content? and Was the campaign frame presented in an ethical manner? The study found that networks used a double (campaign-economy) frame between 15% and 20% of the time. In these double frames, ABC itself presented the campaign link 7 of 8 times, NBC, 7 of 10 times and CBS, 6 of 11 times. Analyzing whether the economic information denegated a particular candidate, the study reported 4 ethical violations in ABC's 8 dual frames, 4 in NBC's 10 frames and only 2 in CBS's 11 frames. They conclude that as the media present information, they are afforded an opportunity to influence the manner in which their audience processes and reacts to the information.

In a related study of the effects of framing, Davis (1995) explores how the framing of environmental communication influences attitudes and environmentally responsible behaviors, such as recycling. Communications were framed in terms of the definition of the problem, gains, and losses. He concludes that framing can significantly influence how a problem is perceived and how alternative decisions are evaluated. He also asserts that negative information and negatively framed messages appear to exert greater judgmental impact than objectively equivalent positive information and positively framed messages.

A similar finding was made by Carragee and Jarrell (1987). Their study analyzed the coverage in *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *U.S. News and World Report* of



a series of demonstrations in 1983 sponsored by European peace groups, designed to protest the deployment of American missiles in Europe. The dominant media frames defined the peace movement as illegitimate, irrational and ineffectual. They maintained that the issues raised by the demonstrations were ignored because of the coverage's event orientation, and because of the attention devoted to the framing of the protests.

While these theoretical formulations have dealt primarily with the political culture in the United States and the media's influence on that culture, they nevertheless have certain elements which may be applicable to a different society. Therefore, a review of the literature facilitates a better understanding of media effects and helps to put in a broader context the essence of Jamaican Professor Carl Stone's (1981) assertion that any analysis of Jamaica's political culture must take into account the role of *The Daily Gleaner* on the public discourse and its influence on that discourse.

In sum, it can be argued that the press frames the issues. This is a contention shared by Graber (1989), Gramson (1989), Gitlin (1980), Tuchman (1978), Rachlin (1988) and Iyengar (1991). Stone makes a similar point about the role of the Jamaican press in terms of framing issues of national concerns.

In the case of Jamaica during the period 1972 - 1980, the society witnessed significant social, economic and political upheavals. At the heart of these upheavals was the attempt by the Manley government to reform the socio-economic and political structures after some three hundred years of British colonialism. The social class cleavages, as well as political tribalism were major obstacles to those reforms. The *Gleaner*, owned by conservative elements

of the dominant class that have dominated the society for well in excess of a century became the main organ through which upper class discontent was manifested as well as the medium for political discourse. Thus Stephens and Stephens (1986) and Stone (1981) state that the *Gleaner* had a pre-eminent role in forming political opinions on specific issues and on general societal values. Stone's study of the Jamaican political culture, through a series of surveys, provided empirical evidence which appeared to confirm the view that if news were in the *Gleaner*, then such news must be true. This same assertion that if it were in the *Gleaner*, then it must be true seems to give the *Gleaner* great credibility, thus leading to its reliability in the minds of the public. Wanta and Hu (1994) suggest a similar argument that credibility leads to reliance. In other words, if in the minds of the public, the medium is credible, then it is very likely that they will consider that medium a reliable source.

Like Stone (1980), who used polls to ascertain the opinion of voters in Jamaica, Shaw and Martin (1992) used poll and content analysis data to compare media use and agenda agreement for different types of reference groups. Stone noted a significant change in the Jamaican voters against Michael Manley, the Prime Minister at that time. Shaw and Martin concluded that ". . . one major function of the mass media was to enhance group consensus within the larger social system, . . ." and that ". . . media public issue agendas compete with unique historical agendas of readers and often win . . ." (p. 902).

If one accepts the proposition that the media tell us not only what to think about but also how to think about it, then it is safe to assume that the media have some effects and play an important role in shaping the consciousness of society.

Indeed, as Shaw and Martin posit, the media can tell the audience how to think about the news by the way it presents it, its placement and positioning of it, with the maximum effect being the central underlying consideration. In the case of the *Gleaner*, one should expect no less.

The strategic points of the paper are of paramount importance in frame analysis. To the extent that the elites in the Jamaican society had the most at stake during the Manley regime, it is only reasonable to expect that they would have used the medium that was sympathetic to their cause. Not only would the elites use the *Gleaner*, but they would also target certain sections of the paper. Geer and Kahn (1993) conclude that headlines are important in shaping the responses of the subjects. In their findings on international news, Wanta and Hu (1993) suggest that the way in which international news is framed in reports can determine the magnitude of salience cues. In the same way, the framing of local news (within Jamaica) can have a similar effect.

Additionally, when readers are busy, it is the headlines or front page which is usually read. News on the front page is also positioned in strategic positions to "jump out" at the readers and grab their attention. Front page articles, which are attention grabbers, may be framed to demean and demoralize the Manley government by playing into the hands of the Jamaican public. More importantly, those "attention grabbers" would be framed strategically to create, in the minds of the public, a view that Manley was out to destroy the country through the introduction of a foreign ideology (democratic socialism). The elites would therefore use it to shape and influence public opinion against the Manley government and to frame and set the agenda for public discourse. By doing this,

and particularly by using the communist threat they would create, in the minds of the Jamaican public, a fear of any social change. Conversely, therefore, it is safe to assume that what the Jamaican elites would want to maintain is the old social class structure without ever bringing this hidden agenda to the surface of public discourse. It is the intention of the study to analyze the following:

- i) How the *Gleaner* acted as an instrument of the Jamaican elites, and
- ii) How the *Gleaner* framed the issues.

