

EVOLVING NEWSPAPERS &
THE SHAPING OF AN
EXTRADITION:
JAMAICA ON THE CUSP OF CHANGE

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ABBREVIATIONS

CAFFE	Citizens for Free and Fair Elections
CANA	Caribbean News Agency
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
FAST	Families Against State Terrorism
INCSR	International Narcotics Strategy Report
JCC	Jamaica Civil Society Coalition
JFJ	Jamaicans for Justice
JLP	Jamaica Labour Party
KMA	Kingston Metropolitan Area
MAJ	Media Association of Jamaica
MP	Member of Parliament
NDM	National Democratic Movement
NIAF	National Integrity Action Forum
OTGN	On The Ground News
PAJ	Press Association of Jamaica
PNP	People's National Party
PSOJ	Private Sector Organization of Jamaica

ABSTRACT

The evolution and impact of journalism in the developing world remains largely under-explored, especially in the Caribbean. This case study explores the role of the 21st century daily newspaper in Jamaica, during a period where the country endured its first widespread national crisis in almost three decades. This thesis deconstructs the coverage of Jamaica's two daily newspapers and the role of civil society during the nine months prior to the extradition of alleged transnational drug dealer Christopher Coke to the United States. The extradition coverage of Coke, whom the American government deemed, one of the most wanted men in the world, highlighted growing concerns about the island's diplomacy and its place in the global environment. It gave the news media an opportunity to focus on incidences of corruption, party-garrison clientelistic relationships and facilitate debates about good governance and a new vision for the island.

In the aftermath of the Coke extradition, there have been questions about influence and who played what roles in the resolution of the crisis. This thesis considers the influence of the media and of wider civil society activism, specifically the way the newspapers and civic organizations shaped the extradition, opened a space for dialogue and created a shift in the nature of media/government relations on the island.

An in-depth content analysis of the newspaper coverage leading up to the extradition forms the empirical basis for study. This is supplemented by interviews with journalists, academics and civic agents whose voices helped

shape the Coke debate in the newspapers. This crisis provided a unique opportunity to assess the news agenda on the island along with the perspectives of community voices as they engaged to influence a peaceful resolution.

The newspaper analysis of the extradition highlighted the political and social complexity of the island, in particular, the rampant political corruption, extreme social inequality, commonplace civil disobedience and criminality. The extradition revealed that there were obstacles to the cohesion of civil society groups in Jamaica. They were hampered by class and income disparities, political allegiances and questions of faith. These underlying concepts, along with newsroom culture, press-politics relationships, self-censorship, newspaper patronage, education, economic structures, and cultural identity can all be understood not by their individual meanings but as ways in which power is shaping the socio-political landscape of the island.

The newspaper coverage of the extradition battle also exposed flaws in the island's political and social fabric, this elevated government's predicament from a routine extradition warrant to an armed conflict. This thesis reinforces the role of daily newspapers in ensuring governmental transparency and providing a space that facilitates differing views which ultimately allows democracy to work. The findings from the thesis contribute to an understanding of journalism outside of the context of the United States/ United Kingdom. It showed that in the Caribbean and especially Jamaica special considerations must be made for how socio-cultural factors impact newspaper journalism.

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To Mummy, Daddy, Sana and Shaq

And the loving memory of my Granny J

You don't choose your family. They are God's gift to you, as you are to them.

~Desmond Tutu

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

*Welcome to Jamdown, poor people ah dead at random
Political violence, can't done, pure ghost and phantom
The youth dem get blind by stardom
Now the kings of kings ah call
Old man to pickney, so wave unuh hand if you with me
To see this sufferation sick me
Dem suit no fit me, to win election dem trick we
Then dem don't do nuttin' at all
-Damian Marley, Welcome To Jamrock*

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE THESIS

Jamaica's democracy was tested between August 2009 and June 2010. The ensuing news coverage showed the world that behind the idyllic tourism campaigns was an island with sectarian politics, a crippling crime rate and increasing poverty. Jamaica is no stranger to political and social unrest but the tragic news about the bloody Tivoli incursion in May 2010, raised questions about the island's post-colonial gains, especially in terms of government accountability, political corruption, civic participation and national sovereignty. The Tivoli incursion represented the rebellious yet civic nature of the island as an inner city community rallied to halt the extradition of their leader. The daily newspaper coverage in the lead up to the 2010 extradition of Christopher 'Dudus' Coke formed the basis for this case study as it provides an unique opportunity to assess who sets the news agenda on the island and the level of civic engagement. The following headlines were published on the extradition in the *New York Times* from May 24- 30, 2010 when the eyes of the world turned to Jamaica.

- *“Jamaica: Forces Attack Gang Leader’s Stronghold”*
- *“Jamaica’s Bloody Democracy”*
- *“Jamaica Declares Emergency Amid Unrest in the Capital”*
- *“Jamaica Forces Accused of Brutality in Hunting Suspect”*
- *“A Third Day of Deadly Clashes in Jamaica: Unrest Grows in Jamaica In 3rd Day of Standoff”*
- *“In Jamaica, Soldiers Hunt For Fugitive Sought by U.S: Security Forces Patrol Kingston Neighbourhood”*
- *“Gang Leader Still Eludes Police As Death Toll in Jamaica Rises.”*

The headlines show a Jamaica that was framed in the international press as an island in distress. However, nine months prior, before the international media converged on the island, Jamaica’s two daily newspapers, *The Jamaica Gleaner* (*The Gleaner*) and *The Jamaica Observer* (*The Observer*) began framing the Christopher Coke extradition story and its possible repercussions. These newspapers on August 28, 2009 began to investigate the complexities surrounding the extradition of the alleged transnational drug dealer to the United States. The Coke case would take Jamaica’s international image from tourist haven to international pariah in the global headlines. The newspapers managed to raise awareness about not only the extradition but also about, the fledging nature of Jamaica’s democracy. The newspaper coverage of the extradition provided an opportunity to examine the public discourse on Coke, criminality, civil society and the state of the Jamaican democracy. It became a mode to assess the present societal attitudes toward entrenched cultural ideologies like civic agency, political economy, garrisonization and clientelistic politics.

While there has been much research done on the evolution of journalism in the developed world, it remains largely under-explored in the Third World context especially in the Caribbean. The aim of this dissertation was to explore the role of the daily newspaper in 21st century Jamaica especially as it faced its first big national crisis in almost three decades. The Coke extradition coverage raised questions about patriotism, corruption, the island's diplomacy and its place in the global environment.

The media industry on the island has evolved into an integral part of Jamaica's economic, civil and social structure since independence. Jamaican media scholar Hopeton Dunn contends the Jamaican media is a vital part of the island's democracy and the press is seen as "among the most liberated in the world, comparing favourably with similar industries internationally" (2012:7). *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* represent deep-rooted capitalist interests on the island and wield considerable influence shaping the national discourse. The Coke extradition evolved from a routine extradition to a military conflict and the newspapers have outlined the intricacies of the debate for the past five years.

There is a symbiotic relationship between media and politics in Jamaica. The extradition presented a unique juncture in the island's history to examine these ties from a 21st century perspective as well as how social inequalities and cultural identity guide the newspaper coverage of Jamaica's political landscape. The daily newspapers, particularly *The Gleaner* have a history of raising questions about political practice on the island and have for decades facilitated discussions about the island's democracy. Just as *The Gleaner* deeply divided the island between 1978 through 1980 its anti-socialism discourse against the

Michael Manley government, similar themes emerged in the Coke discussions. The Coke crisis also focused attention on the changes in the Jamaican media environment as media houses adapted to modern communication technology and global news flows. As Herbert argues, the “globalization of news is having far-reaching effects on the news gatherers and the news disseminators” and the Jamaican media houses are being forced to adapt to this new globalized media environment (2001: vii). Communications technology is advancing the newsgathering and dissemination process, and the commercialization and globalization of media are impacting the content and directions of coverage (ibid). These technologies are seen as added tools for promoting active engagement within the Jamaican public sphere.

This study aimed to look at the shifting role of the online versions of the daily newspapers in Jamaica. It was proposed that the online newspaper’s capability to allow dissenting voices and alternative frames has the capacity to alter media relations on the island as well as create an avenue for conflict. This question isn’t only relevant to Jamaica but to many ‘Third World’ countries which are coming to terms with an increasingly technologically mediated news landscape. The thesis considers the news flows, themes, media-source relationships and the extent to which civil society shaped the Coke discourse.

Online newspapers are easily accessible and have created a new avenue for the analysis of news coverage. In addition, the thesis also explores how the online versions of Jamaica’s two morning daily newspapers, *The Jamaica Gleaner* and *The Jamaica Observer* covered the Coke conflict between the Jamaican government, the United States Government and Coke loyalists. The newspaper’s coverage progressed from sharing facts of the case to raising

questions about the island's democracy, good governance and civic participation.

1.2 DEVELOPING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Newspaper production is influenced by a host of factors including, political, economic and cultural circumstances surrounding the news story being covered. In a small country like Jamaica where politics is at the centre of public life, these conditions are exacerbated. It is then the responsibility of the elite newspapers to investigate, tell the stories, fill the gaps in silence and keep their readership informed. In times of crisis, the constraints are heightened and the professional journalistic norms and ethics become distorted. Scholarly research on newspaper patterns during times of crisis and conflict has little to say about countries like Jamaica, tending to focus on developed countries. That narrow focus risks misreading how a crisis or crises unfold in the media elsewhere. As Marlene Cuthbert notes, "mass media in any nation are circumscribed to and limited by the political, economic and social conditions in which they exist" (1976:90). In Jamaica, political tribalism has permeated every facet of public life and this is replicated in the way the newspapers cover the island.

When the media report on politics they create narratives with plots and actors (Street, 2011). In the case of Coke, the newspapers provided a platform for the framing of national political discourse and became a space where discussions about Coke were constructed, political ideologies challenged and civil society was noticeably absent. The mass media, because of Jamaica's history are inevitably partial and influenced by an array of political and cultural forces. As McCombs and Shaw (1972) show, media bias can have far-

reaching repercussions in terms to public opinion and shaping the political legitimacy of the issue being covered. The framing of the news is an “exercise in power, particularly as it affects our understanding of the political world” (Reese, 2001:10). The newspapers’ Coke coverage provided a framework to guide an understanding about the forces shaping Jamaica’s political world.

A study of the Jamaican newspapers requires an understanding of the importance of partisan politics and how it has been mediated on the island. The thesis extends beyond the traditional theoretical tools used to analyse media research based on the United States and United Kingdom to conceptualize the way media are working not only in Jamaica but also, in many developing countries. *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* will be conceptualized not only as sites for sparking political conversation but as civic agents who were an integral part of the debate and resolution of the Coke extradition. Using the islands’ two daily newspapers will offer insight into the way politicians; civic agents and ordinary citizens expressed their views on the Coke extradition and its effects on the island. It will help to illustrate the media’s role in shaping public discourse not only around Coke but the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the island’s relationship with the United States. As the debates over governance and accountability raged on the island, divisions along class and party lines became blurred as Jamaicans grappled with pushing then Prime Minister Bruce Golding toward a resolution.

1.2.1 CIVIL SOCIETY & CIVIC AGENCY

Caribbean scholars, Stuart Hall, Trevor Munroe, Michael Witter, and Hume Johnson have all examined the role of civil society in Jamaica and have drawn varying conclusions about civic participation in the past 50 years. Civil

society is embedded in Jamaica's political history, as Chapter Two details. However, as international aid dwindles and economic instability continues to affect charitable contributions, civic agency is in decline. There have been regional calls in the Caribbean for increased citizen participation in local government as part of their millennium goals for "social transformation and economic development" (Miller, 2000:4). However, in 2009/2010 Jamaica was still struggling to realize these goals. The thesis will explore how the Coke extradition provided a stage for civil society to show its commitment to community renewal. The thesis considers several factions of civil society from traditional civil society organization to non-traditional area leaders like Coke as providing a foundation for civic engagement in their communities.

The rapid technological transformations accompanying the information revolution in Jamaica, has opened new platforms for civic organizations to campaign and extend their message. Miller argues, "An increasingly assertive citizenry, bolstered by ready access to information of public affairs and of their rights and powers, is no longer prepared to passively consent to decisions handed down to them, or to accept choices made on their behalf by leaders who they see as being remote to their situation/concerns" (2000:5). By using Coke to test Miller's assertions conclusions can be made about how the newspaper coverage of Coke can be used as a barometer for civic engagement to grasp how civil society asserted itself as Jamaica hurtled toward military conflict and gross civil disobedience.

1.2.2 POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NEWSPAPERS

Political economy as a theoretical framework is often used to understand "social change and historical transformation" (Mosco, 1996:27). It

also provides a platform for the study of “the social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumptions of these resources” as well as a broader understanding of the patterns of control and survival in social life (Mosco, 2009:24-5). The political-economy approach in this thesis explores the evolution of social life in Jamaica over the months leading up to Coke’s extradition as revealed by *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*. This theoretical framework sets the foundation for the analysis of the political, economic and cultural forces shaping the Coke extradition. While Jamaica’s economic development has remained stagnant in the past decade, its media conglomerates continue to thrive and remain profitable. The thesis investigates and highlights the idiosyncrasies of the Jamaican landscape by considering not only the traditional factors shaping the political economy of the news but how Coke, diplomacy and good governance fit into the paradigm. It looks at the forces shaping news coverage on the island including class, literacy restrictions, ownership pressures, U.S. proximity and global news corporations. It also considers the impact of the island’s culture on the way that the extraditing debate unfolded. This approach sheds the most light on contemporary Jamaica and its position in the wider global economic structure.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This thesis seeks to expand the scholarship about newspapers, civil society, political economy and good governance in Jamaica by deconstructing the Coke newspaper coverage in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* between August 2009 and June 2010. A study focusing on civil society and newspapers in Jamaica is broad. However, an empirical study about the island’s political

economy and the role of civil society through the online platform at this specific juncture of Jamaican history allows a snapshot to be taken of a country on the cusp of change. Since the Coke affair, Jamaica has been in flux and the island is ripe for a social revolution. Some commentators claim that Jamaicans at home and abroad appear to want to move beyond simple conversation to mobilize and fight for a better Jamaica (Meeks, 2007). Yet when opportunities like Coke present themselves, the call to action is tentative and community mobilization delayed.

New technologies have forced Jamaicans to think more globally and shifted the way they perceive, practice, produce and supply journalistic content. These shifts have also raised further queries about how journalists are shaping the news based on their source pool, ownership structures, socio-cultural dynamics and the laws that pertain to freedom of information on the island. This study uses content analysis and interviews to look at the 2010 Jamaica/USA Extradition crisis; how *The Jamaica Gleaner* and *The Jamaica Observer* framed it; and the role civil society played in its resolution.

The thesis will examine how these organizations constructed the discourse about Jamaica/US relations, drug cartels and political corruption in the tourist haven. It reviews the tone of the coverage and the implications it had for Jamaica's perception at home and in a global environment, its economic growth, a shift in citizen politics, enhanced governance and the role of news coverage in a changing media environment. These ideas will be examined through the theoretical lenses of civic agency and political economy.

In order for conclusions to be made on the role of political economy and civic agency during the Coke incident, the following questions must be answered:

- How did the newspapers cover the Coke extradition crisis?
- How did civil society shape or affect the coverage of the Coke extradition crisis?
- How did the ideology of Jamaica shape news coverage of the Coke extradition crisis?

A study of Jamaican media during the Coke crisis is important because it provides the opportunity to reveal both the possibilities and limitations of the Jamaica newspaper system in the 21st century as it tries to reach its full multi-media capacity. The thesis also provides a glimpse into how civic engagement and activism were being replicated on the island at the juncture of the Coke extradition and questions its ability to enhance governance as the country tries to reshape itself in an increasingly global community.

1.4 THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. This initial chapter provides an overview of the research including the theoretical framework, research objectives and the limitations of the study.

Chapter Two delves into the political and social background of Jamaica, describes the circumstances leading up to the Coke extradition and looks at the island's relationship with the United States. It also discusses Jamaica's media systems, civic culture and the interactions between the two entities.

Chapter Three focuses on the theoretical frameworks used to define the scope of the thesis. It looks at the role of newspapers in democratic

governance, Habermas's public sphere, and the emergence of online news. It also explores the value of using political economy and civic agency to study the Coke extradition through the lens of the newspapers.

The methodological considerations and the principles that guide those determinations for the thesis are discussed in chapter four. It describes the value of content analysis to establish the patterns of newspaper coverage during the Coke extradition. It also explains the use of in-depth interviews to complement the findings from the content analysis to give a broader picture about the role of newspapers and civic culture on the island.

Chapter Five discusses the results of the content analysis. It considers the type and frequency of the content published in the newspapers with respect to Coke. The newspapers were also assessed to consider the tone, sources and prominent themes used to construct the story. The prevalence of news voice was also scrutinized to determine the extent newspaper editorial boards were inserting their own voice and political preferences into the Coke debate.

Civic culture on the island, especially with respect to the extradition, is explored in Chapter Six. It utilizes information garnered from the in-depth interviews to examine the civic agency of traditional civil society factions. It also reflects on alternative civic entities that also played a role in shaping the extradition and how they were represented in both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*.

Chapter Seven analyses the interview material through the lines of the political economy of the newspapers on the island and looks at ambiguities in the perceptions of the Coke coverage. It also discusses how injustice, education,

class, ownership, political corruption and social protests are shaping and influencing public life in 21st century Jamaica.

The conclusions drawn from this study can be found in Chapter Eight. It gives a summary of the findings of the thesis and discusses its theoretical contributions. It explores how political economy and civic agency as theoretical frameworks can give us a better understanding not only about Jamaican newspapers but civil society and their roles in facilitating greater government accountability on the island. Future possibilities about newspaper research on the island are also discussed especially given the rapid development of the online platforms in the wake of the Coke extradition.

1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study explores only the morning daily newspapers. It excluded the voices of those in afternoon papers like *The Star* and weekend papers like *The Sunday Herald* who may have championed the alternative in a different demographic. While the Coke extradition continues to have far-reaching implications and consequences in the Jamaican landscape only the initial ten months of the extradition are examined. Any revelations made in the wake of the subsequent Manatt/ Dudas Enquiry, Coke's sentencing, the JLP's demise and the Tivoli Enquiry are not considered in depth. The thesis looks only at a snapshot of the Coke story and does not take into account how the newspaper coverage evolved in the wake of his extradition.

The in-depth interviews conducted were done mainly with journalists from *The Gleaner* and columnists from *The Observer* because they were more open to facilitating the researcher. Attempts to interview a wider range, including more *Observer* journalists, did not come to fruition. As a result, the

views represented are not equally balanced between both newspapers. However, given the results garnered from the content analysis indicate that views expressed by *Observer* journalists would not have been too disparate from those interviewed at *The Gleaner*.

This research project is centred on how the Christopher Coke extradition was covered, the news flows, who dominated the news agenda and the themes to emerge from those initial 10 months of coverage. Apart from the inclusion of letters to the editor and the newspaper's commentary, it does not take into account how the wider audience, civil society figures and elites received and perceived the coverage by the newspapers.

Despite these limitations, the researcher is confident that this thesis can still provide a deeper understanding of the role of newspapers in 21st century Jamaica.

CHAPTER 2:

JAMAICA: POLITICS, NEWS & CONFLICT

Jamaica is more than just the 'brand' the world recognizes so well; it's a place of pride for the people who live here- Portia Simpson-Miller

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the aftermath of the Coke extradition, there have been questions about influence and who played what roles in the resolution of the crisis. This thesis explores media influence, specifically the way the newspapers shaped the extradition, opened a space for dialogue and created a shift in the nature of media/ government relations on the island. But before we can delve into the impact that the extradition had on newspaper journalism and public life, we have to consider Jamaica's place in the global community and how its history has shaped current events and their social, economic and political significance. This chapter discussed Jamaica's tribal political system, its garrison culture, their press systems and their role in the island's politics and civil society. The chapter shows that government and civic activism are inextricably entwined; the Jamaican government cannot be understood without considering the role of the press and the press cannot be understood without looking at civic life on the island.

2.2 JAMAICA: CONTRADICTION & CONFLICT

Jamaica is a multi-faceted and culturally rich island, a blend of tourism, hedonism, reggae, crime, drugs and communal violence. This island boasts a population of 2.85 million people and is not your typical tourist haven. While its beaches may be idyllic and its reggae rhythms hypnotic, Jamaica's political

turmoil and ever-increasing crime rate pose a hindrance to its continued economic growth on the international markets.

In the first decade of the 21st century, Jamaica saw stagnant economic growth, a rise in class divisions and homicides as well as an escalation in debt. The fraying social fabric shows disparities between “privilege and poverty, power and subjection, and hope and opportunity and is not producing solidarity and united responses to injustice” (Weis, 2005:138).