In undertaking this study, the focus on *The Jamaica Daily Gleaner* is of central importance. First, it was the medium that the elite faction of the Jamaican class system used to influence public discourse. Second, being aware of its credibility, even among the masses, that faction was able to utilize this reservoir of goodwill and reliance to engender and spread its agenda. Third, the elites were also able to use the *Gleaner* as a political weapon against the Manley administration. It painted it with a brush of radical restructuring of the economy, communism and the attendant violence.

This study, therefore, seeks to explore two major hypotheses:

H1: The *Gleaner* focused more on frames such as societal liability, social harmony, and economic progress in the 1972 and 1973-1976 periods than in the 1977-1980 period.

H2: The *Gleaner* focused more on frames such as social chaos, economic stagnation, democratic socialism, and government liability in the 1977-1980 period than in the 1972 and 1973-1976 periods.

## CHAPTER IV

### METHOD

To examine how the *Gleaner*, as a privately owned medium, performed in the demise of Manley's democratic socialist government, this study used framing analysis. The paper chosen for analysis was *The Jamaica Daily Gleaner*, which was selected because it was (and still is) a privately owned newspaper with an extensive readership. (For details on its ownership, see the Introduction and Statement of Purpose.)

#### Sample

A purposive sample was drawn of the front page of the paper that dealt with the Manley Administration in Jamaica. The time period was from February 1972 to October 1980. Starting from February 2, 1972, the researcher picked the first Sunday, and then Saturday and so on until a full composite week was constructed.

For the period between February 1972 and December 1972, 3 composite weeks were selected starting from the first Monday after the election. For each week, 2 days were picked. Monday and Wednesday were selected for the first week, Tuesday and Thursday for the second, Friday and Sunday for the third and Saturday and Monday for the fourth. This pattern was followed until the end of the year. Whenever the researcher came up with one day short in this period, it was accounted for later when there were more days for the remaining years.

The same technique of 3 weeks per year used for the 1972 period was employed for the periods from January 1973 to December 1976 and January 1977 to October 1980. A total of 31 composite weeks, or 217 issues, which contained 435 stories on the front page of the *Gleaner*, were coded and examined for frames.

### Frames

Frames were defined according to the method developed by Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss and Ghanem (1991). In their method, frames are identified by looking at certain focal points of news presentations, which include headlines and kickers, subheads, photographs, photo captions, leads, selection of sources/affiliations, selection of quotes, enlarged quotes for emphasis, logos, statistics, charts and graphs, and concluding statements or paragraphs of articles.

In identifying the frames, a number of articles were read and compared with one another. Two coders and the researcher used the Tankard, et al. (1991) "list of frames" approach (outlined above) to come up with the frames for the study. A random sample of 20 front page articles from the *Gleaner* for the three periods under review was selected. Those 20 articles were excluded from the final study. For the intercoder reliability test, the stories were analyzed by the seven frames: societal liability, social harmony, economic progress, social chaos, economic stagnation, democratic socialism and government liability. They were defined as follows:

### Economic Stagnation

An economic stagnation frame is defined as one that focuses on such attributes of the economy as "hard times, financial instability, shortages, layoffs, weak economy, hunger, and poverty." For example, the article, "Seaga warns of shortages" (December 24, 1979) was coded as using an economic stagnation frame for the following reasons:

- i) Key terms like, "shortages, layoffs" and "weak economy" are present.
- ii) The headline is, "Seaga warns of shortages."
- iii) The subhead reads, "No more imports until I.M.F. decision Feb.-March.
- iv) The lead, "Opposition JLP Leader Edward Seaga warned . . . that imports of food, raw materials and spare parts are going to cease . . ."
- v) One subhead is "Common Knowledge" under which the paper writes, "It is unbelievable that bungling and lack of proper arrangements could be allowed to throw the economy into this fit of disruption, . . ."

### Social Chaos

Social chaos is defined by such terminologies as "violence, chaos, war, battle, warfare, gang, gang warfare, blood, fear, crime, rivalry, riots, arsons, terrorism" and "murders." Along with the framing mechanisms, the coders investigated the occurrence of such keywords and phrases within each article.

When a constant presence was detected within the article, the coders coded the case as a social chaos frame.

In an article (positioned in the center lower fold) "Sees chance of civil war here," dated May 3, 1980, this frame was evidenced for the following reasons:

- i) The use of keywords like, "fear, war, rivalry, battle," and "blood"
- ii) The headline was "Sees chance of civil war here."
- iii) In the lead, "In its . . . Caribbean people must continue to worry over the future of Jamaica." [The Caribbean is the big region of which Jamaica is one island.]
- iv) The selection of another newspaper's report
- v) Critical quotations such as, "a civil war of a type we have never seen in the Caribbean," ". . . It's going to be bitter . . ." ". . . both parties are involved in blood-letting exercises." ". . . before hundreds more innocent Jamaicans lose their lives on the altar of a power-hungry political failure."

### Government Liability

Government liability is defined as a frame that views government as responsible for social, political and economic problems in the country. Such responsibility was manifested in words and phrases like, "irresponsible, careless, corrupt, oppression, oppressing, victimized, unemployment, underemployment, propagandizing, abuse of power and abuse of authority." If the coders found excessive usages of those keywords and phrases, accompanied by instances of



Tankard, et al. "list of frames" directing the blame to the government, then the article was assigned a government liability frame.

An instance of this is the lower mid-centerfold story, "Country must restore moral purpose to public life" (January 1, 1978) under the byline of "Seaga, leader of the Opposition Jamaica Labor Party." This story received the government liability frame for the following reasons:

- i) The headline, "Country must restore moral purpose to public life"
- ii) Keywords and phrases like, "oppression, oppressing, corrupt, victimized," and "unemployment"
- iii) The subhead, "No Solution," indicating that the problem was out of the people's hands
- iv) A photograph of a well groomed and capable Seaga
- v) The photo caption, "Seaga . . . quit oppression" (with the word, Seaga uppercased)
- vi) The affiliation of the source was to the leader of the Opposition Leader.

### Societal Liability

Societal liability is defined as a frame that held society responsible for social problems. It was manifested by such phrases as "family life, parenthood, parent outreach, society responsible, family" and "goodwill" among people. If most of these descriptors and the focal points of the "list of frames" approach were evident, the story would be classified as a societal liability frame.

This article dated March 16, 1975 and titled "Church Drive at Parents" was coded as a societal liability frame.

The following supports the reason for the coding:

- i) Keywords like "family, parent outreach and family life" were used.
- ii) The headline is, "Church Drive At Parents."
- iii) The subhead reads, "focus on family life."
- iv) The lead states, "The United Church of Jamaica . . . is to launch a two-phased Parent Outreach Program, designed to recapture . . . a healthy moral environment."
- v) The selection of a very appropriate quotation in, ". . . making available ". . . "tools" to parents . . . [for] "a wider sensitivity and transferability of concepts."

### Social Harmony

Social harmony is characterized as a frame that portrayed a pleasant, peaceful, and happy environment in which the mood was upbeat and oriented around the advancement of country. People were motivated to achieve for themselves and for the general societal benefit. The indicators for that frame ranged from keywords and phrases like, "hope, truce, inclusive, integrity, victory, goal, goodwill, love, moral climate, heal, inclusiveness, betterment, participate, participation, confidence, government by participation, share and working together." If there were a predominance of those foregoing words and phrases with the "list of frames," the coders classified an article as a social harmony frame.

A case in point was on March 1, 1972 in a top right article, extending from the top through the centerfold, "Manley hopes 'to heal some of the bitter

divisions'." The following exemplify the reasons for defining the case as a social harmony frame:

- i) Keywords like "heal" and "hopes" help to form the headline; others included, "integrity, moral climate, goodwill, confidence, working together for the betterment of all" and "participation."
- ii) A centered, oversized photograph of a smiling Manley
- iii) The lead capitalized the prime minister's name, "Mr. Michael Manley, Leader of the People's National Party, said last night that he hoped to 'heal some of the bitter divisions' that have entered into Jamaican life, and to work for the solution of the many problems of the country."
- iv) Special emphasis on quotations in the headline and in the lead
- v) Blocked paragraphs of verbatim selections, throughout the story, of parts of Manley's speech, as in, "One issue that needs to be traced is the tremendous need to make our young people feel that they are a part of its nation and to feel that they have a share in its life and in its development."
- vi) A concluding, blocked paragraph, fully quoted, which states, "Finally, I would like to carry out a policy of government by participation, in which every Jamaican will feel that they [sic] can share in the government of their [sic] country and can work together for the betterment of all."

### Economic Progress

Economic progress is defined as a frame that depicted a healthy economy, strong in exports, with strong banking systems in an environment, where most people were employed and not troubled by food and housing problems. Descriptors span keywords such as, "prosperous, increase, profit, production, achieve, achievement, export/(s)" and "revenue." The coders used those keywords with the "list of frames" and if the article showed frequent usages, the coders then concluded that the story was an economic progress frame.

Positioned at the top right centerfold of the newspaper on July 18, 1975, the article, "\$[J]27.5m more to come from bauxite," had the following to justify an economic progress frame:

- i) The lead was an indication of progress on the financial front, namely, "An additional \$27.5m more . . . from bauxite."
- ii) Keywords included, "increase, revenue, production," and "achieved."
- iii) Source selection/affiliation was with the very minister of Finance, and the House of Representatives.

### Democratic Socialism

Democratic socialism is defined as a frame that defined the issue as democratic socialism and argued for or against it. It was indicated by such terms/keywords as "progressive, revolutionary, capitalist, colonialism, friends of Cuba, social equality, socialist" and "communism," and so the coders looked for

such keywords and Tankard, et al.'s focal points. If most of the indicators consistently demonstrated a trend for or against democratic socialism, then this story was coded as using a democratic socialism frame.

For example, the article, "Days of capitalism are over, says PM," (November 18, 1974) was coded as using a democratic socialism frame for these reasons:

- i) The headline reads, "Days of capitalism are over, says PM,"
- ii) The subhead reads, "PNP re-affirms belief in socialism . . ."
- iii) A photograph positioned in the upper centerfold shows Manley addressing an enthusiastic and large group of supporters.
- iv) The photo caption quotes Manley as saying, "no way shall capitalism continue in Jamaica."
- v) The lead says, "THE DAY OF CAPITALISM is over in Jamaica, . . ."
- vi) Selection of strong quotes about the capitalist system like, "The capitalist system is the system that brought slavery to Jamaica. . . . No way shall capitalism continue in Jamaica. . . . We are going to build a socialist system in this country . . ."

- vii) Keywords like those quoted above and others like, "socialist, capitalist and colonialism" were used.

### Units of Analysis and Measurement

The unit of analysis for this research is each article in the *Gleaner* that related to the Manley administration during the three periods.

This study had two hypotheses:

H1. The *Gleaner* would focus more on such issues as societal liability, social harmony, and economic progress in the 1972 and 1973-1976 periods than in the 1977-1980 period.

H2. The *Gleaner* would focus more on such issues as social chaos, economic stagnation, democratic socialism, and government liability in the 1977-1980 period than in the 1972 and 1973 -1976 periods.

Chi-square was used to analyze the data and test the hypotheses.

### Intercoder Reliability

A test of the "list of frames" method of measuring frames was conducted to establish the intercoder reliability, which refers to the percentage of agreement among coders. Using the Tankard, et al. (1991) framing mechanisms, the researcher and two assistants selected and coded a random sample of 20 out of the 435 articles. Those 20 front page articles were not used in the study.