With dwindling agricultural and bauxite resources, the country is pressed to find new alternative sources of revenues. Jamaica’s economic staple is tourism, but it alone cannot sustain the nation. The island’s debt burden in 2010 was the fourth highest in the world per capita; unemployment was at 12.9%, literacy at 87% and 16.5% of the population lived below the poverty line (Central Intelligence Agency, 2011). Jamaica has had a prolonged relationship with both the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, generating significant criticism. “Structural adjustment has produced an enormous debt burden; exacerbated already huge social inequalities and rendered large sections of the population ‘irrelevant’, with productive sectors like agriculture and manufacturing reeling from trade liberalization;” and a political climate where the citizens are suffocating (Weis, 2005:117). Added to these conditions are the high crime rate, rampant corruption and local brain drain. By the end of 2010, the island was classified as the third most murderous country in the world with a murder rate of 0.324 per 1000 people (nationmaster.com). A state of incivility, heightened by crime and the broad disregard for authority continues to pervade the society (Meeks, 2007).

In 1980, Andrew Kopkind, in his article 'Trouble in Paradise' said, "the tensions run high in Kingston, and the social polarization is so extreme that everyone is drawn into the drama.... there is really no longer a social contract here, and the question of how Jamaican society is to be ordered remains to be answered." Thirty years later, this statement still defines Jamaica. Scholars argue that a major part of Jamaica's social and economic shortcomings stem from partisan politics. "State power in Jamaica can simultaneously be predatory and populist; violent and paternal; as well as democratic and viciously abusive of human rights, depending on the exigencies of the political situation" (Gray, 2004:5). Weis (2005) contends that the current level of disengagement of Jamaicans from the struggle of social change can be linked to frustration over the corrupt political system, which is premised upon patron-client relations. This system takes its most extreme form in Kingston's warring garrison communities, heavily armed ghetto communities that are sharply divided according to party affiliation.

All of the obstacles prefaced have led to a "paucity of ideas" and a lack of a "coherent vision for Jamaica's future", as it grapples to make its place in the 21st century international community (Meeks, 2007:7). It was within this setting that the extradition of Christopher Coke to the U.S. to answer drugs charges took place. These events can be studied as a case of how far Jamaicans have acquiesced and allowed their public life to be determined by these obstacles.

In order to understand Jamaica and its idiosyncrasies we must first grasp the notion of their brand of political and civic engagement, the interwoven nature of crime and politics and the role their daily newspapers

play in social crises. Jamaica's political and media environment is so atypical that it provides a unique platform for the study of civic agency and the political economy of the media especially when confronting a national crisis.

2.3 JAMAICA'S FOUNDATIONS & PARTY POLITICS

Jamaica's formal political system is based on the "Westminster democratic model. State and government are conceived in more separate terms and it is entirely legitimate to organize opposition to the government" (Manley 1974:26). The island has been characterized by a political duopoly whereby two parties alternate power (Lewis, 2010). Meeks (1996:127) called it "one of the tightest, most impermeable and consistent two-party systems in the hemisphere." The parties that share representation on the island are the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP). There is also a third fringe party, the National Democratic Movement (NDM). The JLP was elected in 2007 after 18 years in Opposition; it was defeated in the 2011 election by the PNP.

According to Meeks (2007:115), the central problem in Jamaica is "the character of the social and political arrangements." The JLP finds its roots in the trade union movement and in the 1960s was led by Alexander Bustamante. It developed into a multi-class party with a core middle-class leadership. Norman Manley led the PNP with the middle-class as its core support as well as working-class members of the National Workers Union (Clarke, 2006). Between the 1960s and 1980s both parties each presided over the Gordon House Parliament for significant periods of time. The political climate of the country in the 1980s shifted toward neo-liberal politics and the PNP favoured moving toward an electoral machine model of governance where there was

more of a focus on the four-year election cycle. At the other end of the spectrum, the JLP continued with its conservative agenda to nation building (Lewis, 2010).

The island's political system appears democratic. However, Gray (2004:6) asserts that "the outstanding feature of the Jamaican political order is not to be found in its democratic credentials.... it is not so much that Jamaican democracy survives and flourishes, but rather that a predatory state, which increasingly corrupts and violates existing democratic attributes has flowered to maturity." Political tribalism has caused discord, obstruction and enormous bloodshed on the island. Over the years, politicians have used their patronage to buy votes in key constituencies, cultivated their links to gangs who terrorize opposition electors and in their unique way maintain political stability on the island (Clarke, 2006). Political relationships in Jamaica historically have been maintained through the distribution of material resources and the provision of a sense of political identity and belonging for the economically and socially marginalized citizens of downtown Kingston (Sives, 2002).

This stability is a fragile one. Bourne (2010) in his survey on modelling political trust in Jamaica found that only 8 out of every 100 people trust the Jamaican Government. He found that distrust in government has led to a decline in voter turnout but an increase in "unconventional political participation." The citizens of the country do not believe that the government acts out of "good intent" (ibid: 84). Politics in Jamaica demands loyalty to the party, the party leader and the government above public interest (Charles, 2010). The widespread homicide rate, high extortion and continued victimization on the island may be seen partly as symptoms of the lack of

confidence in the economic future of the country as well as the severe mistrust of its leadership and each other.

2.3.1 POLITICAL POLARIZATION AND CORRUPTION

Developing countries have routinely been characterized as severely corrupt by agencies such as Transparency International. In 2009, Jamaica had a corruption perception score of 3 on a 10-point scale and was ranked 99th in the world. In 2010 this improved slightly to 3.3 and a ranking of 87th based on how corrupt countries' public sectors were perceived to be (Transparency International, 2009/2010). Huntington (1968:71) said, "Corruption varies inversely with political organizations, and to the extent that corruption builds parties, it undermines the conditions of its own existence. Corruption is more prevalent in states which lack effective political parties, [and] in societies where the interests of the individual, the family, the clique or the clan predominate."

Some of these conditions appear in Jamaica. Sives (2012) noted that issues of poverty, inequality, exclusion, the linkages between politicians and criminality and the nature of entrenched partisan identity have been prohibitive to progress in Jamaica. These factors have called into question the legitimacy of the government especially in a climate where elected politicians are struggling to provide a sound social, political and economic environment for their constituents.

Manley (1974:5) described the island as a duality of challenge and opportunity; where "men who pursue power for its own sake usually do so either because it satisfies something in their own egotism or because they want for themselves the fruits of power." It is within this opportunistic framework

that political corruption has become a threat to the national security of the island. Especially when alliances are made with transnational criminal organizations, it supports terrorism, arms smuggling, drug trafficking and money laundering. However, Collier (2005:93) asserts that Caribbean governments are “in a quandary – caught between conflicting international and domestic demands for political and economic reform.”

The Coke extradition took place against these factors and highlighted the growing concerns over corruption, governance and accountability. It presented an opportunity for the Government to break the chains of corruption and set a new national precedent. It also gave the news media an opportunity to highlight incidents of corruption, party-garrison clientelistic relationships and facilitate debate about good governance and a new 21st century vision for the island.

2.4 JAMAICA OVERSHADOWED BY CRIMINALITY

The rise of corruption and a disregard for the rule of law have led to an inordinate spike in criminality and lawlessness on the island. Crime is Jamaica’s most pressing problem, mainly because there has been a co-partnership between crime and politics (Harriott, 2008). With an average annual murder rate of 1600, since 2005, the population has seemingly become desensitized to the devastation crime wreaks on the nation. Economic stagnation and high unemployment exacerbate the crime problem and fuel the drug trade and gang violence on the island. Locals believe that American deportees and their affiliated gangs are involved in drug trafficking, extortion and violence and are responsible for much of the crime on the island (Sullivan, 2006). As Griffith (1997) argues, to grasp the impact of the transnational drug

trade, an understanding of the local geography and political landscape are integral. Jamaica's legacy of political linkages to crime has heightened the breakdown of law and order on the island.

In addition to the daily, sometimes hourly outbreaks of violence, Jamaicans must also deal with the costs of poverty, illiteracy and the sometimes-inhumane tactics of the police. All of these are a reflection of the "implosive dynamics of the island" (Weis, 2005:136). The island nation has a long tradition of managing state violence with scant regard for human rights violations (Lewis, 2010). In 2001, the then director-general of the Planning Institute of Jamaica (PIOJ) stated that "crime and violence is undermining every aspect of our economy and society, posing a systematic threat to the viability of the society.... it is not an exaggeration to suggest that if we fail to deal with the crisis, Jamaica runs the risk of ultimately disintegrating and being classified as a failed state" (Hughes, 2001). Horace Levy (2009) argues the root of the problem is with the political parties who in their quest for power have converted communities into garrisons and transformed instruments of unity and solidarity into war machines. He further states that the "authoritarian garrison structure with violent ways has turned communities into killing fields, robbing them of their cohesion, vitality and ability to function as communities" (ibid: 12-13).

Gangs whether politically motivated or not, are among Jamaica's greatest threat. A "Gang Threat Assessment Survey" conducted by the Jamaican government in 2009 concluded that there were at least 268 criminal groups on the island, earning cash from illicit activities like extortion, transporting cocaine, contract killings, selling marijuana, prostitution and

international cybercrime (*The Economist*, 2010a). Amnesty International's Director for the Americas, Kerrie Howard, in 2008 said "Criminal gangs make up a small proportion of the community population but their actions are devastating: they keep thousands of people living in constant fear and provide an excuse for government officials and the society in general to label all community members as criminals" (amnesty.org, Gangs and police cripple Jamaica's inner cities, 2008). At the heart of the crime predicament and ultimately the basis for the Coke extradition crisis was the connection between crime, garrisons and politics on the island.

2.4.1 KINGSTON METROPOLITAN AREA & GARRISON POLITICS

There are serious barriers to understanding the dialogue and organization of lower income, politically polarized neighbourhoods in Jamaica but understanding the garrison system is central to grasping the island's political and social landscape as well its struggle with crime. Jamaican political scientist Carl Stone was the first person to introduce the term garrison to scholarly literature to describe Jamaicans on the fringes. He described it as a veritable fortress where the dominant party and/or its local agents/supporters are able to exercise control over all significant political, economic and community-related social activities (Stone, 1980). The sprawling Kingston Metropolitan Area (KMA) has a population of just fewer than 700,000 and clear demarcations of the class system. Poor urban planning and the prevalence of garrisons have reshaped the KMA. The polarization in this region of the island is severe: at Cross Roads there is a symbolic class division between the middle and upper classes 'uptown' and the lower classes 'downtown'.

Garrisons are a uniquely Jamaican phenomenon, but as elsewhere in the Third World, they reflect how marginalized and deinstitutionalized groups within the civil sphere must be understood within the context of a culture of abject poverty, constant conflict and survival (Johnson, 2005). Garrisons are a totalitarian space in which the options of their residents are controlled; any social, political or economic activity within the community can only take place with the approval of the leadership (Figueroa & Sives, 2002). All internal disputes are settled and punishments handed out without interference of the state. The Jamaican government has no authority or power over these communities, except to invade using military force.

Garrison communities developed in the 1960s when the two political parties allocated large-scale housing schemes to their party supporters (Goodwin, 2001). Since then, clientelism has tied politics and certain communities together through “material and identity-based relationships” (Sives, 2002:86). To this day, seven of the 15 constituencies in Kingston and St. Andrew vote almost exclusively along party lines (Clarke, 2006). The political violence often associated with these communities reached a peak in the 1980 election when 800 people were killed in clashes between rival communities (Sullivan, 2010). The deterioration of the social infrastructure in these communities has made the maintenance of law and order almost impossible for the government (Goodwin, 2001).

Western Kingston represents a model of garrison communities. On the surface it offers an example of the new social order. While there are understood connections between the area leaders and their members of parliament, the power sharing is not equitable. It is a complex political

arrangement involving legitimate political leadership in parliament and local government coupled with 'donmanship'; Lewis (2005) called it a hybrid political form. These divisions have made the Jamaican political system unique, volatile and unstable especially during election campaigns where political violence and electoral manipulation are heightened. The Jamaican garrison community, under the command of community dons, displays the characteristics of an autocratic authority that is a carefully sculpted but unstable counter-society. In this fortified political zone, the police, as a legitimate state authority, are looked on with contempt, while alternative governance and extra-judicial structures replace the rule of law (Charles, 2002).

Party allegiance is critical to the success of these garrisons and it is formed not by ideas but by the 'politics of scarce benefits', as it is known (e.g. housing, grants, construction jobs, infrastructure projects). This is administered in the community by autocratic strongmen known as 'dons' (Weis, 2005:133).

2.4.2 AREA LEADERS AND DONMANSHIP

Area leaders in West Kingston's garrisons since the 1960s have become rulers of their own mini-territories within the Jamaican nation-state. Johnson and Soeters (2008:166-167) argue that "rogue leaders within 'civil society' evolve where and when the state is too weak or too involved with other priorities to control the monopoly of violence and ensure good governance, safety and public order in everyday life." Community leaders within the garrison system are usually prominent citizens with controlling authority within this communal space.

In these communities, the dons form the core of political leadership and prop up the base of their respective political parties by “enforcing territorial and political allegiance on those domiciled within these militarized political fortresses” (Johnson, 2005:583). As part of the reward system for their blind loyalty, government construction and other contracts continue to be procured (Johnson, 2005). Rapley (2003:28) notes that the dons have created small fiefdoms where they operate with autonomy and as a result “pose a more severe challenge to the sovereignty of the Jamaican state than any foreign power ever did.” Rivke Jaffe (2012a: 195) argues that the contribution the dons make to “the erosion of the formal rule of law and their undermining of state monopoly of the means of coercion... allows them to thrive.”

In recent years these dons have become increasingly self-sufficient by generating income through both legal businesses and illicit means like drug trafficking and extortion. This is mainly due to the growing demands of their constituents and the diminishing financial contributions from politicians. Rapley (2003) explained that due to their geographic location, and their Diaspora connections in major American cities dons found themselves in a unique position to exploit the drug trade. Despite new revenue streams and declining reliance on the state, strong party “loyalty persists and Kingston remains a political checkerboard, with garrisons voting 100% one way or the other” (Weis, 2005:134). In addition to financial support, dons also provide security for their constituents. Jaffe (2012a: 184) notes that the “informal extra-legal don-based system of ‘self-help’ law and order, which generally relies on violent retribution, is relatively popular among marginalized urban

resident who feel the formal justice system is biased and inaccessible and who may also benefit from the broader social provisioning role the dons fulfil.”

Johnson (2005) contends that the very presence, occupation and encroachment of garrisons on the civil sphere pose a direct challenge to the legitimate governance of the Jamaican state and underscore the security dilemma it currently confronts. Since their emergence in the 1960s their influence and infamy in the wider Jamaica community has steadily grown. At the centre of the garrison debate is the West Kingston community of Tivoli Gardens.

2.4.3 TIVOLI AND THE JLP

Tivoli Gardens represented the centre of the Kingston Western parliamentary seat for the JLP. Its MP in 2009/2010 was the then Prime Minister, Bruce Golding¹ who held the seat between 2005 and 2011. Tivoli has always been a JLP stronghold with Golding’s predecessor Edward Seaga² controlling it for 43 years. Tivoli prior to May 2010 was seen as a mini-state within the Jamaican state system with its own system of punishment and rewards (Lewis, 2010).

It was Seaga, in the 1960s who transformed the community formerly known as ‘Back o’ Wall’ into Tivoli Gardens. It was a multi-storey, government-sponsored housing scheme populated with JLP voters who were shipped in from outside the constituency (Lacey, 1977). Over the years, not much has changed in the community. The buildings have deteriorated but generations

¹ Bruce Golding became Jamaica’s eighth Prime Minister on September 11, 2007. His political career with the JLP began in 1972 when he became the youngest person

² Edward Seaga led the JLP from 1974 to 2005 and was Jamaica’s fifth Prime Minister from 1980 to 1989. He was also Member of Parliament for Tivoli Gardens for 43 years.

have carried on with complete loyalty to the party. No other JLP constituency reaches the hegemony of Kingston Western. The JLP contends that “it has been necessary to build a secure residential zone for their party followers” because they would otherwise be victimized by the PNP (Clarke, 2006:430).

2.4.4 WHO IS MICHAEL CHRISTOPHER ‘DUDUS’ COKE?

In Tivoli Gardens, Christopher “Dudus” Coke was the reputed leader of both the community and the transnational gang, The Shower Posse. He was a second-generation leader who is known to his supporters as “The President”. He was also an international businessman who had access to state construction contracts. Coke held over \$140 million in state contracts and reportedly controlled the transnational trade of guns and drugs through the Shower Posse (Lewis, 2010). The Jamaican people for years had accepted the status quo and Coke’s role on the island. As happens in other garrisons, Coke ran a system of justice, provided security to the nearby markets and had considerable influence in his community.

The United States State Department added Coke to its “World’s Most Dangerous” list in early 2009, accusing him of masterminding drug trafficking as far away as New York. They requested the Jamaican government extradite him to face charges in the United States. This application led to tension between the neighbours that strained diplomacy and led to a delay in the naming of an ambassador, the cancellation of visas and rising anxiety among the Jamaican community.

2.5 NEIGHBOURLY RELATIONS: JAMAICA VS. U.S.A

Jamaica and the United States have had very close foreign relations for decades. Norris (1962:71) asserted on the eve of Jamaica’s constitutional

independence that the island was still colonial at heart; drawing her values from foreign sources and that this was the greatest wrong colonialism done to the island. The impact of American involvement on the island has had economic, social, diplomatic, political as well as cultural implications. Although Caribbean people have a long history with European colonialism, over the years “their European heritage is constantly being eroded by their growing dependence on the North American economy and by their naked exposure to the power of North American telecommunications” (Palmer, 1998:1).

The U.S. has shared a stake in Caribbean development for decades; it has been involved in the Panama Canal Zone, Cuba, Puerto Rico, U.S. Virgin Islands and the occupation of the Dominican Republic and Haiti as well as political intervention in Guyana, Grenada and Jamaica (Baptiste, 1998). In addition it has stockpiled Caribbean oil, bauxite and other raw materials in preparation for the Cold War and the Korean War and was allegedly associated in the overthrow of a purportedly communist regime in Guatemala and the Sandinista leftist regime in Nicaragua (ibid). In addition, Jamaica and the U.S. share economic linkages and the American government provides the country with significant aid to battle issues such as drug trafficking, hurricane reconstruction and the AIDS epidemic (Sullivan, 2006).

2.5.1 THE JAMAICAN DIASPORA

To augment its economic ties, Jamaica and the U.S. share a Diaspora partnership. Hall (1999:3) notes, “Poverty, underdevelopment, the lack of opportunities – the legacies of Empire everywhere – may force people to migrate. Bringing about the scattering – the dispersal. But each dissemination

carries with it the promise of redemptive return.” Jamaica has a long history of migration with the United States and the United Kingdom as many Jamaicans move to abroad to seek employment and education opportunities. “Migration has been central to Jamaica’s economic development and also ‘Jamaicans’ sense of themselves and their place in the world” (Thomas, 2004:2). Johnson (2012) contends that Diasporas can be seen not just as a dispersal of people but also as a contemporary version of Jürgen Habermas’s idea of the public sphere, that is, a space where migrants can coalesce despite their geographic location to discuss their concerns. This space exists not only physically but also through dialogue; it gives those in the Diaspora an opportunity to reclaim their identity and redefine their understanding of citizenship and nationality (ibid: 2).

Estimates indicate that there are as many persons of Jamaican descent living outside the country as within it. In 2010, Glennie and Chappell noted, in a 2008 survey, that about 637,000 foreign-born Jamaicans lived in the United States, 123,500 in Canada and 150,000 in the United Kingdom. However, due to increased immigration controls, Jamaican migration to these countries has been steadily falling. They also note that there may be a significant number of Jamaicans who live and work in these countries that official immigration statistics don’t capture due to visa violations and those working without authorization. As Bryce-Laporte (1976:7) asserts, migration is part of the island’s culture and has led to “migration-mobility syndrome.” Sixty-eight percent of Jamaicans surveyed by Thomas-Hope (2002) expressed a desire to emigrate from Jamaica, for many it is integral to achieving socioeconomic stability and mobility.

Over the years, West Indian migrants began to see themselves as both “here” and “there” in the Caribbean even though they had migrated from their home countries (Simmons & Plaza, 2006). ‘Home’ wasn’t regarded as the place where one was born or had spent formative years, but anywhere friends, relatives and members of the cultural community are found (Plaza, 2010). These ties have grown over time. Jamaican migrants have made significant contributions to the island. They send remittances to their families; have invested in Jamaican businesses; and have formed Diaspora groups that actively raise money for causes at home. These remittances and investments help to keep the Jamaican economy relatively stable. In 2007 the World Bank reported remittances of US\$2 billion and US\$1.8 billion in 2009, a decrease blamed on the world economic crisis (Glennie &Chappell, 2010).