Each of the three coders was given photocopies of the articles and a coding sheet with the framing mechanisms. (See Appendix A.) One story was looked on at a time. A slight modification was made to the Tankard, et al. method, and that included the addition of a list of descriptors for each frame. (See Appendix B.) The predominant frame category was assigned and the percentage of coders who selected that frame was determined. For the results of the pilot test for coder reliability, see Appendix C. The percentage of agreement for each article is reported at the bottom of the column for each article.

The percentage of intercoder reliability coefficient, established for this study, was .818. This agreement for the pilot test was found by averaging the percentages of agreement for the 20 articles, viewed by type of article. For the formula and figures, see Appendix C.

## CHAPTER V

### RESULTS

Framing analysis is a new approach to the study of the *Gleaner's* role in the 1980 political demise of the Manley government. Previous research was conducted using interviews, content analysis, and polls. This approach uses framing analysis and it, too, concurs with the previous findings on the role of the *Gleaner*. The chi-square shows that there is a statistically significant difference at  $p < .001$ , and the Cramer's V, although not very high, is .28. (See Table 1.)

The first hypothesis that the *Gleaner* would focus more on such issues as societal liability, social harmony, and economic progress in the 1972 and 1973-1976 periods than in the 1977-1980 period was supported. Table 1 and Figure 1 show that the newspaper's framing of the issues was more supportive of the Manley government in those two periods.

In the two periods 1972 and 1973 to 1976, the focus on societal liability was at an average of 12.6%. The focus on the same issue for the 1977 to 1980 period was 11.7%. The following articles give a small sample of how the *Gleaner* framed this issue during the three periods. In "JLP supports action on illegal guns" (March 7, 1972), the *Gleaner*, for instance, implies that it was the responsibility of the Jamaican people to ensure that illegal guns were recovered. The newspaper shows that the Manley government's action had the full support of the previous opposition, the Jamaica Labor Party.



Table 1

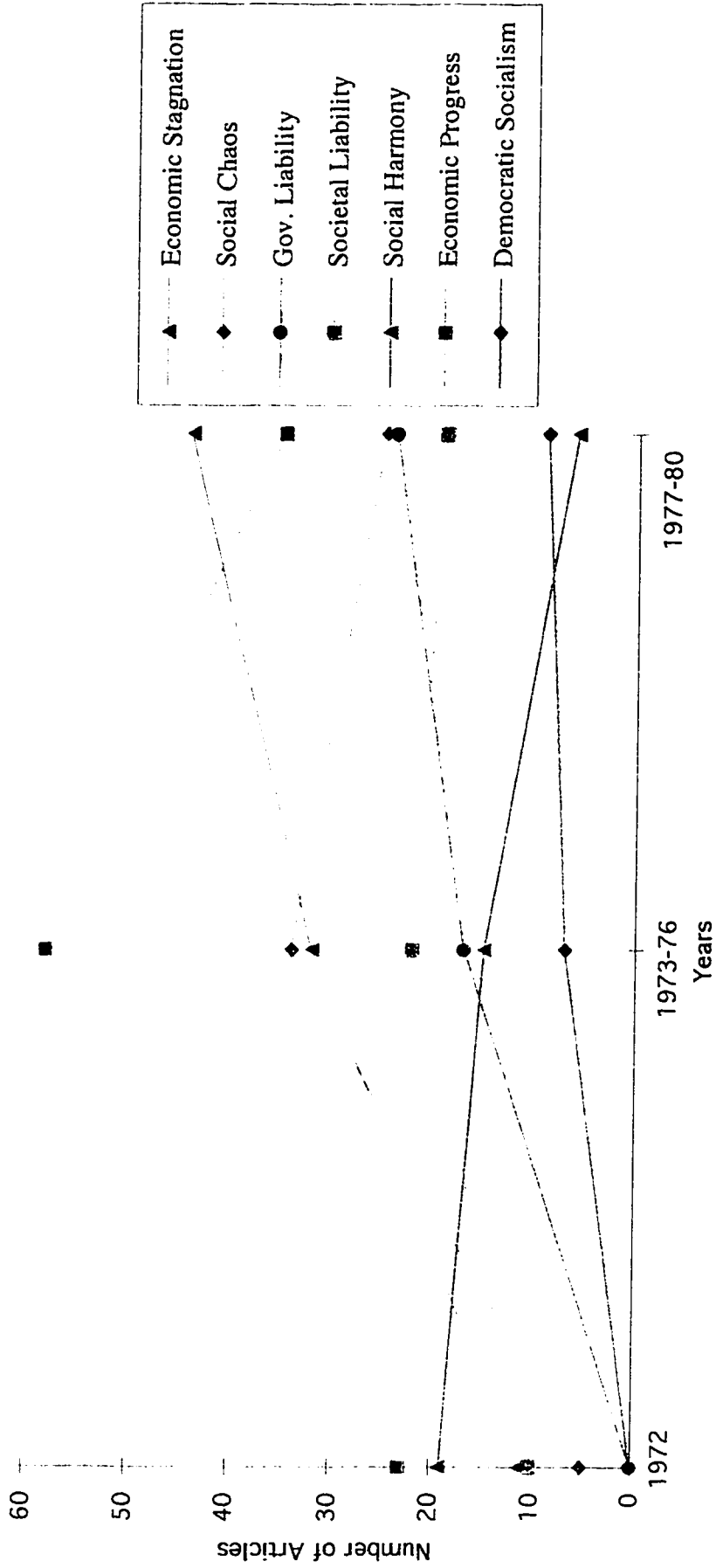
News Frames in the Jamaica Daily Gleaner Related to the Manley Government 1972-80

News Frames	2/72-12/72		1/73-12/76		2/72-12/76		1/77-10/80		Percent of Year Total	
	N	Percent of Year Total	N	Percent of Year Total	Cumulative Percent	N	Percent of Year Total	N (Row Total)	Percent of Year Total	
1 Economic Stagnation	11	16.2%	32	17.3%	16.9%	44	27.2%	87	21.0%	
2 Social Chaos	5	7.4	34	18.4	15.5	25	15.4	64	15.4	
3 Government Liability	0	0.0	17	9.2	6.9	24	14.8	41	9.9	
4 Societal Liability	10	14.7	22	11.9	12.6	19	11.7	51	12.3	
5 Social Harmony	19	27.9	15	8.1	13.4	6	3.7	40	9.6	
6 Economic Progress	23	33.8	58	31.4	32.0	35	21.6	116	28.0	
7 Democratic Socialism	0	0.0	7	3.8	2.7	9	5.6	16	3.9	
Column Total	68	100.0	185	100.0	100.0	162	100.0	415	100.0	

$\chi^2 (48, N = 415) = 203.0, p < .001$

Cramer's V = .28

Figure 1  
 News Frames in the Jamaica Daily Gleaner Related to the Manley Government 1972-1980



In the article, "Opportunity for everyone here to contribute" (January 19, 1973), the paper outlines the opportunity for all sectors of the society to see the betterment of the country as their responsibility. However, in "Crime problem: the Anglican Council's readiness," the entire society was not called upon or addressed in this frame, compared to the all-encompassing frames of the two earlier periods, which appealed to the contribution of the entire society.

The issue of social harmony showed an average of 13.4% support during the periods, 1972 and 1973-1976 compared to 3.7% in the period, 1977-1980. The article, "Railroad Service back to normal" (April 13, 1972), is also indicative of the "normal" and positive environment in which the paper portrays Jamaica. This emphasis on well being and social harmony is also evident in "Manley Delighted" (May 20, 1973) in which Prime Minister Manley stated how delighted he was when he received a preliminary breakdown of the projects which would be carried out by citizens on Labor Day. He was impressed at the wide variety of projects with which the youth would be involved and that they would far exceed the projects carried out the previous year. Yet, by July 20, 1980, in the article "A Matter of Life and Death," by Wilmot Perkins, prominently placed at the top left of that issue of the Sunday paper, Perkins ironically states that if the joint statement condemning violence by both political parties could save "a single human life," that would be "a measure of success not to be spurned." However, the article was more concerned that the problem was the result of the adoption by one side of a revolutionary ideology that had turned the Jamaican politics into a matter, essentially of life and death. Similarly, the only hint of social harmony in another article of the same date, "Quiet weekend --- no gun murders recorded over

weekend" was that there was a quiet end to a week in which there had been at least 38 killings by gunmen.

In the two periods, 1972 and 1973 to 1976, the focus on economic progress showed an average of 32.0% with only 21.6% in 1977-1980. The following are samples of an array of articles supportive of the government during those two periods: "Another Good Day on Stock Exchange," April 13, 1972; "Jamaica exports up to [J]\$1.09 million," February 24, 1973; "Bananas up \$6 to \$190 a Ton," February 24, 1973; "Bananas up \$8 per Ton," June 23, 1973; "361,000 Tons of Sugar This Crop," August 25, 1975; "Another New Hotel in Ocho Rios," September 3, 1975, and "\$5.2 Million in Contracts to Locals," October 12, 1976.

In the article of April 13, 1972, the paper outlines the indices, which "all showed increases, and new 'highs' . . . by individual issues." The article, "Jamaica exports up to \$1.09 million" of February 24, 1973, speaks to "overall upward movement in trade." To present it prominently, the paper even highlights this section of the article.

In one other example from this list --- "Another New Hotel in Ocho Rios" (September 3, 1975), the *Gleaner* displays the picture of a new hotel in Ocho Rios, one of the main tourist resort areas. Placed in the top center position of the front page of that issue, the paper suggests a healthy picture of tourism under the Manley government of that time.

Within a couple of years, the rhetoric changed dramatically. The economic progress frame was far less frequent, at 21.6% compared to an average of 32.0% of the two previous periods. As the following demonstrates,

although there were far fewer in the *Gleaner*, the articles were not supportive of the Manley government: "Reserves at Minus \$163.4 Million," February 10, 1977; "Budget Deficit up to \$556.4 Million," March 23, 1977; "Occupancy at Hotels Still on the Decline," June 9, 1977; "Whatever happened to production?" September 5, 1977; "Sugar Output Down by 43,570 Tons," April 22, 1978; "Survey shows grim picture of economy in 1978," September 5, 1979; "202 Companies Closing Soon," February 14, 1980, and "Alpart hit by financial crisis --- will not re-open today," September 1, 1980. These articles were all painting a "grim picture" of a depressed economy, especially in the areas of production and tourism.

In the article of 5th September, 1979, "Survey shows grim picture of economy in 1978," the *Gleaner* actually writes that the International Monetary Fund stand-by agreement of 1977 . . . "for a three-year period instituted drastic changes in macro-economic policies" to include steep exchange-rate devaluation, increases in direct taxes and the institution of a wage restraint policy, which the *Gleaner* asserts "already had a marked decline in private consumption and growth in private savings."

The second hypothesis predicts that the *Gleaner* would focus more on issues such as social chaos, economic stagnation, democratic socialism, and government liability in the 1977-1980 period than in the 1972 and 1973-1976 periods. This hypothesis was supported in the way the paper used these frames in reporting issues on economic stagnation, democratic socialism and government liability, but not on social chaos.

Table 1 shows the issue of social chaos as receiving a 15.4% focus for the 46-month period of January 1977 to October 1980, and an average of 15.4% for the 59-month period of February to December 1972 and January 1973 to December 1976. It is ironical, indeed, that the data show no difference. However, the rhetoric was very intense and overt.