While it is difficult to quantify the true influence of the Diaspora in the Caribbean and specifically on the Coke extradition, the assumption can be made that it played a role in the media coverage. There has been much scholarship about the geo-political influence of agents in the Diaspora. In Jamaica, the government through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, in the past decade has forged a strong relationship with Jamaicans in the Diaspora. They have incorporated community relations officers to help with resettlement, launched the Jamaica Diaspora Foundation, a Diaspora Advisory Board and a Jamaica Diaspora Future Leaders forum. They also convene biannual conferences for the Diaspora in an effort to strengthen the linkages between home and abroad (ibid, 2010).

Outside of connections with family, the media represents a communication medium that keeps those in the Diaspora connected with political and cultural events at 'home.' The evolution of computer technology and increased Internet access has become a vital way for migrants "to develop, maintain, and re-create transnational social networks" (Alonzo & Oiarzabal, 2010: IX). The Internet has facilitated what Jennifer Brinkerhoff (2009) refers to as digital Diasporas. Scherer and Behmer reiterate that migration can destroy one's sense of communal identity but this is being reformed with the help of the Internet (Adamson 2002: 297). Jamaicans in the Diaspora have recreated this sense of community by accessing media *at home* to remain connected to their homeland. In recent years, almost all of Jamaica's main print and broadcast media have been made accessible online. This has provided a new space for Jamaicans abroad to participate in their democracy as well as negotiate and renegotiate their Diasporic identities. The geo-political influence of Diaspora has been widely debated in recent years. During the Coke extradition debate, Jamaicans abroad were able to participate by following the timeline of events through the lens of online newspapers and social media, and thus had the potential to become a political force themselves.

2.6 THE COKE EXTRADITION PROCESS

Jamaica is the Caribbean's largest producer and exporter of marijuana and is a major transit port for South American cocaine (Sullivan, 2006). The U.S. has a very strong narcotics diplomacy strategy in the Caribbean where it has signed numerous treaties to reduce regional drug trafficking and money

laundering. As a result the United States plays an integral role in terms of contributing technical assistance and training to help the Jamaican government to strengthen its drug enforcement units (ibid). Until the beginning of the extradition fight, the island had a very good relationship with the United States over the extradition of persons accused of serious crimes. Jamaican authorities in 2009 extradited 18 suspects to the United States and 14 in 2008 (Jamaica Gleaner, 2010a). This law enforcement relationship with the U.S. is emblematic of Jamaica's internationalized status, in the terms of Manuel Castells' networked society thesis. Castells (2005:11) argues, "The network society is a hyper social society, not a society of isolation." The island's proximity to the United States, its trade partnerships and Diasporic connections cement their intertwined relationship.

In August 2009, the island was feeling the effects of the global financial crisis, experiencing low productivity and an escalating crime rate. In the midst of national strife, the United States State Department asked the Jamaican government to extradite Coke to New York to stand trial for the trafficking of drugs and guns. Despite the goodwill between the two countries, the Jamaican government delayed completing the extradition request. The Prime Minister refused to sign the extradition order, stating that he believed that the Americans had illegally obtained their evidence against Coke. The State Department's March, 2010 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report (INCSR) highlighted a dramatic change in the Jamaican government from its earlier co-operation on extraditions. It questioned the country's commitment to law enforcement and the extent of the government's corruption (Sullivan, 2010).

The government's decision to delay the extradition of Coke began to affect the wider political economy of the country when the American Embassy began to cancel visas of prominent members of the government, private and public sectors. To further complicate the process, in March the then PNP opposition revealed that Golding had hired the Los Angeles-based firm Manatt, Phelps & Phillips to lobby the Obama administration, a claim the Prime Minister initially denied. In May, Golding retracted that statement in parliament. He said, "I sanctioned the initiative knowing such interventions have in the past proven to be of considerable value in dealing with issues involving both countries."³

Golding's retraction angered many Jamaicans, especially those in the private sector and civil society organizations who called on him to resign. It was widely assumed that the extradition was not immediately enforced because the ruling party did not want to upset supporters in Tivoli Gardens (The Economist, 2010b). Then, in May 2010, the public outcry and pressure became too much for the government, and the extradition treaty was signed and the military dispatched to Tivoli Gardens in an attempt to capture Coke.

2.6.1 STATE OF EMERGENCY

The Coke extradition created the perfect storm as Jamaica's social dilemmas collided with a flawed political system and the power of the United States government. The extradition was a prime example of Jamaica's history of resistance in a 21st century setting, outside of the previous nation-building struggles of slavery and colonization. Jamaicans are no strangers to civil

³ Bruce Golding addresses The Jamaican parliament at Gordon House on May 11, 2010.

disobedience, especially among the urban poor who have a history of voicing their discontent in the form of protests by creating barricades to block roads, burning tires, looting, vandalism and violent clashes with security forces. In the case of Coke, the stonewalling of the extradition had put the Government in a precarious position. Golding addressed the nation on May 17th, 2010 and expressed his remorse for stalling the extradition and the party's involvement with Manatt, Phelps and Phillips. He said:

I wrestled with the potential conflict between the issues of non-compliance with the terms of the treaty and the unavoidable perception that because Coke is associated with my constituency, the government's position was politically contrived. I felt that the concepts of fairness and justice should not be sacrificed in order to avoid that perception. In the final analysis, however, that must be weighed against the public mistrust that this matter has evoked and the destabilizing effect it is having on the nation's business. Accordingly, the Minister of Justice, in consideration of all the factors, will sign the authorization for the extradition process to commence (The Jamaica Gleaner, 2010d).

Political ambitions erupted in a social crisis after Golding authorized his Attorney General to sign the order to have Coke arrested and extradited to the United States. Jamaica's stability was challenged after the extradition order was signed and the violence that followed has been described as "the worst in Jamaican post-independence history" (The Jamaica Observer, 2011a).

On May 23rd, after outbreaks of violence, a State of Emergency was ordered for some of the island's urban centres, including the Kingston Metropolitan Area and the parishes of St. Andrew and St. Catherine. Golding insisted that the violence was a "calculated assault on the authority of the state" and vowed that the security forces would use deadly force to eliminate those who had wreaked havoc on the nation's capital (The Jamaica Gleaner,

2010e). Tivoli Gardens became the centre of the extradition battle, as residents waged a campaign of civil disorder to protect their area leader. The bloody incursion saw state forces battling Coke loyalists with high-powered weapons and the entire city of Kingston grinding to a halt for nearly a week (The Jamaica Gleaner, 2010b). When the siege was over, Coke had not been apprehended, the death toll was recorded at 73, over 700 were detained, at least one police station was burnt to the ground. Control of Tivoli Gardens, for the first time in decades, was transferred from the gangs back to the state (The Jamaica Gleaner, 2010b). In the following years, the death toll has been re-evaluated and raised to 81 in the 2013 Public Defenders Interim Report on the Tivoli Gardens Incursion (The Jamaica Gleaner, 2013).

Despite the heavy gun battle, Coke eluded the security forces and wasn't captured until June 22, 2010. Two days later he was extradited to the U.S. and arraigned on charges of orchestrating a transnational marijuana and crack cocaine drug ring (Sullivan, 2010). The fallout of the State of Emergency and extradition continued with Golding barely surviving a no-confidence vote of 30-28 in parliament to retain his position as Prime Minister (The Jamaica Gleaner, 2010c).

The Coke saga evolved not only in the Jamaican parliament and through the influence of other political and diplomatic forces on the Prime Minister, but also in the news media. The story was complicated and protracted: it extended beyond the Tivoli incursion and Coke's eventual extradition through to the Manatt/Coke enquiry; Golding's resignation; the JLP loss of the 2011 election; Coke's trial and sentencing; and subsequently the Tivoli enquiry. The tenacity and prolonged nature of the news coverage is testament that the Coke crisis

was not only about the war on drugs on the island, political power and diplomacy but a demonstration of the role of the Jamaican media in the 21st century.

2.7 JAMAICAN MEDIA SYSTEMS

Third World media scholars for many years have been critical of an imbalance or one-way flow of news between developed and developing countries. They have asserted a “right to communicate” and called for a more equitable distribution of media facilities and a New Information Order (Johnson-Hill, 1981:1). The media in Jamaica “play a mediating role in the process of social interaction performing the critical function of providing channels for the flows of information to large and diverse groups” (Gordon & Jankee, 1998:2). In comparison to other developing countries, CARICOM⁴ member countries enjoy very modern media technologies, in part because of their close proximity to the United States. Jamaica is no different. Goodwin (2001:44) noted, “Few countries of comparable size have such a strong, varied and determinedly independent media.”

The mass media in the Caribbean had a late start because the islands were so small that information was disseminated through word-of-mouth, the colonizers felt the slaves did not have use for the printed word and the instability on the islands didn’t warrant the investment of permanent institutions (Lent 1990:8). In addition, island governments were sceptical about the impact of the presses and as a result did not encourage their implementation (ibid). When printing presses were established in the

⁴ CARICOM refers to Caribbean Community, the multi-national organization that promotes cohesion, economic viability and development among its 15 Caribbean member states.

Caribbean, there was strict government control and strong ties between politics, journalism and the elite newspaper audiences. The papers were typically printed for the colonizers while the slaves and natives continued to use their oral systems that had been passed down for generations (Lent, 1973). Lent (1990) contends that the rise of newspaper growth in the Caribbean was energized by crises on the islands especially the ending of slavery and the establishment of governments. During the four years prior to emancipation in Jamaica, the island had as many as 20 newspapers (Lent, 1990). “At the dawn of the new century, the issues of concern to the Commonwealth Caribbean editors included questioning the status of Crown government, developing trade and labour unions and political parties and pushing toward nationalism” (Lent, 1990:14-15).

A hundred years later, newspapers are seeing increasing revenues in contrast to a growing global decline in newspaper circulation (Storr, 2014). Media conglomerates are growing in the Caribbean due to deregulation and liberalization policies of the late 1980s that opened these previously state-controlled entities (ibid). Technological innovation has accelerated the growth of journalism in the region. There is a growing reliance among the middle and upper classes on computers, mobile phones and the Internet as the realities of Jamaican politics shift to a more technological and mass mediated realm (Powell & Waller, 2007:20). Jamaica’s media systems cater to an audience both at home and abroad as well as prospective tourists.

The media on the island are predominantly privately owned. There are 16 private radio stations, and the Jamaica Information Service Radio, which is publicly owned. Television ownership in Jamaica has changed from public

sector dominance to a combination of both local private and international investors (Dunn, 2004). Television Jamaica (TVJ), CVM Television (CVM TV) and Love Television (Love TV) make up the trio of national television stations. Subscription Cable Television gives the Jamaican audience access to a wide range of American programming through local subscribers who at times also produce their own in-house programming which airs on community channels (Gordon, 2008).

The Government's voice is still represented by the Jamaica Information Service Television (JIS TV); its programmes receive airtime on the three national stations during a mandated time for government programming. There are eight newspapers with regular circulation; including two morning national dailies, *The Jamaica Gleaner* and *The Jamaica Observer*. Both dailies are privately owned but in each case, the majority shareholder is prominent in other sectors of the society (Goodwin, 2001). The political economy of the newspapers is detailed further below.

The Jamaica Press (JAMPRESS) serves as the public relations arm of the Government and acts as its liaison with the newspapers. The national newspapers, radio and television stations are all members of the Media Association of Jamaica which has strong regional links to the Caribbean News Agency (CANA) and the Caribbean Media Corporation. Media practitioners are also members of the Press Association of Jamaica (PAJ). Many of the island's journalists have limited formal journalism training but they are all held accountable to the Code of Practice for Jamaican Journalists statute that lays out the ethical and professional standards of the island's media.

2.7.1 JAMAICAN DAILY NEWS

As previously stated, the media has traditionally been a bridge between governments and their constituents. Newspapers represent shared information within the public sphere. In Jamaica, newspapers are at the centre of national dialogue on politics, business, sport, tourism, culture and even cuisine.

While Caribbean journalists are not as oppressed as journalists in other developing countries, they do work within defined constraints and are always aware of the ever-present threat of intimidation and censorship (Storr, 2014). Despite these limitations, Reporters without Borders ranked Jamaica's press freedom in 2009 at 23rd of 175 countries, just below the United States and United Kingdom. However, with the furore of the Coke extradition in 2010 this moved to 25th of 178 countries (Reporters without Borders, 2009/2010). The extradition of Coke became a controversial social topic that was heavily debated in the Jamaican media, in particular, in the newspapers. The national daily newspapers, *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*, were vocal participants in the extradition debate.

2.7.2 THE JAMAICA GLEANER

The Jamaica Gleaner is owned by The Gleaner Company Limited which is one of the larger media conglomerates on the island with interests in radio, newspapers and online markets. In 1980, Kopkind called *The Gleaner*, the leading cultural institution in the island and while that perception may have diminished in the past 30 years, it is still seen as the paper of record not only in Jamaica but also in the Caribbean. *The Gleaner* was founded in 1834 by brothers Jacob and Joshua deCordova and is the oldest operating newspaper in

the Caribbean. It is at the core of Jamaica's emancipation story, has captured the struggle for independence from Britain and has helped Jamaica shape its cultural identity. *The Gleaner* has set the precedent not just for Jamaican journalism but West Indian journalism as a whole. The Gleaner Company Limited was registered as a public company in 1897 and expanded the business to include its first directors (The Gleaner Company, 2014). In 1964, the company shares were sold on the Jamaica Stock exchange. In the past 10 years the newspaper has experienced rapid change including changes in its technological and printing capabilities (ibid). The newspaper's mission statement reinforces its commitment to being "the source for accurate and independent information" (The Gleaner Company Annual Report, 2010:2)

The 2010 Gleaner Company's annual report showed an increase in the company's profits of \$270 million from 2001. It also revealed that *The Jamaica Gleaner's* average readership from Monday to Saturday was 432,000 in 2009 and 640,000 on Sundays. In 2010, *The Gleaner's* weekday readership had grown by 77,000 (18%) and the *Sunday Gleaner's* by 105,000 (16%) with a core demographic of younger readers between ages 25-44 (The Gleaner Company Annual Report, 2010). According to the 2010 All Print Media Survey, 51% of the readers considered *The Gleaner* the more credible newspaper compared to 15% for *The Observer*.

The newspaper has a long history of public service, in addition to supporting several community projects; the newspaper also has a very strong education programme. Despite its economic and civic success, the newspaper is criticized by some as using its position to further the interests of its owners

and editors to dictate both national and local government policies (Mordecai & Mordecai, 2001).

2.7.3 THE JAMAICA OBSERVER

The Jamaica Observer Limited was founded in 1993 by hotelier Gordon 'Butch' Stewart as a competitor for *The Gleaner*. Stewart is the island's largest employer with significant interests in the island's tourism sector. *The Observer* was initially published weekly, printed in Miami and flown to the island by Air Jamaica, which at the time was also owned by Stewart, but in December, 1994 it began daily publication. It remains a privately owned company and as a result very little financial and readership information is known about the paper and its parent company. *The Observer* has a smaller share of the Jamaican newspaper market. The 2010 All Print Media Research Survey noted the newspapers readership for 2009 grew by 29,000 (7%), with average daily readership of 210,000 and Sunday readership at 242,000.

2.7.4 JAMAICAN NEWSPAPERS AND POLITICAL ALLEGIANCES

Broad assumptions have been made that news institutions are connected with political parties based on their content and the political persuasion of their owners. This is a reflection of 19th-century ideology where newspapers served as the voice of individual parties and relied on them for advertising revenues. While the media in many developing countries are controlled by the state and expected to reiterate propaganda, in Jamaica both media organizations are privately owned. However, Goodwin (2001:46) affirms that *The Gleaner* had "close links with the JLP and natural sympathy with the party of 'business'... but is currently more restrained, mindful that the

country's Government should not be embarrassed internationally or the tourism industry affected adversely." This is the same assumption made about *The Observer* in the 21st century, especially given its rumoured affiliation as one of the JLP's leading donors. *The Gleaner* had a 'take no prisoners' reputation especially in its coverage of the Manley administration of the 1970s; however, by the early 2000s it took on all parties with its non-partisan coverage (Press Reference, 2011).

2.7.5 JAMAICAN NEWSPAPER IN THE TECHNOLOGICAL AGE

Throughout the Caribbean, newspapers are experiencing dramatic change due to technological advancements and economic uncertainty. However, journalism continues to prosper in this environment (Storr, 2014). Many of the newspapers in the region have adapted their business plans to facilitate competition from broadcast media, technological advancements and changes in state regulation (James, 2012). Dunn (2012) notes that the expansion of print media to online formats on the island has not been as dramatic as the mobile revolution, however newspaper circulation continues to climb. "The changes being observed locally in terms of new media are not as dynamic as those occurring on a more global level or at least in the developed countries" (Dunn, 2008:8). In Jamaica, these changes are being replicated and slowly being incorporated into the newspaper platform and have given the newspapers a broader more globally engaged audience.

Due to its proximity to North America, the Jamaican media products have been heavily influenced by their trends and innovations. However, the adoption of new technologies has been severely hampered by financial constraints. The Jamaican newspaper industry has tried to embrace the

technological shift with *The Gleaner* launching its online news site in 1996 under the tagline, GO-JAMAICA while *The Observer* followed suit in 1998 (Alexa.com, 2011a, 2011b). For the time period under consideration, Facebook was the most visited website by Jamaicans with *The Observer* ranked number 11 and *The Gleaner* at number 13. The list is permeated with overseas websites; however, these newspapers represent the top two local websites visited on the island. The local Jamaican community appears to have been slow adopters to the online news product. Only 26.1% of Gleaner and 24.9% of Observer readers access their newspaper online (Alexa.com, 2011a, 2011b).

At the time of the extradition, many Caribbean newspapers were still reproducing the content of their printed versions on their websites, without adopting the new techniques of electronic writing and publishing appropriate to the new medium (Dunn, 2004). Online editions of the newspapers reach the disparate global Caribbean Diaspora and are also, therefore, important as a means by which a much wider public than before can share their thoughts via comments and published letters (Dunn, 2004).

The Jamaica Gleaner and *The Jamaica Observer* in the past have paid keen attention to how their coverage affects the tourism sector, especially in the presentation of news about communal violence (Goodwin, 2001). However, the media is integral for the development of an engaged civil society and newspapers for generations have provided a platform for readers to grasp, digest, react and ultimately incite change on the island.

2.7.6 NEWSPAPERS VS. JAMAICAN POLITICS

In *The Politics of Change*, Michael Manley (1974:192) theorizes that with technology, “man now has at his disposal instruments for enormous power for

good or evil in the field of ideas and access to the processes by which opinions and attitudes are formed.” While Collier (2005:101) noted, “Caribbean states often make efforts to restrict information from their media and citizens. ... Caribbean officials justify holding information release at such high level as a means to ensure the executive remains responsible for the actions of their subordinate civil service.”

Manley (1974:192-3) believed,

Governments should not use their power to secure the use of the media in exclusive interest of the political party upon which the government itself rests.... On the other hand, it is the duty of a government to enlist the full range of media techniques in the support of policies and an instrument in the development of new attitudes, which may be necessary for the success of the policies themselves.

Despite Manley’s optimism that there could be cohesion between government and the media, as Kopkind (1980) noted, *The Gleaner* played a significant role in the demise of his government between 1978 and 1980.

During the Manley administration of the 1970s there was much public debate about the direction of the government either toward a system of democratic socialism or free market capitalism. Woolcock (1997:1) contends “*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.” Kopkind (1980) described the clash between the island’s leading newspaper and the Manley government as highlighting “the role of power newspapers in climactic social crisis, the use of news as a weapon of political warfare, the mobilization of support around the issue of press freedom- stand

out in sharp relief against the tense Jamaican background, and the stakes become uncommonly clear.”

Manley charged the paper with a lack of patriotism and subversion and blamed the paper for “creating a climate of social tension and political violence which it then presents as news to its local readers and journalistic contacts abroad” (Kopkind, 1980:42). Manley believed that the result was civil instability and eventually foreign submission. But many of Manley’s criticisms are levelled not at journalists but at *The Gleaner* ownership. Former President of the Press Association of Jamaica and Managing Editor of the Sunday Herald, Desmond Richards (2009) notes, that there is a symbiotic relationship media ownership and content published in the newspapers. He says, “A story cannot be carried before it goes through certain processes, and ultimately it is the owners of the media who determine whether a story is reported or discarded” (ibid: 54). This was reiterated by former *Observer* Editor-in- Chief, Paget deFreitas (2009:55) who commented that reporters should not be blamed for content since it is usually representative of the “culture of the organization.” A similar array of forces and tensions was assembled at the time of the Coke extradition.