An examination of the *Gleaner's* articles shows that they were vitriolic towards the Manley government. Not only were the articles harsh, but they also, were articles about the rising number of fatalities from the increase in the crime and violence, which plagued the country. Examples of these frames are the articles of the "Booing of PM" [Prime Minister] (December 21, 1978), "Big fires hit the city" (May 7, 1979) and "Gunmen shoot 6 in downtown scare" (October 16, 1980). In the article on the "Booing of PM," the paper hints at the turmoil and negative impact which would result in the tourist industry.

There is no doubt that the frames were designed by the *Gleaner* to instill fear and chaos in the cognition of the readers. The frame of October 16, 1980, "Gunmen shoot 6 in downtown scare" appears with the headline of the article highlighted, all the letters capitalized, and the *Gleaner* writes, ". . . six people were shot and wounded, business places and schools closed down and scores of people ran for safety." So while the frames were not more frequent, they were certainly intended to heighten mass hysteria.

When compared to articles on social chaos of the two earlier periods, it becomes evident that the tone was not as caustic as in the period 1977-1980. The article, "JLP cables PM, churches on Mob Terror" (March 6, 1972) still offers room for conciliation and co-operation. In the article, "Miller replies that

Lightbourne . . . only making trouble" (April 29, 1974), the *Gleaner* is merely reporting a verbal altercation between the Parliamentary Minister of Youth and Lightbourne, then independent member of parliament and Parliamentary Secretary.

As anticipated, this aspect of the second hypothesis concerning the issue of economic stagnation is fully supported. Frames show a gradual increase between the 1972 and 1973-1976 periods at an average of 16.9% with a sudden jump to 27.2% in the period 1977-1980. The obverse of the same articles used in the discussion of the framing of the issue of economic progress under the first hypothesis also applies for this issue of economic stagnation. The underlying theme is that the *Gleaner* focused more on economic stagnation during the period 1977-1980. It was the most significant strategy to destroy the government.

Not until Manley's address to the Jamaican Parliament in April of 1978 did majority of Jamaicans become aware of his new political philosophy. It is therefore not surprising that there were no frames on the issue of democratic socialism in the first period. In the second period, there were, however, a total of 7 which gives an average percentage of 2.7 for the first two periods. By the last period of 1977-1980, the number of frames were 9, an increase to 5.6%.

The very first mention of democratic socialism on the paper's front page was on June 11, 1974 in the article, "PM: Education Chief Agent of Political Change." In this piece, the *Gleaner* quotes Manley's keynote address in which he saw education as, "always an extension of political purpose, perhaps the primary agent that is available to that purpose." The paper notes that by

"political," the Prime Minister referred to "the process by which long-term and short-term objectives and goals are set by the society itself based on some notion of what is good for the particular society."

Compared to a later article, "Communism, no says Alexander" (April 26, 1976), the June 11th, 1974 article was a rather mild and only very subtle hint at democratic socialism. It was only a couple years later and democratic socialism was elevated to the status of communism. In the article of April 26th, Carlton Alexander, Deputy Chairman and Managing Director of a well established Jamaican company, was replying to his acclamation of "Distinguished Salesman of the Year." In his reply, and among several other points, which he made, he called upon his colleagues and other salesmen to be vigilant so that "there will be no communism in this country." The *Gleaner* used that part of his reply in its headline, and in the opening paragraph states, "A pronouncement that there will be no Communism in this country came . . . from . . . managing director of Grace Kennedy and Company Limited."

The political philosophy of democratic socialism as espoused by the Manley government in the late 1970's in Jamaica was framed as communism. Because the island has such close proximity (of only 90 miles) to Cuba, it was easy to engender and spread, within the minds of Jamaicans, the fear of communism. There is no doubt that this fear played into how democratic socialism was interpreted. By 1976, most people in Jamaica knew about democratic socialism/communism; they were reading about it in the *Gleaner*.

Jamaicans were also reading about who was responsible for conditions in the country. Like democratic socialism, the issue of government liability was not



an issue in Jamaica in the period 1972. Again, like the issue of democratic socialism, it was not until the 1973-1976 period that the *Gleaner* framed the issue of government liability with a total of 17 frames, or an average of 6.7%. Again, like the issue of democratic socialism, the issue of government liability escalated to a total of 24 frames and a percentage of 14.8 in the 1977-1980 period.

In a sample of two articles, the first shows dialogue about whom may be held responsible; the second is an outright chastisement and blame of Manley and his government for unfavorable conditions within the country. In the first article, "Govt. can't remain aloof" (July 21, 1974), the *Gleaner* refers to a letter, from the leader of the Opposition Jamaica Labor Party, in which he responds to the Deputy Prime Minister of the ruling People's National Party requesting that the government not be "insensitive to the burdens and pains of the people." He ended that letter: "Mr. Minister, the situation has reached frightening proportions."

The second sample is an article in which there is no semblance of dialogue or tolerance. In fact, it can be categorized as absolute disgust with Manley and his government. In the article, "Spaulding sees JBC as 'a den of iniquity'" (September 1, 1980), the *Gleaner* makes reference to a speech by Spaulding, the Opposition Party's spokesman on National Security. This was a description of the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC) as "a den of iniquity, [where] indecency had passed all bounds of imagination." The paper further stated that the JBC was referred to as, "An arm of the Communist International, an agency of the People's National Party and Cuban, Russian Communists' front

in this country." The article ended with a comment from Spaulding on the general situation in Jamaica. The *Gleaner* cites Spaulding as saying that ". . . the country was characterized by 'economic ruin, crippling inflation, back-breaking national debt, and the most oppressive conditions of unemployment and its attendant human miseries'." The *Gleaner* adds its own assertion: "the history of Michael Manley, the man who had led Jamaica down that path, was a history of intense rhetoric and abysmal failure."

In sum, except for the issue of social chaos, the second hypothesis is also supported. The *Gleaner* focused more on such frames as economic stagnation, democratic socialism and government liability in the 1977-1980 period than in the 1972 and 1973-1976 periods.

It is clearly evident that in Jamaica, where the *Gleaner* is the newspaper read by most members of the society, most issues were framed, but the frames changed over time. These frames functioned as channels to promote the pro-capitalist Jamaica Labor Party, the hegemonic classes and celebrated members of the elite classes, of which the paper's owner, the Ashenheim family, is an exemplary member.

## CHAPTER VI

### DISCUSSION

The results of this study show that the *Gleaner's* framing of the issues contributed to the demise of Manley's democratic socialist government in Jamaica in October of 1980. If compared to a drama, a three-fold ironical situation is evident in how the newspaper, its owner, and the prime minister were characterized. It is apparent that the newspaper, as an important actor/medium, has the power to shape and influence public cognition. However, it is driven by the socio-economic, political, and ideological interests of its principal actor --- its owners. The prime minister himself, even though he holds an opposing ideology, unknowingly to him, is (too) an instrument of this principal actor.

In that triangle, the *Gleaner's* owners dictate. When Manley's free market ideology coincided with the elite capitalist class, the *Gleaner* was sympathetic to his administration and framed the issues, ostensibly, in his favor. However, when the opposite was the case, the newspaper framed the issues in direct opposition to his ideology. The only consistency manifested was that the issues were always framed, and were always framed in direct response to the owner's objective.

In the same way that the owners' role is covert and very subtle, the issues are also subtly framed. They are framed for the readers to get the big picture. Individual subheads, headlines, kickers, and the dynamism of the picture at a strategic point or the special impact of certain words readers do not get. Thus, in

getting the big picture, readers miss the finely orchestrated and intended effect and therefore perceive the effect of the framing as a "natural" response to the socio-economic and political conditions within the country. This apparent natural response receives its ultimate manifestation in the national election. This must be the quintessence of electoral maneuvering and manipulation.

The result of this study also supports Stephens and Stephens (1986) and Stone (1981) that the *Gleaner* contributed to the demise of Manley's democratic socialist government in Jamaica in 1980. Neither Stephens and Stephens nor Stone used framing in arriving at their findings. The former used the reading of accounts from the *Gleaner*, coding reports in the papers, interviewing key political actors, business people and other elites. The latter conducted polls. Using different methodologies, they both concurred in their findings. This framing analysis study now does the same. However, of the three, framing analysis seems to be the most comprehensive method; it takes into account subtleties ignored by the other methods. While framing is a commendable approach, further research still needs to be done to improve the method.

#### Further Research

1. If a subject area does not lend itself to a wealth of subjective reasoning, then the "list of frames" approach, in its present form is a reasonable and realistic instrument of measurement. Unfortunately, there are not many subjects devoid of deep subjective reasoning; thus, there is the need for more accurate forms of measurement.

2. Some of the researchers in this study argued about the placement of photographs, headlines, and quotations marks. There was the feeling that left,

center, and right positions held varying levels of importance and that quotations are not always for effect, but that they are mostly used by the *Gleaner* to show verbatim speech. There is the need to show more differentiation to allow for any possible preconceived grammatical/syntactical formulations.

3. There were instances in the pilot test when some of the three coders came up with different framing weights. One might therefore argue for a measurement which would lend itself to achieving a higher coder reliability.

4. In this study, there was a five-item "other" category, which was deleted because the researcher made the decision that it was too complicated to integrate them into the study. The five items each had a strong leaning to three other frames. It would have been too difficult to analyze the data at the same time, under three different frames. It was much easier to treat each frame individually according to its individual dominant frame.

## REFERENCES

- Ahram, E. (1964) . Income distribution in Jamaica. Social and Economic Studies, 13 (4) , 339-340.
- Bateson, Gregory. (1972) . "A Theory of Play and Fantasy." In Steps to an ecology of mind (pp. 184-188). New York: Ballantine.
- Boyd, Derick A.C. (1988) . Economic management, income distribution, and poverty in Jamaica (p. 13). New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Carragee, Kevin M. & Jarrell, Laura (1987) . Media frames and the definition of a foreign social movement. Research Report (143) , Conference Paper (150).
- Cohen, Bernard C. (1963) . The press and foreign policy. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Cutbirth, Craig W., Shapiro, Mitchell & Williams, Wenmouth, Jr. (1983) . The ethics of media framing of issues in the 1980 presidential campaign. Research Report (143) , Conference Paper (150).
- Davis, Joel J. (1995) . The effects of message framing on response to environmental communications. Journalism Quarterly, 72 (2):285-99.
- Entam. Robert M. (1989) . Democracy Without Citizens. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 3.
- Gamson, William A. (1989). "News as framing: Comments on Graber." American Behavioral Scientist, 33, 157-161.

- Geer, John G. & Kahn, Kim F. (1983) . Grabbing Attention: An Experimental Investigation of Headlines during Campaigns. Political Communication, 10 (2) , 175-191.
- Girvan, Norman. (1967) . The Caribbean Bauxite Industry. Institute of Social and Economic Research. Mona: University of the West Indies.
- Gitlin, Todd. (1980) . The whole world is watching: mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Goffman, Erving. (1974) . Frame analysis. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers.
- Graber, Doris A. (1989) . "Content and Meaning: What's It All About?" American Behavioral Scientist, 33, 144-152.
- Hoare, Quintin & Smith, Geoff. Eds. (1971). Antonio Gramsci, Selections from Prison Notebooks (p. 235). New York: International Publishers.
- Iyengar, Shanto. (1991) . Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues (pp. 11, 143). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lang, Gladys, & Lang, Kurt. (1983) . The battle for public opinion. New York: Columbia University Press.
- McCombs, Maxwell E. & Shaw, Donald L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of the press. Public Opinion Quarterly. 36: 176-87.
- McCombs, Maxwell E. & Becker, Lee B. (1979) . Using mass communication theory (p. 122). New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Pearce, W. Barnett. (1994) . Interpersonal communication making social worlds New York: Harper Collins College Publishers, Inc.