The newspapers’ role takes place against a Caribbean context in which, critics argue, citizens don’t actively participate in the national decision making process, the governing bodies limit the release of information and stifle the media’s ability to investigate and inform the community. As a result citizens are often oblivious to government agendas and it constrains civic action and participation (Collier, 2005). There have been several instances since Jamaica’s

ascent to a nation state where the newspapers and political factions have been in direct and open conflict.

Jamaica, like many other CARICOM countries has very antiquated and strict slander, defamation and libel laws. The island's Libel and Slander Act was made operational in 1851 and was last amended in 1969 (Ministry of Justice, 1973). Journalists are very restrained in their news coverage because of these laws; as a result the laws, not the journalists constrain the advancement of the island's democracy. The Gleaner Company Managing Director, Christopher Barnes noted in a 2011 speech on the island's laws:

Freedom of expression is one of our fundamental rights and it is important to discuss recent developments in our local laws, both restricting it and protecting it, over the last few years. It is often mistakenly thought that the libel laws and changes thereto are only beneficial to the media owners pursuing them. This couldn't be further from the truth, as it is this very right that our democracy hinges upon. Our democracy is under threat as long as our libel laws remain outdated (*The Jamaica Observer*, 2011a).

However, Collier (2005:101) argues that the reality of the situation is that "the restricted release of information is more to keep the sitting government from being embarrassed by government mismanagement and officials' illicit behaviours." Some of these same ideas are relevant for the role the newspapers played in moving the Coke extradition from the confines of Parliament to the Jamaican public. More recently, Jamaican journalist, Cliff Hughes (2012), noted press freedom is increasing on the island, especially with the addition of the new media platform. It is "helping to enable civil society, young people and communities to bring about massive social and political transformations" (ibid: 1).

In an attempt to give the public access to official documents, the Jamaican Senate passed the Access to Information Act in 2002 (amended in 2003), which became operational on January 5, 2004. The Act was to enhance the fundamental principles of the island's constitutional democracy by improving "government accountability", increasing "transparency" (Access to Information Act, 2003:3). It was to accomplish these goals "by granting to the public a general right of access to political documents held by public authorities, subject to exemptions which balance that right against the public interest in exempting from disclosure governmental, commercial or personal information of a sensitive nature" (ibid). The Act and the information to which it provides public access have created a space for civil society to participate more actively in public life (CICIVUS et.al, 2006).

Another law that is restrictive and runs counter to the Access to Information Act is the Official Secrets Act of 1911 which muzzles civil servants by prohibiting the release of any information deemed an official state secret. After a decade of legal and political wrangling, this law was replaced with the Protected Disclosures Act in 2011. The Official Secrets Act was, however, in force during the extradition of Coke. The event provided an excellent setting to examine the interwoven nature of politics and news as well as how these laws are affecting the newsgathering process.

2.8 JAMAICAN CIVIL SOCIETY

Scholars differ as to what civil society embodies. Dahlgren (2002) and Roniger (1994) contend that civil society can be gamut of formal or informal autonomous organizations, associations, or movements that help to construct political centres through participation. These organizations can effectively

have an impact on the political establishment and enhance the relationship between elected leaders and their constituents.

Jamaicans have a reputation for being expressive people who are willing to organize and protest for their causes. This has been evident from their history of organizing toward emancipation; the fight for independence; the revolt against Manley's democratic-socialism ideals; and the call for the Government to be accountable and extradite an area leader. The island has a strong history of social change through the work of many civil society and non-governmental organizations. Collier (2005) contends that a strong civil society fosters the development of community commitment and a governmental accountability mechanism that in turn strengthens social empowerment and helps to prevent political corruption. The roots of civil society in Jamaica can be traced all the way back to the establishment of free villages by missionaries after Emancipation (Witter, 2004). From these humble beginnings larger voluntary organizations were formed like the Boy Scouts in 1910 and Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improvement Association in 1914 that encouraged the ideology of blacks working together to develop their country with a bigger goal of repatriation to Africa.

The Church traditionally has been the backbone of Jamaican civic commitment. For many Jamaicans the Church and Christianity are central to how they perceive the events that shape their everyday lives (Austin-Broos, 1997). However, the Coke extradition coverage indicated there has been a shift in the Church's influence.

Since 1994, there has been both international and domestic pressure to give civil society more access to the governance process in Jamaica, especially

in the area of social policy (Witter, 2004). Civic agencies in Jamaica have tried to fill the gaps left by the Government such as skills training and community projects but most are apolitical and focused on charity rather than change (Tracy, 2001). This conflicts with their historical role.

The physical segregation between the classes in Jamaica is stark. The disparity between huge mansions perched on Kingston's hillsides and the squalid slums and garrisons below have been a huge impediment to more cooperation among civic organizations (Weis, 2005). The Association of Development Agencies in 1999, talked about the creation of two Jamaica's: one in which a small privileged group had become richer and the other in which the vast majority of its citizens become impoverished and alienated from the mainstream of the national decision-making process. Meeks (1996) suggests that one of the factors holding these systems in place is a "series of unwritten pacts and compromises between the largely brown-skinned and educated upper-middle-classes who actually controlled state power, and the black working and lower classes who have voted for them and occasionally engaged in internecine warfare in the rank and file of either party" (127).

The viability of civil society in Jamaica comes down to a question of leadership and it is significantly affected by partisanship and self-interest. In the past decade, many Jamaican elites have ignored their social responsibility to give back not only of their wealth but also of their time and influence to effect social change in the community. Dahlgren (2002:20) contends that the "notion of civic culture points to the normative need for citizen engagement to make democracy work." In Jamaica, "Civil society is generally recognized to be vocal in its critique of faulty political decision-making and policies. However,

civil society is perceived to be weak in their activism for change” (Calhoun, 2004:21). The 2006 CIVICUS report assessed the size, strength and vibrancy of civil society on the island. The report concluded that civil society’s structure was relatively weak and had very little impact on the island’s democratic development. On a 3-point scale, Jamaica scored a 1.5. A further break down of the results showed a score of 1.8 for citizen participation and 2.0 for diversity of civic agencies. These data suggest a healthy degree of civic participation on the island. However, scholars point to low political interest on the island (Powell & Lewis, 2010). The island scored a 1.3 for depth of citizen participation, which gauges how involved civil society activists are in the community; for level of organization they scored 1.6 in the CIVICUS research. The lowest score was recorded for the availability of financial resources where civil society scored a 1.0 on the same 3-point scale. A separate USAID Report on the political culture on the island noted that civic participation was on the decline; the starkest deterioration could be seen in church attendance, which fell 16% between 2006 and 2010 (Powell & Lewis, 2010).

Despite social and economic difficulties, the 2013 Commonwealth Foundation National Report on Jamaica noted that the island enjoys “a vibrant democracy with considerable civic energy and active participation by CSOs, both in advocacy and in the provision of services to the most vulnerable” (2013: 6). Civil society stands between the state and the rest of society and in practice usually refers to the middle-class leadership in a range of organizations that cut across class (Lewis: 2010). Since Jamaica became independent there have been three traditional arms of civil society that have participated in or influenced government policy – The Church, the Labour

Union and the Private Sector (Witter, 2004). Churches have the loudest voice in civil society however most try to remain impartial and avoid political commentary (Weis, 2005). Other scholars contend that Jamaica's democracy is starved for alternative modes of governance and an active civil society. Trevor Munroe (1999: ix) writes:

Democratic renewal can and must win; otherwise the man in the street is going to turn to his own devices. If democratic renewal is slow and is overtaken by anarchy, sooner or later, there will be a backlash to authoritarianism.

While Munroe reminds observers of the importance of the perceived legitimacy of the system, Sives (2012) argues that part of the problem for civil society actors in Jamaica is that civil society organizations function within their own unique power structure, which has implications nationally and internationally.

The breakdown of political party identity has led to increasing demands for constitutional change and the creation of non-partisan civil groups (Sives, 2002). Civil society on the island is very fragmented and reflects the social and economic disparities of its post-colonial system; this has made it more difficult for civic groups to maintain pressure on the government (Sives, 2012). Harold McDougall (2004) notes that in Jamaica, the prospect of developing an active civil society to balance the lack of transparency and accountability in the public sphere is a daunting one. Lewis (2006) takes an alternative view: he indicates that the reason civil society hasn't reached its full capacity in Jamaica is mainly due to crime, violence and deepening economic crisis on the island.

The relationship between civil society and government over the years has hung between periods of cooperation and conflict. Under former Prime

Minister P.J. Patterson (1992-2006), the government began to recognize that civil society had a legitimate role to play in governance. In 1994, he held the National Consultation on Values and Attitudes, a joint collaboration between the government and the entire spectrum of civil society. This resulted in the creation of a plan of action to promote social renewal (Johnson, 2007). A year later, CARICOM members signed the Charter for Civil Society where Article XVII.7 declared “The States in order to further the participation of the people in the democratic process shall establish effective systems of on-going consultations between the Government and the people.” Later, in 1999, Patterson acknowledged:

The crisis is national in character, because it affects not only the institutions of state, but the private sector and civil society as well. The old, non-inclusive, often-undemocratic methods of power sharing and managing power that evolved in post-Independence Jamaica can be found across the entire spectrum of the society. We find them in political parties, the Parliament, the Cabinet, church organizations, the bureaucracy, organs of state, private sector firms, community groups. We must change our approach to governance, or we will become part of the problem to be swept aside by the emerging new social order (Patterson, 1999 in Franklyn, 2004:278).

A civil society cannot exist without civil values and attitudes because civility depends on behaviour, attitudes and institutions that only civil society can create (Barber, 1998). Jamaica is ripe with negative subjective conditions that are stumbling blocks for those promoting social change and transparency on the island including demoralizing political discourse, the rise of an aggressive individualism, violent social behaviours, the politics of patronage and repressive social reforms (Weis, 2005:139).

When considering the role of civil society in Jamaica one must also take into account the dominance of the area leaders and the fear they engender across the entire civil sphere especially in the urban centres where they are prone to use their power to manipulate and buy the allegiance of ordinary citizens (Johnson, 2005). “Their very presence, occupation and encroachment on the civil sphere pose a direct challenge to the legitimate governance of the Jamaican State and underscore the national security dilemma” (Johnson, 2005:593). In addition, these civil groups are also conflicted because they are “vulnerable to forging relations with criminal actors as the institutions and actors of the state” (Sives, 2012:428). This makes their role of impartial bystander and insurer of good governance one that can be easily compromised. Civil society on the island is struggling to find a balance between promoting social cohesion and facilitating democratic revitalization.

Civil society in Jamaica is divided into three distinct groups based on their purpose, size, funding resources and framework and they each function within a framework of power both locally and internationally. Sives (2012:428) divides them into underfunded grassroots community groups; better-funded charitable offshoots of large Jamaican companies and churches with connections to the political realm; and well-funded issue-specific lobbying groups with international connections to similar organizations and governments.

In 2006, CIVICUS mapped civil society influence and power on the island to analyse the power relations and connections at work within the civic sphere. The results are replicated in Table 1 below (26):

Most Power/Influence	Average Power/Influence	Least Power/Influence
Justice System Legislature Parliament Business leaders Dons/Area Leaders Trade unions Fashion/ beauty Security forces US Government International Development Partners Gangs Political parties Small/medium business Operators Dancehall Culture The local media Private sector	Bilateral / multilateral Institutions Africa CARICOM E.U. Religion International Government Organizations Foreign Media NGO's Community leaders Sporting Industry Family Reggae Faith based / Church organizations Youth Tertiary Institutions	Senior Citizens Children Higglers/Vendors Civil Society Organizations Disabled Cuba Carnival Farmers Returning residents Rastafarianism

Table 1: Breakdown of Jamaican Civil Society by Influence and Power

These results show a varied and expansive civic sphere on the island where traditional civil society organizations wield very little power and area leaders like Coke exert substantial influence. The results also indicate that many of the civil society actors have “carved out a comfortable space close to the state” and near to the island’s business interests (CIVICUS, 2006:28).

Some of the prominent civil society organizations on the island include Jamaicans for Justice (JFJ), Jamaica Civil Society Coalition (JCC), Citizens for Free and Fair Elections (CAFFE), the Media Association of Jamaica (MAJ), churches and companies within the private sector. Lewis (2010) argues that these organizations provide an important mediating function and intervene in conflict between citizens and the state; they shape public opinion, exert

pressure and can play a major role in setting the public agenda. However, the increase in civic agency includes more than just increasing political participation to include paying of taxes, corporation with governmental agencies, the fostering of credibility and 'good' intent and motives (Bourne, 2001). As long as garrisons exist and community members find intimidation by dons to secure honour and economic empowerment morally justified, the state will continue to be powerless and genuine civic engagement an almost insurmountable goal (Johnson, 2005).

Civic activism on the island seemingly comes in waves and is highly dependent on the relationship of civic organizations with the governing party. In 2007, when Golding was elected Prime Minister he vowed in his inaugural speech:

- to reduce crime, so that Jamaicans can feel safe and secure
- transparency and accountability in government and the elimination of corruption
- the elimination of unnecessary bureaucracy and waste of public resources and the effective delivery of government services
- the curtailment of the powers of the Executive
- enacting of legislation for the impeachment and removal from office of public officials, guilty of misconduct, corruption, abuse of authority and betrayal of public trust.⁵

Golding in the execution of the Coke affair violated several of the promises he made to the Jamaican people upon his inauguration. Lewis (2010) asserts that

⁵ For a full text of this speech, see "Inaugural address by the Honorable Bruce Golding at the swearing-in ceremony as Prime Minister of Jamaica, September 11, 2007 at Kings House" (Golding, 2007)

it was the public outcry from civil society for his resignation that forced Golding to meet with his party hierarchy and then ultimately made his national address asking for forgiveness and acquiescing on the extradition. Lewis (2010) believes that the growth of civic consciousness and civil society organizations must be welcomed into the national public sphere to help play a prominent role in social transformation. When considering the way civil society on the island handled the Coke extradition, considerations must be made for the island's demographic, cultural and religious nuances, geographic location and civil society's role in development.

2.8.1 CIVIC AGENCY & THE SOCIAL POWER OF THE POOR

When considering social transformation in Jamaica, consideration must also be given to the civic agency of those on the margins. The social power of the Jamaican poor is central to understanding the Coke extradition and the subsequent bloodshed in Tivoli and its environs. The poor on the island are largely ignored by the state, the wider community and academic scholarship.

For generations, both political parties have traded on the goodwill of the poor to ascend to political power. However, there is still very little scholarship on the social power of this marginalized group. Political scientist Carl Stone (1986) had alternating views about the power of the poor. He branded the poor as players on the fringes of the island's political system but he also acknowledged that they were integral to maintaining political stability on the island. Those on the margins on the island are usually defined by their violence and incivility but as Gray (1994) asserts, the violence is an ingrained part of the island's political culture and it is "not a phenomenon peculiar to the

subordinate class” (21). Uprisings and protests by the poor are usually reactions to unemployment, poor social conditions and sheer frustration with the lack of care from the government. Gray (2004:9) notes that since 1989 there has been an upheaval in the “social balance of power from the respectable middle-class to the culturally defiant and irrepressible urban poor.”

He argues that “the politics of the poor disclose the nature of their ‘imagined community,’ its norms, social structure, and internal relations” (1994:22). However, there are gaps in understanding the social power of the Jamaican poor. The 2006 CIVICUS Civil Society report indicates that The Church helps to fill the gaps left by the state in the care of the poor. But in many urban areas, these gaps are filled by dons and area leaders. The social power of Jamaica’s poor is reinforced by their relationship with dons who act as representatives of their communities to local government and their members of parliament. Jaffe (2013) contends that the dons’ role as powerbrokers and their relationship with the state has led to a hybrid form of statehood and an intricate web of reliance. The dons have “emerged as key actors in the provision of security and social welfare, developing non-democratic but relatively legitimate systems of urban order” (Jaffe, 2012b: 79-80). As noted in Chapter 2.4.2 there is a symbiotic relationship between dons and their constituents that extended to and is evident in the way the Coke extradition unfolded on the island.

2.8.2 HUMAN RIGHTS AND CIVIL SOCIETY

One of the major complaints of those on the fringes is the lack of human rights protections available to them, especially during times of crisis. Jamaica’s

human rights record is abysmal and has a direct correlation to the poverty and garrison politics on the island as well as the bloody violence of the armed forces as they attempt to maintain law and order. As Patterson (New York Times, 2001a) asserts, “the dons and drug gangs of the slums are often more heavily armed than the security forces waging losing battles to control them. The police have increasingly resorted to illegal tactics that violate the rights not only of the criminal elements but of innocent residents trapped in the neighbourhoods where the criminals operate.”

As a result, civil society bodies like Jamaicans for Justice (JFJ) and Families Against State Terrorism (FAST) have been at the forefront of keeping the human rights abuses especially by the police in the national spotlight. This was no different in the aftermath of the Coke incursion. The 2011 JFJ human rights report indicated that human rights had declined in the wake of the 2010 state of emergency. Carolyn Gomes, executive director of JFJ said, “There continues to be a lack of accountability for human-rights violations by the security forces.... Yet, almost a year later, investigations into the circumstances of those deaths, the conduct of the security forces during the incursion, and even a proper accounting for the number of persons killed and injured, have not been completed” (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, 2011a).

2.9 NEWSPAPERS AND CIVIL SOCIETY

According to the literature the connections between newspapers and civil society in Jamaica appear looser than those in radio and television. Munroe in his opening remarks at the 2011 Caribbean Media and Democracy workshop said the print media has a critical role to play in combating corruption and strengthening democratic governance (*The Jamaica Gleaner*,

2011b). He credited the newspapers for upholding the pressure and printing editorials, letters and columns from civil society during the Coke scandal. Other instances where there has been a link between the printed press and civil society include the 1999 Gas Riots⁶. However, in the digital age, political life for many, especially the youth have moved to online platforms (Bennett, 2008). This has created a new space for newspaper to transmit their views, engage an alternate audience and increase their visibility globally.

2.10 SUMMARY

This chapter revealed that there are multiple actors at work in the Jamaican public sphere. The island's historical ties to colonialism have had far-reaching implications for its development, its governance and the way it has positioned itself globally. The use of newspapers must be considered within their context within the heavily stratified Jamaican society. Questions about how the newspaper covered Coke can provide a deeper understanding about civic life on the island, newspaper influence and the state of governance on the island. An assessment of civic engagement during Coke can provide a clear indication of the civic fragmentation on the island as well as how political and economic disparities are disrupting calls for increased government accountability and transparency.

By focusing on the network of garrisons, politics, civil society and their interplay with the newspaper ownership and power make it impossible to

⁶ The 1999 Gas Riots occurred in April after the Jamaican government proposed a 30 percent tax on gasoline to supplement a budget deficit of J\$160 billion. Jamaican citizens took to the streets to protest the hike. These protests intensified and lead to three days of rioting that shut down the island as citizens mounted roadblocks, looted stores and marched through the streets of Kingston.

define Jamaica in the traditional media contexts. As a result examining the function of newspapers during the Coke extradition crisis and their role in reengaging Jamaicans across the Diaspora is important for understanding the Jamaican newspaper empire in the new millennium.

CHAPTER 3:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

"Whoever controls the media, controls the mind" - Jim Morrison

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the past decade, there has been increased scrutiny of the role of the media in facilitating good governance around the world. This chapter discusses the role of media systems in developed countries and in Jamaica and how it has impacted on its democratic values. Before the Jamaican media landscape can be considered, it has to be put in the context of the normative theories of global media systems. The chapter also looks at how news affects democratic governance and community involvement in the public sphere especially when the newspaper moves the printed format online. As seen in the previous chapter, it is difficult to summarize and define the role of the media, especially since the inclusion of the Internet as part of the mediascape. The aim is to connect the discussion of these media theories with the search for a theoretical framework to examine the Jamaican newspaper coverage of the Coke extradition.

Media studies tend to be focused on the mediation of information in the developed world and more recently on the incorporation of technological changes in that the newsroom that has led to a more converged format. There has been very little topical Caribbean scholarship on the role of media, especially newspapers, as they embrace these technological changes. However, there has always been a symbiotic relationship between media and politics in Jamaica that requires further evaluation. This study aims to look at the shifting role of the online newspaper medium in Jamaica through the lens of the 10-

month extradition battle of Christopher Coke. It theorizes that the online newspaper medium's capability to allow dissenting voices and alternative frames had the capacity to alter media relations on the island as well as create an avenue for conflict.

The study explores how the online versions of the two daily newspapers of Jamaica- *The Jamaica Gleaner* and *The Jamaica Observer*- covered the conflict between the Jamaican government, the United States Government, Coke loyalists, civil society and the wider Jamaican public. The aim is to analyse the themes, news flows, updates and their overall impact on newsgathering as well as the possibility of the newspapers to transform social and political life in the island nation in the midst of an international crisis.

Across the globe, modern communication technology has reshaped political communication and is seen as a tool for promoting active engagement within the public sphere. While Jamaica's adoption process may be slower, the way media worked in Jamaica during the Coke extradition cannot be understood simply in terms of independently informing the public, setting agendas for public debate, reflecting ideologies, or other media frameworks that are prevalent in the scholarship that emerges from the United States and United Kingdom. It was a complex combination of media influence, power, class, culture and civic agency that highlighted Jamaica's fragile public realm and fractured society. This chapter reviews the island's changing media landscape and considers how communication scholars see media power as we move toward a theoretical framework for studying newspaper coverage of Coke.

3.2 THE MEDIA'S SYMBOLIC POWER

The media need to be understood primarily in terms of their power to represent society to itself. In *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*, John B. Thompson says:

From the earliest forms of gesture and language use to the most recent developments in computer technology, the production, storage and circulation of information and symbolic content have been central aspects of social life. But with the development of a range of media institutions from the late fifteenth century to the present day the processes of production, storage and circulation have been transformed in certain ways. In a profound and irreversible way, the development of the media has transformed the nature of symbolic production and exchange in the modern world (1995:10).

The idea of “media” connotes a broad perspective that includes newspapers, magazines, radio, television and most recently the Internet. Each of these entities functions in its own way and each has its own potential for shaping public opinion. Golding and Murdock (1974) contend that “the media are the major source of information about, and explanations of, social and political processes” and are integral to “determining the forms of consciousness and the modes of expression and action which are made available to people” (205). McNair (2003) asserts that the five functions of the media are to educate, inform, provide a platform for political discourse, render publicity to government institutions and act as an advocate of political viewpoints.

As Lippmann (1927) noted, “the only feeling that anyone can have about an event he does not experience is a feeling aroused by his mental image of that event.” The media are the bearer and the mediator of all large-scale social communication in open democratic societies (Giessmann, 2002). They function

both as transmitters of political communication as well as senders of political messages constructed by journalists (McNair, 2003).

A particular power that media have is to frame social and political issues. Entman (2007: 164) argues, "Framing is the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation." Similarly, Gramson and Modigliani (1987:143) see media framing as "a central organizing idea of the story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events." Media institutions pick and choose elements of the news and "make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition" (Entman, 1993: 52). Newspaper framing, especially during times of political and social turmoil can have a profound impact on the democratic governance of a country.

Rosen (1993), drawing on communication traditions in the US, likened journalism to community connectedness. He saw its aims as encouraging civic participation, improving public debate and enhancing public life without sacrificing the independence of the free press. The press has always been an important force in the promotion of democracy. It may be part of the "apparatus by which the accountability of the governors to the governed is achieved. Yet, just as the meaning of democracy and communication varies historically, it varies across nations as well" (Carey, 1993:4). When the media report on politics they create narratives with plots and actors (Street, 2011:49). The media have helped spread propaganda wars globally, whether

intentionally or not, in order to sway the public opinion in a particular direction (Giessmann, 2002).

3.2.1 NORMATIVE THEORIES

Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1956) contended that the press had a role in “servicing the political system, in enlightening the public and safeguarding the liberties of the individual” (74). More than 50 years ago, Siebert, et.al (1956) contended that the media “takes the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates” (1). They proposed four theoretical frameworks on the basis of the media structures existing at that time: authoritarian, Soviet-totalitarian, libertarian, and social responsibility. In the authoritarian approach, ownership of the printing presses remains in private hands but under strict government control. Siebert cites Western Europe as setting the foundation of this model. The Soviet-totalitarian model sees the media being owned and controlled by the state and as a result operates as a propaganda tool. In contrast, the libertarian doctrine allows for the free movement of ideas through the press with defamation laws being the only constraint.

Many media systems in the West are based on the social responsibility lens; however, it is difficult to maintain in developing countries. The social responsibility lens states that everyone who had a stake in the news should have an opportunity to express themselves through the media. They indicated that it was the responsibility of corporations, communities, consumers, practitioners and professional organizations to guarantee that access remained open to a diverse group of people and views (1956:5). The social responsibility

lens is found mainly in democratic countries and encourages private ownership in exchange for the responsible use of that medium.

The Jamaican media model, like the United Kingdom, is based on the idea of social responsibility theory but it can be openly adversarial with the political structures. In times of conflict, the idea of freedom of the press can be very fragile one. These theories cannot be in any simple way applied to the 21st-century media landscape especially when one considers the expansion of the media product since 1956 to include the global impact of the now 24-hour cable news cycle and the meteoric rise of the Internet. Instead considerations must be made for how press systems have traditionally worked and evolved as well as how these frameworks can be replicated in developing countries like Jamaica.

For over two decades, Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model has been widely used to examine and critique press systems in the Western world, particularly in the United States. Their model focuses on the imbalances of wealth and power and the impact of that on mass media presentation. Herman and Chomsky (2002, xi) believe that the media propagandizes "on behalf of social interests that control and finance them". The model has five components or filters: the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of dominant mass-media firms; advertising as the primary income source of the mass media; the reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and 'experts' funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power; 'flak' as a means of disciplining the media; and 'anti-Communism' as a national religion and control mechanism. Since 1991,

the focus has shifted more to anti-terrorism than anti-communism as democratic values spread across the globe.

The Jamaican newspaper landscape seemingly replicates ideas of concentrated ownership, the reliance of the media on governmental sources for information, the structural advertiser power and threats of defamation that is usually seen in flak. However, there are question marks over the applicability of some of the model's aspects. Its value here is in helping to assess how far the Jamaican press can be described as working within the interests of established power and how far it rises above those assertions.

While aspects of Siebert et al and Herman and Chomsky's theories can be applied to the Jamaican newspaper system, there have been many criticisms of these communication models. They are predominantly used to explain media systems in developed countries and fail to examine the historical, economic, cultural and even political forces that shape media systems in Third World and developing countries. While Jamaica likes to position itself as first world, many of these developed-country media theories are not sufficient to analyse the role of the media within the island's social and cultural context. They examine the idea of media in a very abstract way and don't take into account the changing social and media environment of a more globally inclusive community. McQuail (1994) asserts that there will continue to be conflict between how media ought to function and the expanding media systems found in the current landscape. He further states that, "in most countries, in any case, the media do not constitute any single 'system,' with a single purpose or philosophy, but are composed of many, separate,

overlapping, often inconsistent elements, with appropriate differences of normative expectation and actual regulation” (ibid, 133).

Journalism research on how the media works in Third World countries tends to focus on development theory. This theory asserts that the media focuses on the positive news emerging out of a community. Watson (2008) argues that negative news stories are considered in terms of the economic effects it could have on the nation especially as they try to lure investment. While newspapers in Jamaica have from time to time been concerned with the country’s international perception, the island has a newspaper tradition that pre-dates its independence. As a result, many of the pre-texts of the development theory cannot be used to study the Jamaican media system.

These normative theories don’t consider the cultural context of the media system. Robert Pennington (2010) asserts that mass media are not the same phenomena when removed from the cultural context; as a result we can only understand how certain communication systems work in relation to their cultural environment. The Media Systems Paradigm developed by Hiebert, Ungurait and Bohn in 1979 asserts that culture determines the way national media is manifested and represents the shared experiences of a certain group of people.

In Jamaica, explaining the importance of cultural identity to the social fabric of the island is a complex task. As Manley (1974) notes this island’s historical experience is grounded in oppression and even though they have broken almost all their cultural links with their African ancestry they are still an expressive people. “It is in the Jamaican personality to argue, to be disputatious, to listen to contending views and eventually to say ‘let’s take a

vote' (ibid: 25). Johnson (2007:1) contends that the media in Jamaica provides a platform for "citizens to seek and project their identities and to engage in actual or vicarious behaviours." The cultural and historic factors that are attached to the Jamaican media make the established theories for studying the press inadequate as modes of analysis for the Jamaican press.

These established theories also do not recognize that while newspapers are businesses, they are also stakeholders in trying to promote good corporate citizenship in their communities and are not purely driven by profit (Evan & Freeman, 1993). Additional stakeholders are journalists, the members of the wider community and even government entities who all play a role as civic agents within their localities. In the U.S., this role has become foregrounded in recent years. The news media market is moving toward a mould of more active journalism where journalists are trying to "help the political community act upon, rather than just learn about its problems" (Rosen, 1999:22). This ideology has provoked more civic engagement between news producers and their audience.

Scholars must also take into account the effect of globalization on media systems in the past century. Anthony Giddens (1997:19) defined globalization "as the intensification of world-wide social relations, which link distant localities in such a way as that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa." As global communication shrinks with access to the Internet, it is drastically affecting the way we gather, disseminate and access our news globally. These theories also neglect the actual process of newsgathering and journalism practices, especially in the Third World. In many developing countries, such as, Jamaica national interests are shaped by

the global economic, political and media forces. Due to Jamaica's geographic location, the hegemonic power of the U.S. has historically been strong on the island. While Antony Payne (1994) alluded to a decline in U.S. hegemony in the Caribbean in the 1990's, the Coke crisis raises fresh questions about the power they exert in the region. Jamaica has always been a globalized society. This is mainly due to its heritage as a colony and transnational shipping hub, as a cultural exporter, a world-renowned tourist destination and the vibrancy of its Diaspora around the world. As the island moves further into the 21st century, the global pressures on the island are intensifying and becoming more prevalent especially in terms of the island's economy, but the media industry is also feeling the pressure to compete with the global market.

Although the emergence of the mass media in the Caribbean may have been slow in the 18th century, by the 21st century, there is a very high mass media technology penetration rate, mainly due to its proximity to the United States. Dunn (1995) affirms that while Caribbean peoples are exposed and absorb North American media content, they are not "passive recipients of the output of the global North." Another stark difference is the availability of digital media in the United States.

In the Caribbean, traditional media continue to lead the mass communication platforms. However, as the Jamaican society changes to adapt more new media ideologies, the Jamaican media, particularly newspapers, are striving to define their new role within the society while taking into account the cultural context, education, economic and technological challenges on the island.

To properly examine the Jamaican newspaper, there needs to be a theoretical model that combines cultural specificity while recognizing the limitations of the Caribbean media setting. It should also take into account how other major social and political crises have shaped the newspaper tradition in Jamaica. The lessons from those moments of heightened tension have formed the foundation for the way stories like Coke are covered by the newspapers and can give insight into the way news is disseminated on the island.

Some aspects of Herman and Chomsky's theory are valuable for studying Jamaica, especially the extent to which the media and elites interconnect on the island. While there is diversity in the Jamaican media product, the daily newspapers are still controlled by two wealthy families and boards connected to business entities throughout the island. As a result, the news produced is still immensely interconnected between business and politics. One also has to consider the interplay between news and common Third World problems of violence against journalists, the lack of training for journalists, the influence and reach of the print media and more recently the access to social media.

3.3 NEWS AND DEMOCRACY

The functioning of news media differs so much across most countries that different theoretical resources are needed, yet consistent across them is the need to represent and generate public debate, against the pressures of the commercial and the political. Third World democracies are struggling in particular to shape their public images and this has translated into concern about the structure of the public sphere, its representation and modes of interaction (Dahlgren, 2005).

The meaning of democracy changes over time because the media formats evolve and with it the political sphere (Carey, 1993). While Carey is correct, the meaning of democracy also changes based on local expectations. As Press Association of Jamaica President, Jenni Campbell (2012) notes, in Jamaica, the media is expected to be more transparent, consult with their readership, be vigilant and ethical. However, she also acknowledges that even though the media are aware of their charge to protect the island's democracy, they have been complacent.

For too long we have treated governance matters in this country as if they were the right of a chosen few. For too long we have disregarded our people, informing them on a need-to-know basis.... For too long, we have refused to speak about or even confront some of the most serious acts in our country" (ibid: 2-3)

Campbell's observations about the silences in Jamaica's news coverage are critical to understanding both how the media, especially the newspapers on the island work and the backdrop that framed the Coke coverage.

For this thesis, the two categories of media and public sphere will be understood as symbiotic entities mutually shaping the Jamaican media landscape. Castells (1996) in his examination of the information age emphasizes how changes in mass media and new information technologies have been integral to the shaping of cultural identities and political communities. Likewise, Hallin and Mancini (2004:8) argue that one cannot "understand the news media without understanding the nature of the state, the system of political parties, the pattern of relations between economic and political interests and the development of civil society."

The deliberative democratic frame is useful when considering Jamaican politics. It is a small island nation where citizens are free to participate in discussions of public issues. Kim et al. (1999) emphasized that at the core of deliberative democracy is political conversation and it is through such discussions that citizens bridge their own experiences with the wider political spectrum. The Coke extradition provided an interval for Jamaicans to actively take part in the political conversation on their island, especially with the newspapers as a source and motivator.

Globally newspapers are seen as an instrument of dialogue within a democratic society (Carey, 1993). They each have their own character and ways of capturing and maintaining their readership. In Jamaica, newspapers are configured for mass readership appeal, not only for the well-educated and politically active. They officially, at least, adopt the norms of political balance in their coverage. However, both democracy and society are continually being influenced through the choice of information, and subjectively through personal values and responsibilities of journalists (Giessmann, 2002).

Political advocacy has always been a central point of the print media (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Yet, society expects its journalists to be competent and transparent but no matter how much journalists try to be balanced, news incorporates political values. These beliefs arise from a range of influences from routines of information gathering to recruitment patterns of journalists and shared ideological assumptions of the wider society (Hallin and Mancini, 2004).

Carey (1989) suggests that journalism should help encourage and amplify the conversation of the public and Dahlgren (2009) argues that deeper engagement is needed for a healthy democracy. He indicates that citizens continue to be engaged, though not collectively, then with a stronger emphasis on single issues through the use of differing media including the Internet. The print media has changed drastically in the past two decades as a result of new technology and with it political life is being reconfigured as well.

3.3.1 NEWS, POLITICS AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

As economies plunge, a central academic concern over the state of the mediated civic life is that citizens are becoming disgruntled with their political leaders, estranged from civic duty and oblivious to the news media. Carey (1993) examined life in the United States and concluded that the passion for public life will only grow and persist when citizens are allowed to speak and act within their communities and receive some guarantee that their voices will be heard and remembered. The news media exist to inform their constituents, serve as extended eyes and ears and protect society's interests. Despite these dictates, the press are selective in their coverage and often determine which issues are debatable and how they are debated (Segall & Schmidt, 2006). News values as decided by the media can vary from the frivolous, to corporate interests, to the self-referential that are of no interest to anyone outside the media realm.

If the news neglects issues of political or public concern in favour of crime and celebrity culture, it is based on their perception of audience interest. News seems to have run away from communicating with the citizens in useful

and informative way and instead has moved in the direction where the focus is on sensationalisation rather than the typical (Lewis, 2006).

However, social scientists have shown that there is a direct correlation between news-media usage and political conversation. Media audiences become active and engaged when they perceive politics has cultural and social ramifications for them (Lewis, 2006). Koch's (1994) empirical findings showed that subjects who were required to read the *New York Times* daily showed a significant increase in their political conversation. An examination of the Coke extradition tests this hypothesis of increased political awareness as well as considering the focus of the news during the initial 10-month time period.

3.4 DEFINING PUBLIC SPHERE

At the heart of these discussions lies the idea of the public sphere. In the nineteenth century participation in the public sphere occurred more through political parties, press, demonstrations and street parades and less through public discourse (Carey, 1993). However, with the advent of radio and later television, these modern forms of communication allowed for a more networked society and became the necessary force to mobilize vast communities toward social organization.

Habermas (1991) defined the public sphere as the space in our social life whereby public opinion can be formulated. He contends that the public sphere is open to all citizens and that newspapers, radio and television are the media of the public sphere. He theorised that informed and logical discussions could lead to public agreement and decision-making, thus highlighting the best of the democratic tradition (1989). However, Habermas's ideologies are the

framework for an ideal society whereby the idea of 'public' creates an imagery of common citizenship, and openness and accessibility of information by an entire community.

The public sphere emphasises the necessity of the press as an integral condition for political conversation (Kim et al., 1999). It is often seen as a mediated space with the news media as the platform providing a visible forum for public voices (Reese, et al., 2007). As a result, democracy can be strengthened when citizens engage in joint action while sharing a broad commitment to the public sphere and the fostering of public judgment, civil responsibility and problem solving capabilities (Roniger, 1994: 210-11). Public sphere is useful for the study of the newspaper coverage of Coke because the extradition represents an instance in Jamaican history when the newspaper provided a space for public conversation to coalesce. However, because of the inequality on the island, not everyone is allowed to participate in the public sphere so it also needs to be adapted for the Jamaican context.

3.5 ONLINE NEWS

Scholars have concluded that the way people consume news has shifted drastically in the past decade as the readership of traditional newspapers declines in developed countries, the consumption of news via the Internet has increased. After almost 20 years of online news the empirical data on online news adoption, readership behaviours and how it is integrated into daily life is evolving. However scholars agree it has altered the way news is consumed, shared and discussed especially in the Caribbean where physical newspapers are still shared among readers and continues to be profitable. It has also

reframed the journalism business model and created new platforms for the dissemination of information. Allan (2006) argues online news has redefined what can be considered news and who can be considered journalists.

Bowman and Willis (2003) assert, "The venerable profession of journalism finds itself at a rare moment in history where, for the first time its hegemony as gatekeeper of the news is threatened by not just new technology and competitors but, potentially, by the audience it serves" (7). While Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001) proclaim that every time there has been a period of significant, social, economic and technological change, there has been a transformation in the way news is covered and consumed. They argue that innovations in technology combined with globalization and the aggregation of the media landscape have led to a shift from traditional to citizen-based journalism.

Where traditional media are broadcast and advertising focused the participatory nature of online journalism is created by "networked communities that value conversation, collaboration and egalitarianism over profitability" (Bowman & Willis, 2003:12). With every major news event, news in the online environment continues to evolve and mature. The online news platform encourages the "overlap between professional, and citizen-based, tradition and non-traditional sources easier (Reese, et. al, 2004:6).

Robinson and Kaye (2000) discovered that persons with an avid interest in politics are surfing the Internet as they seek more in-depth information than that provided by television news. Online news incorporates interactive hyperlink systems that are able to give the reader alternative

sources of information. It also gives journalists an instantaneous connection with their readers, through comments and can create an open dialogue between journalists and their readership. Natalie Fenton (2010:14) asserts that while online news has created a new space for citizen expression, the circulation of information and created an avenue for multiple interpretations of news it is not the “utopian vision of a brave new world with everyone connected to everyone else.” Instead Fenton argues that the new online component of news has not changed news values or formats, they are still governed by journalistic culture of its organization.

Despite the criticisms, online news is a new component in the public sphere theory; it acts as a forum for citizen deliberation and the shaping public opinion as well as an avenue for mobilizing the community. The Internet has created a legitimate political force within the public sphere, which may have repercussions for citizen engagement and participation locally, nationally and globally (Splichal, 2009). Similarly, Cordel Green (2010:3) argues, “the fragmented nature of newer media, patterns a fragmented society in which the emergence of diverse ‘community values’, challenges the formulation of broader ‘public’ or ‘national’ standards and consensus around values.”

For the framing of this thesis the focus will be on the newspapers in their online news medium. It will examine the overall coverage of Coke as well as attempt to understand how online news is changing the news landscape on the island. It will also consider the limitations of online news within the Jamaican landscape where the digital divide is hampering the progress of

adoption; as a result, physical newspapers still play an integral role in mediating life on the island.

3.5.1 THE DIGITAL DIVIDE

The information age ushered in the promise of new economic opportunities, national growth and a new facilitator of egalitarian communication. While the Internet revolution and online news is permeating the more developed countries in the global community there are large populations within the developing world that are struggling to adapt and keep up. The imbalance in access to information technology is called the digital divide. It is defined as the “deficiency and the lack of technological access or ownership” (de Munster, 2005:133). It is the gap between those who have access to new information through their computers, smart phones and televisions and those who are too poor, uneducated or socially unaware to have access to these new technologies. DeGannes Scott (2006:75) contends that globally, “developing countries are more likely to be information-poor and have significant information disparities within their populations”. However, this isn’t only a problem for developing countries, it is a global problem that highlights the information gap between the educated and uneducated, social classes and industrialized and less developed countries (de Munster, 2005).