- Rachlin, Allan. (1988) . News as hegemonic reality: American political culture and the framing of news accounts (p. 3). New York: Praeger.
- Schiller, Don. (1989) . Objectivity and the news: The public and the rise of Commercial Journalism (p. 2) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Shapiro, Mitchell E., Cutbirth, Craig & Williams, Wenmouth. (1983) . Agenda-setting and political framing in the 1982 Illinois gubernatorial campaign. Research Paper (143) , Conference Paper (150).
- Shaw, Donald L., & Martin, Shannon, E. (1992) . The function of mass media agenda-setting. Journalism Quarterly, 69 (4) , 902-920.
- Shoemaker, Pam, & Reese, Stephen. (1991) . Mediating the message: theories of influences on mass media content. New York: Longman.
- Stephens, Evelyne & John D. Stephens. (1986) . Democratic socialism in Jamaica. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Stone, Carl, & Brown, Aggrey. (1977) . Essays on power and change in Jamaica. Kingston: Jamaica Publishing House.
- Stone, Carl. (1981) . "Jamaica's 1980 elections: What did Manley do; what Seaga need do", Caribbean Review, 10 (2) , 4-7, 40-3.
- Stone, Carl. (1982) . The Political opinion of the Jamaican people. Kingston: Jamaica Publishing House.
- Stone, Carl. (1983) . Democracy and clientelism in Jamaica. New Jersey: Transaction, Inc.



- Tankard, James, Hendrickson, Laura, Silberman, Jackie, Bliss, Kris & Ghanem, Salma. (1991) . "Media frames: Approaches to conceptualization and measurement." Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Convention, Boston, Massachusetts, August 1991. pp. 331-343.
- Tuchman, Gaye. (1978) . Making news: A study in the construction of Reality (p. 217). New York: The Free Press.
- Wanta, Wayne (1992) . The influence of the President on the news media and public agendas. Mass Communication Review, 19 (1/2) , 14-21.
- Wanta, Wayne & Hu, Yu-Wei (1993) . The agenda-setting effects of international news coverage: An examination of differing news frames. International Journal of Public Opinion Research. 5 (3) , 250-264.
- Wanta, Wayne & Hu, Yu-Wei (1994) . The effects of credibility, reliance, and exposure on media agenda-setting: A path analysis. Journalism Quarterly, 71 (1) , 90-98.
- Williams, Wenmouth, Jr., Cutbirth, Craig & Shapiro, Mitchell. (1980). The impact of campaign agendas on perceptions of issues in 1980 campaign. Journalism Quarterly. 60(2):226-231.

# Coding Sheet

	Article Title:	Issue Date:									
Frames:	Headlines and kickers	Subheads	Photos	Photo captions	Leads	Selection of sources/affiliations	Selection of quotes	Pull quotes	Logos	Statistics/charts and graphs	Concluding statements/paragraphs of articles
Economic Stagnation											
Social Chaos											
Government Liability											
Societal Liability											
Social Harmony											
Economic Progress											
Democratic Socialism											

## Appendix B

**Frames and Their Indicators**

**Economic Stagnation.** "Hard times, financial instability, shortages, layoffs, weak economy, hunger" and "poverty"

**Social Chaos.** "Violence, chaos, war, battle, warfare, gang, gang warfare, blood, fear, crime, rivalry, riots, arsons, terrorism" and "murders"

**Government Liability.** "Irresponsible, careless, corrupt, oppression, oppressing, victimized, unemployment, underemployment, propagandizing, abuse of power" and "abuse of authority"

**Societal Liability.** "Family life, parenthood, parent outreach, society responsible, family" and "goodwill"

**Social Harmony.** "Hope, truce, inclusive, integrity, victory, goal, goodwill, love, moral climate, heal, inclusiveness, betterment, participate, participation, government by participation, share" and "working together"

**Economic Progress.** "Prosperous, increase, profit, production, achieve, achievement, export/(s)" and "revenue"

**Democratic Socialism.** "Progressive, revolutionary, capitalist, colonialism, friends of Cuba, social equality, socialist" and "communism"

Appendix C

**Intercoder Reliability Test**

Article #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
<b>Coder 1</b>	1	2	6	4	4	5	6	6	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	5	1	1	2	1
<b>Coder 2</b>	1	2	6	5	4	6	5	6	3	7	3	3	2	3	3	6	1	1	2	1
<b>Coder 3</b>	1	2	6	6	4	5	6	5	7	3	3	2	3	3	7	5	1	1	2	1
<b>rel.(%)</b>	100	100	100	33	100	67	67	67	67	67	100	67	67	100	67	67	100	100	100	100

- 1 - Economic Stagnation      3 - Government Liability      5 - Social Harmony      7 - Democratic Socialism
- 2 - Social Chaos              4 - Societal Liability              6 - Economic Progress

Percentage of Intercoder Reliability Coefficient = 
$$\frac{\sum \frac{\# \text{Articles} \# \text{Agree}}{\# \text{Readers}}}{\# \text{Articles}} = \frac{\sum \frac{\# \text{Articles} \# \text{Agree}}{\# \text{Readers}}}{(\# \text{Readers})(\# \text{Articles})}$$