Unlike other sectors in the developing world, the Caribbean is uniquely positioned not only because of its proximity to the United States but also because it has a higher than average literacy rate for the developing world. In Jamaica there has been a marked growth in Internet access in the past decade but ownership of personal computers is still low. The Caribbean Broadband and ICT Indicators Data Sheet for Jamaica (2011) showed that while 38% of

Jamaicans used the Internet daily, approximately 24% of the population had access to computers at home and 15.6% had access to the Internet. The results also revealed that the Internet was used mainly for email communication (76.9%), social networking (71.7%) and educational activities (65.4%). Dunn (2008) notes,

The rate of adoption of New Media could be considered low due to various factors including low Internet and broadband penetration and economic constraints, which inhibit more widespread acquisition. Old media have started to expand into the new media, but with little substantial change to content and ownership, so the development is economically viable. New media in Jamaica is still in the embryonic stage (8).

The results from the study are troubling, especially considering the inordinate access Jamaica has to technological advancements given its proximity to the United States. The introduction of affordable smart phones with Internet capabilities, usage has increased on the island. It is estimated that the number of mobile subscribers on the island is 3.3 million with a penetration rate of 119% (Baker, 2011). Users have already started to gain effective access to the Internet via mobile phones and are able to engage in a variety of pursuits ranging from educational, research and publishing ventures to social networking and economic transactions (Dunn, 2009).

Some argue that the digital divide is a myth or at least out-dated. Samuelson (2002) cites the fact that computers are now cheaper to buy and the Internet is more accessible to the general public through cyber cafes. Computer literacy is now a compulsory part of school curriculums so students are exposed at a very young age. However in Jamaica, the barriers of class, poverty and illiteracy are still prohibitive to ensuring comprehensive access.

Even though the thesis considers Jamaican newspapers in their online format, because of the access limitations on the island, it is limited in its scope about the potential for online news to create a renewed or altered public sphere.

3.6 COLLABORATIONS BETWEEN POLITICS & NEWS

While online news has created a new platform within the public sphere to engage the community, in Jamaica the circumstance varies significantly from that in developed countries. As a result, to analyse the Coke extradition, close attention must be given to the barriers and gaps that only allow elite segments of the population to participate in the debate. Media systems have been historically rooted in the institution of nation state because of their close relationship with the political world (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). The collaboration between the news media and the political realm has been studied through several lenses including political partisanship, political parallelism, clientelism, political patronage and social responsibility. It is important that these theoretical frameworks be considered as an avenue to find a suitable lens to study Jamaica and the role of its newspapers at this particular juncture in their history.

Political partisanship is most evident among newspapers when each newspaper blatantly supports a party. For example, for decades in Norway, political parties continued to be affiliated with existing newspapers because they needed channels to inform and have a dialogue with their voters (Allern, et.al, 2011). This was a unique arrangement by which newspaper owners saw party affiliation as a chance to increase circulation among party supporters (Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

Partisanship and parallelism have similar integrating structures between the press and political parties. Political parallelism is usually used to analyse media systems in western countries where there is a competitive political system and a stable relationship between the media and politicians. (ibid). Political parallelism alludes to a “kind of one-to-one connection between media and political parties” however; this is less common in 21st century media houses who are now more associated with political ideologies than direct connections to individual parties (ibid, 2004: 27). Hallin and Mancini (2004:21) argue that newspapers and journalists should not have political alignments because this hinders the democratic process of a society and proposed the framework of political parallelism when studying the connectivity of politics and media systems. They described it as the nature of the links between the media and political parties or the way media systems reflect the major political divisions within a society. Seymour-Ure (1974:159) explains this relationship as; “the same social forces that find expression in a party or parties of a political system tend to find expression also through the press.” There has been a decrease in blatant partisanship globally among the press, however some newspapers will still apply an ideological slant to their articles, and this is most visible in newspaper editorials (van Kempen, 2007). The extent of that partisanship in Jamaica is therefore a question that needs empirical analysis, particularly given the way newspapers are changing in response to the rise of the Internet.

Clientelism is another ideology that follows partisanship and parallelism and has been pervasive in the Jamaican political system. It is defined by Hallin and Mancini (2004:58-59) as a form of social and political organization where

access to public resources is regulated by powerful patrons and is delivered to powerless clients in exchange for compliance and other forms of service. They suggest that clientelism and the media are interwoven through the instrumentalisation of media conglomerates. This is the process whereby the owners and sponsors of media corporations use the media under their control to advance their individual interests (Roudakova, 2008). Carl Stone argued that this was the best theoretical framework to consider Jamaican public life. In *Democracy and Clientelism in Jamaica*, Stone (1980) argues:

Party politics under clientelism is built around a network of personal allegiances between multiple patrons, brokers and clients. Patrons control the new centres of power and access to material and social rewards, while brokers or intermediaries provide the linkage between the rank-and-file clients or supporters and the powerful patrons or political bosses. Formal legal organizational party structures there give a misleading picture of where power is concentrated as many a powerful political boss or broker occupies no formal office.

As noted in Chapter 2, while these descriptions capture the nature of Jamaica's socio-economic climate, it does not adequately take into account the polarizing nature of class and the importance of culture within the society.

Blau and Elman (2002) conclude that in the United States a patronage system involving newspapers emerged at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was based on a mutual dependence between journalists and politicians. These associations have played an integral role in government reform, shaping political culture and encouraging participation. The political patronage framework is usually used in comparative politics; there has been sparse reference to patronage in the realm of media studies. Yet, it seems an apt lens through which to look at Jamaica through. Usually analysis of this

ideology is deeply rooted in the social structure and cultural values of a nation. It is fraught with ambiguity and open to at times conflicting interpretations. The meaning of political patronage changes over time depending on the media and the notions of democracy within a society at that particular time. However, it is traditionally defined as placing friends in positions of authority so as to “neutralize the system of representation” within a government (Roniger, 1994:213). In this instance the patron-client relationship is used to divert public resources and obtain transactional benefits (Roniger, 1994:213).

Political patronage is a common thread in the research on the Jamaica governmental landscape but researchers have neglected the role the media has played. Leading Caribbean scholars like Stone (1972, 1980) and Sives (2002, 2012) who have studied the patronage embedded in the Jamaican political system have not examined the role the media play in maintaining this status quo on the island. Newspapers, for example, are a national source of information about partisan politics and public opinion. However, they are rarely studied as an integral part of changing the dynamics of the island’s political culture.

According to Hallin and Mancini (2004), journalistic practice globally has shifted toward an “Anglo Saxon” and non-partisan presentation where there is a separation of news and commentary, a diminished emphasis on partisan ideas and an increased emphasis on the presentation of neutral information. Jamaican newspapers in the past have taken deliberate political stances for or against individual parties; however, Hallin and Mancini’s theory appears to be a fair representation of the state of the island’s newspapers in the 21st century.

These realist analyses must be complemented by analysis that recognizes newspapers' claims about their separation from politics. Newspapers have recognized their social responsibility to mediate reality and present the news to their community as it happens. They influence how knowledge is legitimized and can help determine the social reality of a society (Segall and Schmidt, 2006). "Responsible journalism does not strengthen the government in power, nor does it insist merely on the individual right to publish and make a profit. The press must remain free from government and business pressure and serve society instead. Socially responsible news is defined by its duties to the community" (Christians & Nordenstreng, 2004). The social responsibility of a newspaper company means that it is responsible for its behaviour to its stockholders, employees and ultimately the wider society (Harrison & Freeman, 1999). Newspapers must balance their profits as well as their pledge to keep the public informed. Within this framework, the journalist's main task is to inform readers, to interpret the facts and relay their conclusions. However Chalkley (1970:2) notes that journalists should "get [their] readers to realize how serious the development problem is, to think about the problem, to open their eyes to the possible solutions--- to punch that hole in the vicious circle."

While the aforementioned theoretical frameworks have power to explain the role the two daily Jamaican newspapers played during the Coke extradition, this thesis argues that, because of the unique nature of the crisis and its intersection with so many facets of Jamaican public life, analysis needs to be grounded in the details of how power and relationships collaborated during the extradition.

3.7 POLITICAL ECONOMY OF COMMUNICATION

To understand how the media work, it is important to understand the economic and social structures they function within. The study of media political economy is evolving as media conglomerates continue to merge, technology rapidly advances and society becomes more consumed with niche interests (Winseck, 2012). While the mergers aren't a threat in Jamaica, political economy is defined as "the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communication resources" (Mosco, 2009:2). The political economy framework is usually used to understand "social change and historical transformation" (Mosco, 1996:27). In communication studies, the political economy of the media spans several spheres, including the business-capitalist motivations; the role of the state; connections between media corporations and the state as well as linkages with wider national and international political economies (ibid: 133). In Jamaica, other considerations when thinking about the political economy of the media include class stratification and its impact on power relations on the island, especially in light of their client-patron historical background. Culture is also another dynamic that has to be considered, especially in the Jamaican context where national cultural identity is celebrated and at the root of political and social debates.

3.7.1 POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ONLINE NEWS

Many scholars see the Internet as a space with the potential to transform the traditional news environment; however it is also changing the business model of news organizations. In developed countries like the United

States and the United Kingdom, there has been a decline in newspaper circulation and the number of hours of national news watched (Freedman, 2010). In addition, the younger demographic is moving toward online platforms and traditional media are facing unprecedented competition from new competitors who have become online news providers (Ala-Fossi et.al, 2008). However, despite these challenges, newspaper publishers are strategically navigating this territory. Most newspapers have a website and “increasingly recognize that branded websites with good content and discussion areas are crucial to their survival” (ibid: 151). While online newspapers are cheaper to produce, they are still very much in the experimental phase as newspaper publishers try to find a way to make their online platforms as profitable as the printed version. The fragmentation of advertising on the Internet has led to a loss in advertising revenue; as a result, newspapers have had to curb investigative and in-depth reporting options and the use of foreign correspondents (Freedman, 2010).

In the Caribbean, newspapers are dealing with these convergence challenges as well and on a much larger scale due to access restrictions. As James (2012) notes, Caribbean newspapers have been compelled to change their business models as they compete with both the broadcast and new media platforms. They are trying to repurpose their content for the online platform but James (2012) argues that a lot of their success in the online platform will depend on the ability of journalists to broaden their abilities to move outside their discipline and become converged journalists.

3.8 POLITICAL ECONOMY OF JAMAICA & ITS NEWSPAPERS

In the last decade, globalization, economic uncertainty and rising tourist arrivals have highlighted Jamaica's dependency on its international partners. The intricacy of the political economy of 21st century Jamaica is shaped by the island's culture and its complex interaction with money, class and power. These forms of power extend through to the leadership of the newspapers and ultimately produce the environment through which the daily newspapers cover the island and in particular the Coke extradition.

However, before we can consider the media's role, we must first examine the character of Jamaica's political economy. The island's political economy is shaped by the social inequalities of wealth and class, which lead to what Holzberg (1977) called an "ideological distortion perpetuated by those in economic power" to ensure their continued economic dominance.

Price (2004: 89) asserts, "Jamaica's politico-economic structures have been worn down by a near-constant state of crisis." The deregulation of the economy over the past two decades and the lack of a diversified economy have left the island's politicians in a quandary while elevating and legitimizing the role of the don. While dons like Coke have legitimate businesses, the drug trade plays a significant role in the maintenance of their constituents. It also is integral to the island's economy and dons like Coke use their connections with politicians to facilitate the trade. In the absence of government safety mechanisms, these dons are also able to exact loyalty, provide relative financial stability, and maintain law and order in their constituencies through their philanthropy because they are able to "understand and manipulate the local moral economies" (ibid: 2004:83). The irony is as Jaffe (2012a: 193) asserts,

that “in uptown conversations and mainstream media representation, the level of authority and legitimacy dons enjoy in Jamaica’s inner-city areas is often attributed to the morals of the urban poor.” However, most of the blame lies, as Figueroa et al. (2008:119) proclaims, with the political dynamics of the island that facilitates an “incubator for the promotion of and legitimization of criminal perpetrators of violence.” Just as the state has ceded the governance of these communities to the area leaders, the media has also effectively withdrawn from covering these communities, except in extreme circumstances.

In communication studies, political economy as a theoretical framework focuses on the relationship between economic structures and the media, seeing them often foremost as industrial and commercial enterprises. Media companies are networked to the country’s wider economic model through reciprocal investments, shareholdings, interlocking directorships and advertising that is the economic backbone of their revenue (Murdock and Golding, 1974). In the 1970s Golding and Murdock (1978) emphasized the importance of analysing “the social processes through which they are constructed and interpreted and the contexts and pressures which shape and constrain those constructions.” More recently, Golding and Murdock (2000:13) have argued that political economy also explores “how changes in an array of forces which exercise control over cultural production and distribution limit or liberate the public sphere”. The two main issues they have identified are the pattern of ownership of media conglomerates and the consequences of that control over state regulation. They contend that those who control the production of ideas are dominating cultural ideologies and evidently play a role in maintaining societal inequalities.

When analysing political economy through the lens of the Caribbean, Perry Mars (1995) indicates that at the heart of most Caribbean conflicts is an interplay between international and class forces where the political elite within the middle-classes plays a pivotal role, mainly because they have the capacity to mobilize the masses to incite change. Mars argues:

Because of the essential middle-class character of political control, Caribbean states demonstrate a preference for the more elitist or authoritarian approach to conflict resolution over the more consensual approached allowing for inter-class collaboration, independent mediation and the like (438).

This structure is replicated not only in the way civil society groups organize in Jamaica but also in the ownership of the newspaper and the diverse investments these owners have made within the national landscape. The aim of using political economy, as the overarching theoretical framework to study the newspapers during the Coke extradition is to gain a better understanding of the way power, class and to some extent the island's culture shaped the news coverage. However, it is accepted from the outset that the link between Jamaican news organizations and the disposition of the news they produce will be nuanced and not always available for analysis, and so the study will necessarily be left with gaps in what it can establish. Theories such as political economy are not always verifiable in an empirical sense (van den Berg, 1988).

There is a theoretical tension between the political economy framework and the role of culture in a community. Golding and Murdock see political economic structures as influencing the culture of a country while cultural scholars like Dahlgren see culture as an independent factor. However, there is a partnership between culture and political economy in Jamaica: cultural

politics, popular culture and nationalism help to shape the political economic architecture of the island.

Collins (1998:118) maintains, "Cultural expression and attitudes to Caribbean culture are intimately bound up with the question of politics." Thomas (2004:2) also asserts that Jamaicanness is "embedded in and assessed through, on-going negotiations of colour, class, gender, generation and cultural practice in local venues." This ideology extends to how readers interact with the daily newspapers. The idea of power structures in Jamaica is not only based on financial wealth but also in the ideology of education and class. One has to consider how resources are controlled within that environment and its consequences. In a world characterized by new communication technology, this also has repercussions for those who are able to join the debate and exert their influence.

Signal (1986) noted that news is not defined by events but by what people say has happened or will happen. As a result, to understand news creation we must understand the role of journalists and the pressures they face. Journalists can create the discourse around a particular topic they deem as integral to the national trust but they too have both personal and editorial constraints. This thesis uses the moment of the news coverage of the Coke extradition to examine the role played by *The Jamaica Gleaner* and *Jamaica Observer*, particularly if their coverage was a reflection of their ownership or clamours from the wider public. As discussed earlier in the chapter, fitting Jamaica into several of the established communication theories is difficult. The thesis also theorizes the newspapers acted as patrons of their community, to brief their readership while holding the national politicians accountable to

defend and maintain a sense of democracy in the midst of a pending national and international crisis. These ideas help us understand the state of newspapers engagement and influence in 21st century Jamaica.

Patronage at work in democratic societies can be transformational. Changes in the perception of patronage can occur through the organization of systems whereby citizens can demand their rights and entitlements (Roniger, 1994). These systems work when the public sphere is configured around public accountability and by moving more discrete issues into those with public and political consequences (Roniger, 1994). Public opinion is formed by the press and shaped by the public opinion industry and interests groups within the civil society who make it their civic duty to incite change (Carey, 1993). The Coke extradition exposed a multitude of shortcomings, patterns of revolution and new ideas for considering the political, social and diplomatic identity of the island. All of these factors have created a new avenue for considering the identity of the Jamaican political economy. As a result, for the purpose of this thesis, the media's influence will be considered through the wider lens of political economy of the media within the Jamaican context.

3.9 DEFINING CIVIC AGENCY

Civil societies play an integral role as change agents in a democracy. As seen in Chapter two, civil society on the island have been classified as weak, it is useful to examine if there was an increase in civic agency with the heightened tension and blurred lines associated with the Coke extradition. Roniger (1994) asserts that civil society and the participatory flavour of new social movements have led to monumental changes not only for political

regimes but also between leaders and their constituents. For the purpose of this study, civil society will be limited to non-governmental organizations, The Church, political parties, academic institutions, garrison leaders and private sector entities on the island.

The Inter-American Development Bank (2014) sees civic participation as action by ordinary citizens, either through governments or directly, in an attempt to influence the governmental decision-making. This citizen participation isn't about decision-making, but more about "the opportunity to influence the decisions that must be made by the authorities."

In Jamaica, local socio-political dynamics have left the country split along political party lines and disengaged from their government. Sives (2003:430) contends, "Pressure on the state occurs either through powerful sectorial groups, which have privileged access, or on the streets through protest which focus on specific practical issues." However, newspapers have always had the power to re-engage their readerships especially with the use of new technologies.

Dahlgren (2012) notes there is a partnership between democratic participation, the evolving media landscape and how we understand the idea of civic agency in the 21st century. He argues that civic agency is determined by the initiatives that citizens take based on their given social, cultural and political circumstances. Other studies on the role of civil society in Jamaica during times of crisis indicate a proclivity for action. This thesis considers if these actions were replicated in the Coke extradition and to what extent did these organizations and agents enact their civic duty through the newspaper platforms. Sives (2012: 427) also questioned how much pressure civil society

can really exert on the government to “renegotiate its political and social contract” with those on the margins.

For the purpose of this study, consideration must be made for difference between civil society and civic agents. The agents represent self-serving individuals who participate in the debate for their own political and economic gain, whereas civil society implies by definition a group or collective of interests, mobilizing and working together within a framework for the good of their democracy. A separation of these concepts is integral for considering the shift from individual to collective interests in the shaping of the civic agency framework during the Coke extradition.

While, Dahlgren (2006:275) contends “audiences that coalesce into publics who talk about political issues – and begin to enact their civic identities and make use of their civic competencies – move from the private realm into the public one, making use of and further developing their cultures of citizenship.” Civil society can be nurtured through the involvement of civic agency and increased public interaction through communication both “written and electronic that empower and substantiate the citizens’ sense of autonomy from the logic of regulation by the state” (Roniger, 1994).

Civic agency is usually discussed in terms of declining participation within a democratic society. It is defined as civil society working collaboratively across partisan ideology to address common challenges, solve problems and institute change (Dahlgren, 2006). Dewey (1927) insisted that inquiry and communication were the basis for a democratic society and highlighted the merits of group deliberation over the decisions of a single

authority. An active and informed readership is more likely to be more critical of society's power structures and the use of new technologies is transforming citizen involvement in politics and the media now has the potential to cultivate civic agency (Dahlgren, 2009). In the instance of Coke, the online newspapers had become what Giessmann called, "multiplier of inferior power and a tool for pressuring the target group" (2002:134). As an alternative, Giessmann (2002) argues that with the 24-hour news cycle of the online medium reporting is marked by "the conveying of emotions rather than objective analysis." As a result, lack of information leaves room for criticizing the media for the manipulation of public opinion. Carey (1993) concludes that neither journalism nor public life will move forward until the public rethinks and reinterprets the value of journalism and how it shapes conversation. This thesis will examine civic agency through the connections between civic agents, civil society organizations and newspapers during the Coke extradition.

3.10 SUMMARY:

This chapter considered a suitable theoretical framework for the examination of the newspaper coverage of the Coke extradition. It examined how Jamaicans engage with both newspapers and civil society to facilitate and create Habermas's public sphere on the island. It also studied the extent to which both these two entities work together to promote transparency, good governance and civic agency during the Coke extradition debate. The role of newspapers in Jamaica must be considered through the political, socio-economic and cultural landscape of the island and how these institutions help

to provide a deeper understanding about the coverage of Coke, the political economy of its media and the role of civil society in the 21st century.

Despite their historical economic, social and political challenges, in Jamaica, newspapers operate within a relatively free sphere. The incorporation of the online platform into the news coverage has opened a space for Jamaicans globally to have access and participate in the social and political debates on the island. Though consideration must be made for analysing the newspapers as a purely online space, since the newspapers, at the time of the extradition were still trying to negotiate the use of the online platform. The interactions between *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*, their readership, the state and civil society will provide a greater understanding about the role of the newspaper at this juncture of the island's history.

CHAPTER 4:

NEWSPAPER METHODOLOGY

"What we find changes who we become." -Peter Morville

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores two major Jamaican newspapers' framing of the Coke crisis in an attempt to capture the patterns in news production and the experiences of those involved in telling the extradition story. It also attempts to understand how the 21st century online version of the newspaper is able to promote democracy and transparency while still protecting the values of the elites it ideologically represents. The overall goal of the research is to achieve an understanding of the role of online newspapers in Jamaica at the point of the Coke extradition while gauging the opinions and attitudes of journalists, columnists and civic agents linked to this medium. It also considers where the newspaper medium and civic activism overlap, especially in times of crisis.

The research of the newspapers' role in the Coke extradition is guided by two theoretical approaches, political economy and civic agency. These theories are used to understand the socio-political, cultural and economic role of the Jamaican daily newspaper as it moves further into a global, online-driven community. The political economy approach considers the power relations involved in "the production, distribution and consumption of resources" including communication channels and the resulting social impact (Mosco, 2009:2-3). While civic agency, Dahlgren (2006) writes, is a manifestation of civic participation and citizenship within the public sphere.

In the context of this thesis, the data analysis of how the Jamaican media intersects with these two frameworks will take into account the power

imbalances, societal inequalities and the cultural realities of the island. It considers the changes in the newspaper coverage over the ten months the Jamaican government negotiated Coke's extradition with his lawyers, the US government and the Jamaican people. It also examines the perceptions of the newspaper coverage and the visibility of civil society in the debate by local commentators and change agents.

The Jamaican press has historically played an integral role in shaping the mood and direction of public life on the island, through slavery, independence, contentious elections, bouts of civil unrest and more recently in the Coke extradition. Despite their influence, analyses of these newspapers have been rarely conducted on the role they play in specific events and how those events shape the news values and content of the newspapers. A study of Jamaican media during the Coke crisis is important because it has the opportunity to reveal both the possibilities and limitations of the Jamaica newspaper system as it tries to reach its full multi-media capacity. It also considers how civil society can enhance governance in the island.

Research in English into the way media works within a national context has been dominated by the United States and to a lesser extent the United Kingdom. This has led to an exclusion of how media works in Third World countries on the global periphery (Thussu, 2009). Gruber (2008:59) notes that investigating how communication works on the new media platform "allows us to analyse the process of appropriation of new communicative possibilities by people and the emergence of new genres through the interplay of already established generic conventions with new technological and semiotic possibilities." Communication studies can be conducted using a host of

analytical techniques; these can include discourse or textual analysis, surveys, ethnographies, focus groups and archival research. This study uses content analysis and interviews to look beyond the pages of the online newspaper and considers those creating the content, the barriers imposed on them, the sources they were using to formulate their content and the tone they were setting for the island.

It is important to see how the newspapers shaped the national discourse especially given their political background and ownership structures. It looks beyond “what” the newspapers covered in the lead up to Coke’s extradition and also incorporates the “when,” “why” and “how” the newspapers were able to construct the dialogue surrounding the extradition, incited a rallying cry for change and increased government accountability. The framing of the extradition, its escalation to an armed conflict and the state of the island in the immediate aftermath of Coke’s extradition are all points for consideration. The study seeks to answer the following research questions by considering the news flows surrounding the Coke story, those creating the content and how civil society facilitated the discourse.

- How did the newspapers cover the Coke extradition crisis?
- How did civil society shape or affect the coverage of the Coke extradition crisis?
- How did the ideology of Jamaica shape news coverage of the Coke extradition crisis?

4.2 METHODOLOGICAL AIMS

The study uses both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis to investigate the role the newspapers played in the Coke extradition. By using a

mixed method approach researchers are able to provide analytic texture, compensate for deficiencies of one form of data with the strengths of another and modify or strengthen analytic findings when the results of each genre support, corroborate or contradict each other (Huberman, et.al, 2014:43). This study employs an integrated approach to the collection of data using content analysis and in-depth interviews in parallel to understand the factors surrounding the newspaper coverage of the Coke extradition.

Content analysis was used as the quantitative research method and in-depth interviews as the qualitative method. The content analysis helped to give insight into the dialogue surrounding the Coke extradition. The in-depth interviews helped to put the information gleaned from the content analysis into perspective and provided added understanding about the attitudes and opinions that were prevalent during the extradition. Content analysis was used as one of the research methods of this study because of its long-established value in media studies research. Krippendorff, (2004:44) asserts that content analysis allows the use of “relatively unstructured data in view of meaning, symbolic qualities, and expressive content they have and of the communicative roles they play in the lives of data sources.”

In-depth interviews were the qualitative method used to assess the attitudes and opinions of those involved in the newspaper coverage of the Coke extradition and how they mobilized civil society and pushed for more responsible governance. Jamaica’s cultural norms, political ideologies and perceptions of civic life also have to be taken into consideration when reflecting on the environment that allowed the Coke extradition to escalate from a mere warrant to an armed conflict and the interviews allowed these

themes to emerge. As Johnson (2007:72) stated, “the political rebellion in which Jamaican citizens participate is therefore not alienated from the role of the state and the quality of its political performance. Neither is estranged from the political culture and values evolved over a period of time as well as the historical circumstance.”

While this thesis is primarily focused on the evolution of the online versions of two Jamaican newspapers, the content it produced in those 10 months and their revelations about civic engagement, it cannot be considered in isolation of the social significance of the conflict. The methodological framework of the thesis examines content reported in both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* that originated both in Jamaica, the United States and the wider Diaspora. It considers news flow, themes, and newsgathering practices as well as the prevalence of civil society in the national debate. The aim is to use the inductive approach whereby questions, insights, propositions, and pictures emerge from the data collection to analyse and make conclusions about new newspaper mediums within the Jamaican society (Rowley, 2002). When framing research using the inductive approach, the researcher usually begins with an open mind and very few preconceived notions about the study, however researchers can never be completely objective (O’Reilly, 2009). In using this approach there is on-going contemplation about the theoretical framework and analysis as well as the data and how it will be interpreted (ibid). For the examination of Coke through the lens of the newspapers, this inductive approach is grounded in the interpretative and constructivist epistemology.

4.2.1 INTREPRETIVISM & CONSTRUCTIVISM

Qualitative research falls into three categories, positivist, interpretive or critical. For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on the interpretive and constructivist. Schwandt (1994:118) states that these ideologies help shape a researcher's overall outlook:

Proponents of these persuasions share the goal of understanding the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it. This goal is variously spoken of as an abiding concern for the life world, for the emic point of view, for understanding meaning, for grasping the actor's definition of a situation. The world of lived reality and situation-specific meanings that constitute the general object of investigation is thought to be constructed by social actors.

In other words, interpretivist and constructivist qualitative research is centred on "knowledge that is subjective, constructed and based on shared signs and symbols that are recognized by members of a culture" (Grbich, 2013:7). O'Reilly (2009:16) noted that interpretivism is focused on "the reflexive and highly variable nature of human existence and seeks to understand the motivations, thinking, and ideas that generate the patterned mosaic of social life." As a result, the focal point of the research is on the way people describe their experiences, how they are situated in the wider social context, and how the context impacts the constructed understanding of the issues.

For the examination of the online versions of Jamaica's daily newspapers and the Coke debacle, the interpretive research will focus on the social construction of news during this 10-month period. The criteria necessary for

the constructivist theory are how social reality is seen as a result of a constructed process where meanings continually change based on the way they are interpreted (Flick, 2009). Through the analysis of the data, images should arise concerning the broad cultural and institutional contexts of meaning and social order of online newspapers within the Jamaican society (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). The study is trying to understand both the newspapers and civil society's role as civic actors within the contest of Coke's extradition.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

While there has been extensive research on the political fabric of Jamaica, there has been very little recent theoretical and empirical study of the island's media system especially newspapers. The dearth of knowledge becomes even more apparent in the context of 21st century advancements in the daily newspapers and their role within the society. Jeremy Tunstall (1996:1) noted, "It is the newspapers, not television, which go for the politician's jugular. Typically, it is the newspaper which first spills the politicians' blood; only then does television swoop in for the action replay." The research design explores how the Coke argument was constructed in the newspapers in an attempt to answer the proposed research questions. A research design is the logic that links the data to be collected and the conclusions to be drawn to the initial questions of a study; it ensures coherence (Rowley, 2002). It involves defining the investigation, such as research questions and propositions, appreciating how validity and reliability can be established (ibid).

As this study focuses on one movement in Jamaican politics, it can be called a case study using interviews and content analysis. The content analysis will specifically examine the type of content that was published in the newspapers. Qualitative in-depth interviews give the researcher open-ended answers that will focus on the convergence of the political and media environment during the extradition as well as critically examine the role online newspapers played in governance and civic agency. Using this mixed methods approach gives the researcher a better understanding of the research problems, it answers questions that cannot be answered by qualitative and quantitative approaches individually and it “provides strengths that offset the weaknesses” of each (Creswell & Plano, 2007:9). It is also a good platform for the data from the findings to be triangulated and analysed. Lindlof and Taylor (2002) state that triangulation is used to seek convergence of meaning from multiple methods to help validate and enhance the results of the study or legitimize a claim of disjuncture. Researchers look for converging interpretations from their interviews, documents and other evidence to find a common object of interest. In essence, the research design is the layout of the project that allows for a systematic method. In the case of the newspaper coverage of Coke, this study considers the manifest content, the musings of civil society and the critical analysis of the actors in the Coke debate through the lens of the newspapers and perceptions of the community. Interviews and content analysis were chosen as the suitable methods for this study because it was more exploratory and these two methods were able to provide more depth about newspapers and Coke in the Jamaica public sphere. Using alternative methods like focus groups and surveys may have proven problematic in terms

of recruiting the specified demographic considering the sensitivity of discussing Coke, even two years after the extradition.

4.3.1 THE CASE STUDY METHOD

The Coke case study focuses on the coverage of Jamaica's two main daily newspapers between August 28, 2009 and June 30, 2010 and the uncertainty surrounding the Coke extradition. Eisenhardt (1989:548-549) states that case studies are "particularly well suited to new research areas or research areas for which existing theory seems inadequate. This type of work is highly complementary to incremental theory building from normal science research." Yin (1994:9) deems that case study research is useful when "a how or why question is being asked about contemporary events over which the investigator has little or no control." He (1997:13) described the case study method of research as an empirical inquiry that:

- Investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; especially when
- The boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and
- Where multiple sources of evidence are used.

Denzin and Lincoln (2003) contend the case study research "can be a disciplined force in public policy setting and reflection on the human experience." It is ideally suited for this research study since the objective is to examine the societal attitudes, newspaper framing and its impact on civil society. Denzin and Lincoln argue that the value of the case study approach lies in the uniqueness of the case and not necessarily in its reliability or generalizability. Guba and Lincoln (1982:238) affirm that the aim of inquiry is

to develop a body of knowledge that “is best encapsulated in a series of ‘working hypotheses’ that describe the individual case. Generalizations are impossible since phenomena are neither time- nor context-free.”

This examination of Coke is seen as a case study because it will be used to draw inferences and assess the place of *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* as well as the role civil society plays in times of elevated strife and conflict on the island. This study’s focus on theories of political economy and civic agency in online newspapers in Jamaica during the extradition of Coke constitutes a single-case design of the case study. According to Yin (1994), “single cases may be used to confirm or challenge a theory, or to represent a unique or extreme case.” In the context of Jamaica, using case studies allows for the understanding of multiple, interrelated phenomena at work as the media, government and civil society all try to resolve tensions around the extradition of Coke.

“When quantitative and qualitative approaches are used methodologically in combination with each other, the resulting analysis is invariably stronger,” (Deacon et al., 1999:134). The advantage of using content analysis is that it is unobtrusive, inexpensive, is current events-oriented and yields data that can be qualified (Berger, 2000). The major constraint of using a case study is that the data has to be interpreted and it doesn’t give the researcher access to the silences surrounding the debate. Some of the other constraints include finding a balanced and representative sample, determining what can be measured and defining the terms of the study (Berger, 2000).

Interviews were conducted with opinion leaders, change agents and change aides to examine if they identified with or rejected the idea of the

newspapers playing a significant role in the Coke extradition process. Berger (2000) indicates the advantages of using interviews is that they can be recorded and analysed in detail as well as give the researcher a chance to observe and probe their informants. Interviews are an integral part of the case study evidence-gathering process.

Content analysis is a good method used for obtaining data from a collection of texts that share a common thread (Berger, 2000). There is previous research on how newspapers cover conflicts, more specifically wars that used content analysis. Content analysis has been shown to be a very suitable method for the analysis of this kind of content.

The use of both analytical methods in tandem for this case study can provide a rich description of the overall complexities of the Coke extradition including arguments about the role of the newspaper and civil society during the Coke extradition debacle.

4.4 CONTENT ANALYSIS

Content analysis has been an important instrument in the study of newspaper content; Berelson (1952:263) said it is “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.” Krippendorff (2004) asserts that it can provide new insights and increase the researchers’ understanding of the facts as well as inform practical actions. The content analysis should be a reliable and replicable instrument, which allows the researcher to make inferences, and can provide an overview of the data trends given a wide variety of factors and discrepancies. This research technique has been historically used to study newspaper, radio and television coverage but more recently has been applied

to new media research. Quantitative analysis of newspapers has seemingly provided a scientific background for journalistic arguments (Krippendorff, 2004). Over the past few years there have been numerous studies that employed the content analysis technique to study newspapers and conflict including Flournoy (1992) in Indonesia, Song and Chang (2012) in China, Segvic (2005) in Croatia and Haneefa and S. Nellikka (2010) in India.

This study attempts to analyse the content of the online versions of Jamaica's two daily newspapers as a tool to identify their role in providing a democratic forum for public consumption and debate during the Coke extradition. The study also tries to capture the newspaper's representation of civil society and their involvement in the resolution of the conflict. The content analysis doesn't question the published facts of the extradition but considers who is framing the stories, the frequency of coverage, the sources used to build the argument and how these help us understand the role the newspaper plays in conflict escalation and resolution on the island.

Although discussions about the Coke extradition and its effects continue even five years post-extradition, this research study is focused on the initial 10 months of the extradition and Coke's departure from the island. This time frame was chosen to capture the political turmoil, violence and diplomatic fallout from the issuance of the Coke extradition warrant. For the time period under investigation, the online versions of the newspaper printed almost exact replicas of the articles found in the daily newspapers. The online versions of the newspapers were chosen because they allowed for more access to the newspapers, feedback and up-to-date reporting given the flexibility of the online format. Martin and Hansen (1998: 108) contend, "The migration from

newsprint delivery to digital delivery allows more data to be included but also transforms the familiar format of traditional newspaper presentation.” This thesis examines if this is the case of the online news in Jamaica, especially considering its proximity to the United States and the influence of American technological advancement on the Jamaican society.

4.4.1 NEWSPAPER SAMPLING

Selecting a suitable newspaper sample is an integral part of setting the parameters of the content analysis. *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* were self-evidently the newspapers to choose because of their prominence within the Jamaican cultural and media framework. *The Observer* and *The Gleaner* also stood out as powerful media entities during the extradition debate. However, while this study focuses mainly on newspapers, it is important to note the influence of television and radio in the Jamaican community. Therefore, the results could be seen in the broader context of Jamaican media if the study is expanded. This will be discussed further in the conclusion in Chapter Eight.

The newspaper samples used in the content analysis were all accessed from the online archives of *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* at <http://jamaica-Gleaner.com/> and <http://www.jamaicaObserver.com/>. For the purpose of this study, the content analysis started only with articles directly pertaining to the extradition; the dates analysed include the first publication of the American request for Coke’s extradition on August 28th, 2009 in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*. The conclusion of the content analysis was June 30th, 2010, seven days after Coke’s extradition to New York. These dates were chosen to give a broad overview of the debate and conflict surrounding Coke extradition as well as the tone of public debate on the island immediately following his

extradition. The articles chosen encompassed the initial request from the U.S. government, the revelation of Golding's involvement with Manatt, the bloodshed of the Tivoli incursion and Cokes' eventual extradition and arraignment in the United States.

All the articles used for the content analysis were acquired using the key search words, "Dudus" or "Coke," to isolate the articles specifically related to the extradition conflict within the stipulated 10-month sample period. There was a significant amount of press about the Coke extradition, published both in the daily newspapers and on other online news platforms, however this study considered a sample that was "large enough to contain sufficient information and small enough for analysis" (Krippendorff, 1980:65). A total of 646 articles were used in the content analysis sample. *The Gleaner* articles selected totalled 363 and *The Observer* 283. The articles fitting the Coke criteria were printed out and coded based on the coding characterizations derived from the pilot study. These articles were coded using an inductive approach and the results were added to the statistical software SPSS. When all the articles were entered, cross tabulations and frequencies were used to analyse and ascertain the variables that were of statistical significance during the extradition.

4.4.2 CONTENT ANALYSIS PILOTS

A preliminary pilot study was conducted in the design of the content analysis in November 2011 to test the sample selection, define a time frame, and create a coding manual. This was done to evaluate the validity and reliability of the content analysis. The pre-pilot examined a total of 40 texts, 20 of which were taken from *The Gleaner* and 20 from *The Observer*. These Coke articles were randomly selected from issues published between August 28th,

2009 and June 30th, 2010. The sampling considerations are discussed later in the chapter.

This study helped to finalize the methodological process for examining the newspapers as well as refining and developing the research instrument. Categories were devised to cover the newspaper coverage of extradition. Upon initial analysis, 26 categories were used; this was later expanded to 53 categories that represented the themes, news practices and tone of the newspapers during these specific time periods. The categories were refined and adapted to answer the research questions outlined earlier in this chapter.

The categories used for the content analysis pre-pilot include the newspaper, topic, production date, number of stories published, the story type (lead, editorial), whether the story was positive, negative or neutral, and if it was argumentative, informative or miscellaneous. Photo use and the types of photos as well as the use of by-lines were also examined. The pilot also included the number of comments, the number of sources in the article, number of named or unnamed sources, as well as if they were government (e.g. leader of the JLP, member of the JLP), civil society (organization, church or individual) or academic sources (international or local academic). The themes examined included crime and violence, politics (government criticism, opposition criticism), tourism, international perception/diplomacy, economic implications, garrison culture, government accountability, class warfare, previous extraditions, inciting fear, media mentions, news voice, adhering to the law and trying the courts.

The coding used for the majority of the categories was a scale of 1 if the category was mentioned and 2 if not. This varied for the categories of the

newspaper, topic, production date, number of stories, story type, number of sources, number of named or unnamed sources, number of comments and news voice.

The pilot study was conducted in April 2012 based on an amended version of the pre-pilot and information gleaned from the first set of interviews. It sought to condense the coding categories to create a more concise coding instrument. These findings helped to clarify the scope of the study and shape the coding categorization by revealing deficiencies in proposed design of the study. However, this also led to additional questions about the news practices of both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* during these periods. The additional queries were incorporated into my semi-structured interviews with media practitioners, academic and members of civil society.

Studying the interactivity between readers and the newspaper teams was initially considered. The pre-pilot included the number of stories published that day and the comments section of the newspapers. However, due to the sporadic use of the comments section until much later in the conflict, this idea was discarded and not used in the full study. The themes of inciting fear and those dealing with legal aspects of the extradition discussion were also removed from the pilot study because they didn't add to the overall debate of the news coverage. In addition, it was decided that considerations about the newspaper agenda and how they may have heightened fear on the island would be better identified during the in-depth interviews. The government criticism theme was reassessed as government accountability and the themes of international perception/diplomacy, political corruption, civic responsibility and civil unrest were added to the pilot. The coding categories were finalized

to include 38 categories. Sixty-five articles from *The Observer* and *The Gleaner* were selected from the 10-month time period leading up to Coke's extradition and analysed using the statistical software Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

4.4.3 RELIABILITY & VALIDITY

Testing the reliability of the study is essential to conducting a replicable content analysis. Krippendorff and Bock (2009:350) note that "reliability is the extent to which data can be trusted to represent the phenomena" being studied. They also contend that capricious data can lead to inaccurate conclusions about the phenomena being studied. To ensure that the study is valid and reliable, the content analysis should have reproducible coding instructions, reliable data, an agreement coefficient, a minimum level of agreement, and testable distinctions (ibid). The validity of the study is measured by the research results and theories that can be corroborated by other independently garnered evidence (ibid, 2009:356).

A Jamaican academic who was in Jamaica during the 10-month period and was aware of the debate surrounding Coke and Jamaica's political history with garrisons was recruited as a reliability coder for the inter-coder reliability test. The reliability coder coded 10 percent of the sample (65 articles). This was compared with the researcher's coding of the same sample. An inter-coder reliability test was conducted using the online intercoder reliability service, ReCal 2 (Freelon, 2011). The variables tested had an agreement between 90 % and 100%.

There were discussions between the second coder and the researcher about ambiguities in the coding manual and the use of the time frame to see if

any changes needed to be made to the instrument before the full content analysis was conducted. The coding manual was then explicitly defined, giving explicit detail so that all categories were mutually exclusive. After the pilot, the intercoder reliability test and a review of the coding manual, the author then coded all the remaining articles for the full content analysis. The pilot study was instrumental in defining and developing the coding manual for the content analysis. The coding manual gives an explanation of each of the categories used to ensure that the content analysis was replicable and valid (Krippendorff & Bock, 2009).

4.4.4 CODING CATEGORIES & ANALYTICAL MEASURES

After careful consideration of the research questions, the coding categories were constructed both as an answer to the proposed questions and to give some added perspective on the Coke debacle. Some categories were directly related to the research questions while others were used as background information on newspaper structure.

To determine if the chosen article was going to be coded and included in the sample, the first few paragraphs were read to see if it related directly to the Coke conflict. There were some articles that were tangentially associated with the Coke extradition, for example, the cancellation of the visas of Jamaican artistes Sizzla, Beenie Man, Bounty Killa, Mavado and Aidonia. While there was an implied link between these visa cancellations and Coke, there was no explicit discussion of these links in the articles. These types of news items were not included in the coded sample. Due to the way news is being covered on the island, news briefs on Coke, reworded governmental and civic press releases and articles with less than three sources were included in the sample.

After the appropriate articles were chosen for the sample and printed each was individually coded for background information including the date, story type, by-line, photo inclusion and number of sources used. The story type considered if the articles were classified as news/news analysis, editorial, letters or commentary. This was done to see where the Coke coverage was concentrated and the prevalence of ordinary voices and opinions in the reportage.

By-lines were recorded to determine the level of anonymity the newspapers was giving to those covering the Coke story and additionally to compile a database for possible sources for the interview portion of the study. Photos were included in the coding to determine how much photojournalism was incorporated into the coverage to frame Coke, the government and the ensuing Tivoli incursion. The photo type, for example, photos of Coke or government officials, and number of photos used were integral to understand who was being pushed to the forefront as the face of the Coke extradition. The story tone examined if the reporting was positive, neutral, negative or couldn't be determined. The tone of the newspaper was analysed to measure the objectivity in the reporting of the extradition. The tone of the articles and the inclusion of the newspapers news voice were used to determine if there was a conscious agenda regarding Coke especially in relation to JLP involvement with Coke and the civic engagement of civil society organizations like Jamaicans for Justice and the PSOJ.

Cross tabulations and frequencies were used to examine individual coverage by each newspaper as well as to compare and contrast *The Gleaner's* coverage with that of *The Observer*, especially given their perceived political

allegiances. Subtle political allegiances were not coded for because it was almost impossible to assess the political leanings of the newspaper based on the coverage of one case.

4.4.5 FULL QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The full content analysis was based on the amended coding categorization that evolved from the pilot study. It was conducted between September and October 2012. A further 581 articles were collected, in addition to the articles used in the pilot, for a total of 646 articles accessed on the Coke extradition within the selected timeframe. The coding categorization was divided into five sections: basic information, sources, tone of article, themes and news voice. The coding was designed based on the research objectives and the results of the pilot study. No additional codes were added to the full content analysis. It was not adapted from any previous research on the coverage of political and diplomatic conflicts in Caribbean newspapers, because there were no suitable or available studies on the Caribbean that examine conflict, news and technological change.

SPSS was used to code the data gathered from the newspapers. After all the data had been coded, in October, 2012, the analysis tool in SPSS was used to generate charts, frequencies and percentages to further understand the trends in newspaper coverage during the first ten months of the Coke extradition conflict. The analysis considered the frequency of articles published on Coke as a tool to raise national awareness about the extradition process as well as the tone of the articles and the images they painted about the JLP's handling of the extradition. It also looked at the types of sources the

newspapers used to build their case as well as their incorporation of civil society in the debate.

The content analysis was able to show trends in the newspapers' coverage as well as highlight the instances when civil society became more involved in the dialogue surrounding the Coke extradition. However, it didn't reveal how the newspaper planned their content or how civil society chooses their platforms to raise visibility about the extradition delay. These questions could be answered by the in-depth interviews.

4.5 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Qualitative analysis is the complementary instrument used in this study because it is the most useful method for considering all the perspectives about the Coke newspaper coverage and putting them in context. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) assert that qualitative research encompasses the study and collection of a variety of empirical materials including case studies, introspection, interviews, artefacts, cultural texts to investigate relationships within systems and cultures. They contend that qualitative researchers design studies with real individuals in mind; they study a "social setting to understand the meaning of participants' lives in the participants' own terms" (ibid, 51).

Qualitative research has differing histories in every discipline but in media and cultural studies it arose out of a dissatisfaction of communication scholars with the limitation of quantitative research (Berger, 2000). In media research it is important for the researcher to both to be able to evaluate and interpret communication flows, texts and to uncover narratives through conversation (Berger, 2000).

4.5.1 INTERVIEW SAMPLING STRATEGIES

Sampling in qualitative research is very calculated; it is not based on random probability, which can in turn be extrapolated as a determinant for an entire population (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). As a result, research is purposive, and will use theoretical construct sampling, whereby informants are handpicked based on the study's theoretical framework (Black, 1999). Glaser and Straus (1967:45) describe theoretical sampling as:

The process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory.

During this process, researchers have to ensure they don't skew the sampling to support their hypothesis and ignore texts that don't (Mautner, 2008). However, Mautner (2008:37) does argue that "choosing data always involves an element of subjective judgment...because this cannot be completely avoided that subjectivity needs to be counterbalanced by rigor and choices exposed to critical scrutiny."

All of the interviewees chosen for the study were located within the Kingston Metropolitan Area where the Coke conflict unfolded. They fell into three categories: journalists, academics and civic agents. However many of them played dual roles as columnists for the newspapers and as members of civic organizations. The common thread among all participants is that they were all featured in the newspapers as part of the Coke dialogue.

4.5.2 IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

In-depth interviews helped to give added perspective to the information gleaned from the content analysis. This study used semi-structured interviews as an exploratory method to further understand the patterns and trends in news production and the role civic culture played during the Coke extradition period. This method of qualitative analysis was chosen because it has the potential to broaden the understanding of both the newspaper coverage and the Coke conflict from the point-of-view of the respondents. Jane Stokes (2013) notes that interviewing people within their own cultural framework creates a space for us to study their attitudes to the news, the rationale surrounding news production and their relationship with their audience.

The interviews took into account the socio-economic background of the respondents and, their civic, journalistic and academic endeavours. The views expressed by the informants are used in Chapters Six and Seven to expound on the information gathered from the content analysis. The 21 respondents were purposively selected among the newspaper reporters and commentators as well as civil society activists and academics. The informants were journalists from Jamaican newspaper core who were active participants in reporting the Coke story as well as members from civil society organizations and academics who all resided in the urban centres affected by the Coke debacle. Due to their roles within the community, these respondents were more than passive Observers in the Coke conflict. They all knowingly or unknowingly became embroiled in the Coke debate and were able to set, manipulate and change the public agenda.

The hour-long interviews were divided into four sections. They explored the role of newspapers in Jamaica, the political environments and how the newspapers are shifting in light of global technological advancements. The interview questions are available in the Appendix. The interview questions were designed based on the findings from the pilot study and content analysis. The list of interview questions were prepared in advance. However, they were amended when the interviewees revealed any unexpected information about the circumstances surrounding Coke's extradition. The interviews that deviated from the prepared questions allowed for a better understanding of the complex issues surrounding the extradition. The findings from the interviews are discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.

4.5.3 INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

Securing interview participants was the most difficult part of the data collection process, especially in Jamaica where distrust is rampant. Interview participants were solicited by contacting newspaper journalists and columnists as well as civic agents who were at the forefront of the Coke debate for the 10-month discussion period. Since the participants were all in Jamaica contact was initially established with the participants by sending them emails to secure their agreement to take part in interviews. Many of those contacted either did not reply or declined to participate for various reasons including time constraints, a lack of inclination to discuss Coke any further and a fear of retaliation. Further contact was made in January 2012 and January 2013 with those who agreed to the interviews before fieldwork was conducted on the island. Interviews were conducted between January 11– February 2, 2012 and January 16 and February 5, 2013.

Specific problems included the following: Securing interviews with academics who are newspaper columnists was easier than interviews with some journalists and active members of civil society. Gleaner journalists were more willing to go on record than those at *The Observer*. However, *Observer* columnists were much more accommodating. An *Observer* editor, JM013 noted, “Journalists don’t get paid enough to talk to students.” An interview was scheduled with another *Observer* editor but even though he had given consent to do the interview, he was unable to make any of the appointments. The interviewee suggested that the interview questions should be emailed. However, he never responded despite repeated attempts to facilitate the interview. Another civil society member cancelled several scheduled meetings and cited his hectic schedule as the reason. Within the Jamaican climate of crime, violence and retaliation, journalists tend to be incredibly suspicious and several of them indicated their reluctance to delve into the Coke topic. They recounted their experiences reporting on Coke and the news blackout from sources, especially government sourced due to the tone and persistence of their Coke news coverage. One Gleaner journalist even admitted to Googling the researcher to verify their University of Canterbury credentials before consenting to the interview.

To gain a better understanding into how civic groups were organizing, facilitating and implementing their community strategies, two meetings of the Jamaica Civil Society Coalition formed part of the study’s observational component. At both meetings the continuing ramifications of Coke and the impending Tivoli Incursion Report were discussed. Most of the interviews were conducted at the homes and offices of the respondents; a few were done

at the newsrooms of *The Observer* and *The Gleaner*. The only interview with elevated security concerns was conducted in Tivoli's neighbouring garrison of Trench Town where an interview was conducted with a member of Coke's inner circle. Despite the heavy security and limited access to both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* offices, observations were made about the layout of their newsrooms especially as they try to facilitate their rapidly changing online platform into their everyday newsgathering practices.

While there are some voices from *The Observer* newsroom, the voices from *The Gleaner* far outweigh *The Observer's* contribution to the thesis. As a result it is difficult to make a concrete conclusion about their motivations when covering the Coke story especially given the perceived allegiances between the JLP and that news organization.

In Jamaica, free speech is a generally accepted concept. However, several respondents raised concerns about the retaliation chain on the island. They pointed out previous experience of journalists and their families being threatened. However, with the promise of anonymity, the interviewees are generally open about their experiences covering the Coke extradition. The sample size of the in-depth interviews was dependent on the number of participants who were willing to participate in the research study as well as the time and financial constraints of conducting research in Jamaica. During the 44 days of field research, 21 respondents who were all journalists or columnists with the newspapers and members of civic organizations were recruited. In addition to these interviews, several informal conversations with leaders outside of the media and civil society sphere were also conducted to

gain an alternative view of Coke's influence, their news preferences, civic culture and the state of 21st century Jamaica.

All of the participants who took part in the interviews signed a consent form indicating they were willing to participate in the study. The consent forms were pre-approved by the University of Canterbury's ethics research committee. These forms can be found in the Appendix.

4.5.4 INTERVIEW DATA ANALYSIS

The main goal of the research was to use the content published in the newspaper along with the voices of those in the Jamaican journalistic and civic sphere to determine their place in the Coke extradition. The field research, interviews, observations and newspaper clippings are all seen through the lens of the interpretive paradigm and considered in terms of the proposed theoretical frameworks.

The analysis of the interview data was consolidated through data management, reduction and conceptual development (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002). The aim of the data management was to organize the findings, categorizing them by themes and sub-themes and creating codes to facilitate easy access. The interview data was transcribed and uploaded into Nvivo for easier identification of the prominent themes and trends. The interviews were coded according to themes that emerged after several readings of the interview narrative. Several weeks were spent reflecting on the data to see what other themes and patterns were prevalent in the interview data. The main themes were political corruption, civil society, role of newspapers in 21st century Jamaica, US/Jamaica relations and online news. However there were also

additional considerations that looked at The Church, social media, Coke, the opposition party, the Diaspora and the newspapers in terms of their role as civic agents and within the island's political economy structure. However, during the analysis of the interviews, the researcher was keenly aware of how her identity and experience as an immigrant West Indian woman, was shaping her understanding of the news coverage and civic activism on the island. Therefore, this thesis is inevitably one interpretation of the coverage of the Coke story.

Through this process, the most relevant data for theory development was retrieved and used to shape the material in a way that was informed by the theories. The findings were compared against the background of the study's theoretical framework and research questions. These factors were put in the context of Jamaica's social and cultural reality, paying keen attention to the political rivalry underlying daily life on the island and the symbiotic relationship between politics and garrisons. The voices of journalists, columnists and civic actors added a different perspective to the study of Coke extradition, newspapers and civic agency especially as they all strive for improved government accountability and transparency.

4.6 LIMITATIONS

While *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* online newspaper databases were used to gather data for the content analysis, there were limitations to using the online papers. Neuendorf (2002:219) states that "All databases are 'full text searchable,' meaning that the user may specify any word or string of characters, and due to the unique organizing patterns of the system, all documents containing that string will be located almost instantly." *The Gleaner*

has a comprehensive online archive but *The Observer* does not and the search boxes on both websites only make a selection of all the articles published on the extradition and Coke available depending on the search word used. While the articles chosen encompass the ten months prior to Cokes extradition, they do not include every article published on the extradition. The articles collected are a wide cross-section of the majority of the articles published in the selected ten-month period of the study. The excluded articles are limited and are unlikely to change the conclusions drawn about the newspaper coverage of the extradition and the role of civil society in the conversation. The researcher is confident in the wide range of material used in the sample and that no systemic biases are included.

The sample dates also do not cover the heightened moments of dialogue in the wake of Coke extradition. The newspaper coverage extended to more analysis and video streaming during the subsequent Manatt – Dudus Commission of Enquiry, Coke’s influence in the 2012 Jamaican national election, the island’s response to Coke’s sentencing, the fight for Coke’s abandoned turf, the release of the Public Defender’s Interim Report and the Tivoli Commission of Enquiry. Four years after his extradition Coke continues to make headlines on the island. But covering all these junctures in the Coke debate would have widened the scope of the study and created too many anomalies. At each juncture in the post-Coke extradition coverage, the information revealed and the role of both the newspapers and civil society evolved as the social, economic and political impact of the extradition became more transparent. A list of the articles cited in Chapters Five through Seven are included in the Appendix.

However, the biggest limitation in conducting the research on the newspaper coverage of the Coke extradition was the reluctance of respondents to be interviewed mainly because of the continued heightened tension surrounding the Coke extradition. Sourcing interviewees was a difficult task especially given my time constraints conducting field research in Jamaica. The dwindling research culture on the island was also a deterrent to cultivating sources. Very limited qualitative research is done on newspapers on the island, so there is a level of suspicion that accompanies interview requests, especially with journalists who are used to being the ones asking the questions.

Jamaican newsrooms were struggling at the time to make their online platforms more than a “delivery device for ‘shovel-ware,’” where they take the content from the printed-paper and add it unchanged to the online platform. This meant that the content examined couldn’t be studied specifically in terms of how online news is impacting the national media platform. Based on this small sample size, the time period being studied and the digital divide on the island, definitive generalizations cannot be made about norms and practices associated with online news in the Jamaican context.

Additional data analysis methodologies like surveys and focus groups were not used in the study because the researcher was not confident the sources needed for the expansion of the study could be cultivated given the time constraints involved with conducting research in Jamaica. While all the goals of the study were not met, the results demonstrate a pattern in Jamaican news coverage and the role the newspapers played in the elevation and resolution of the Coke conflict and the eventual demise of Bruce Golding and the JLP.

4.7 SUMMARY

This chapter outlined the epistemological considerations used to inform the methodology used in this study. The research design should be able to provide all the necessary information to create a substantive analysis on the role of online newspapers in Jamaica. It is facilitated by a theoretical framework that is inductive from an interpretivist and constructivist perspective. The study used both content analysis and the views of those involved with creating that content to understand the Coke extradition, the role of civil society and newspapers within the Jamaican public sphere. The study also considers the role of the newspapers in shaping the political culture of the island but also reflects on civic agency and the power structures at work in shaping the island's democracy. It outlined the data gathering techniques, problems and flaws associated with data collection. The methods used to collate and analyse the data were also discussed. The results from the findings in the interviews and content analysis are discussed in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER 5: NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF CHRISTOPHER COKE

"If you don't read the newspaper, you're uninformed. If you read the newspaper, you're mis-informed." - Mark Twain

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The content analysis was designed to assess the coverage of the Coke extradition by both *The Jamaica Gleaner* and *The Jamaica Observer*. It considers how the newspapers created a democratic forum for the community. It also examined the newspapers' role in the representation of civic life on the island; it looks at who framed the stories, the frequency of the coverage, the sources used and how all these factors help us understand the role the newspapers played in the extradition. The coverage in these newspapers gives a snapshot into the debate leading up to and the immediate aftermath of the Coke extradition. Ultimately, the content analysis was designed to examine the role daily newspapers play as a monitor of the public sphere and a facilitator of civil society in a democratic Jamaica.

The results from the content analysis indicate that the newspapers seemingly engaged in similar styles of coverage despite their perceived differing political agendas. It also revealed that the newspapers were not sympathetic toward the government's handling of the Coke extradition and they used their platform to put pressure on the administration, spread public awareness and increase civic engagement.

The content analysis also showed a reliance on government sources to shape the narrative of the extradition. This is juxtaposed with the fact that both

newspapers, in addition to being critical of the government, saw fit to characterize the Prime Minister as being self-serving as he tried to protect Coke and his constituency instead of looking out for the best interest of the island. The results indicated that the newspapers made a concerted effort to use both government sources and an eclectic mix of voices from Jamaicans inside and outside of the public sphere in news stories. However, the voices of ordinary citizens were most prevalent in the letters sent to newspaper editors. It is significant that members of the Jamaican Diaspora community submitted a high percentage of published letters to the editor.

While the newspapers have recently moved toward a more converged platform, during the Coke extradition the statistics reveal the newspapers' tentative struggle with seamlessly merging the print news medium with the online platform. Canute W. James (2012:28) argued that Caribbean media companies are yet to "exploit the available technological capacity of the medium, and does not meet the basic principles of new media journalism." While all the articles in the sample were taken from the online formats of the newspaper, each newspaper utilized the format in differing ways. *The Observer* seemed to effectively utilize the online news ideology of "web first" when reporting on the Coke crisis, however, this was only evident toward end of the Coke debacle. Updated stories posted on *jamaicaobserver.com* used language akin to "this morning and this afternoon" instead of yesterday and "story originally posted at 3:52 pm", or "Observer Online." *The Observer* did launch a new section called "That's Just My View" where they presented online reader comments in the *Sunday Observer* from the biggest stories of the week. While *The Gleaner* occasionally published *Online Feedback* and *Noteworthy* segments

where they included online reader reactions to a particular topic or specific story they had previously published. Coke commentary was also featured on *The Gleaner* blog- The Buckley Report. Both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* do feature social media links from Twitter and Facebook with their stories that can enable readers to like, share or tweet articles published online.

Unanswered questions about the motivation of the journalists and news organizations, and the activism of civil society were investigated during the interview process and are discussed extensively in the subsequent chapters.

5. 2 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF COKE COVERAGE

The quantitative analysis of the newspapers covers the period between August 28, 2009 when the first Coke article was published and June 30, 2010 - seven days after Coke was extradited to the United States. A sample of articles covering this 10-month period was taken from the newspapers, 363 from *The Jamaica Gleaner* and 283 from *The Jamaica Observer*. Both newspapers began their coverage on August 28th, 2009 and were sporadic between August 2009 and February 2010. News coverage began to intensify in March 2010 and peaked between mid- May 2010 and June 2010 during the height of the Tivoli incursion and the manhunt for Coke.

The frequency chart for *The Gleaner* sample (Chart 1) shows that news coverage was heightened in March when Golding's ties with the lobbying firm Manatt, Phelps and Phillips were revealed and peaked in May when the State of Emergency decree was issued and the violence began on the streets of Kingston. News coverage fluctuated in June as security forces searched for and eventually apprehended Coke on June 22, 2010 and subsequently extradited him to the United States to face charges of racketeering. In the sample, *The*

Gleaner posted 46 (12.6%) articles between August and December 2009. It published 10 (2.8%) Coke stories over the next two months and resumed intensified Coke coverage in March 2010 with the publishing of 59 (16.2%) items related to the extradition process. In April, 15 (4.1%) Coke-related items were found in *The Gleaner*, 73 (20.1%) in May during the height of the conflict and 160 (44.1%) in June during the aftermath and capture of Coke.

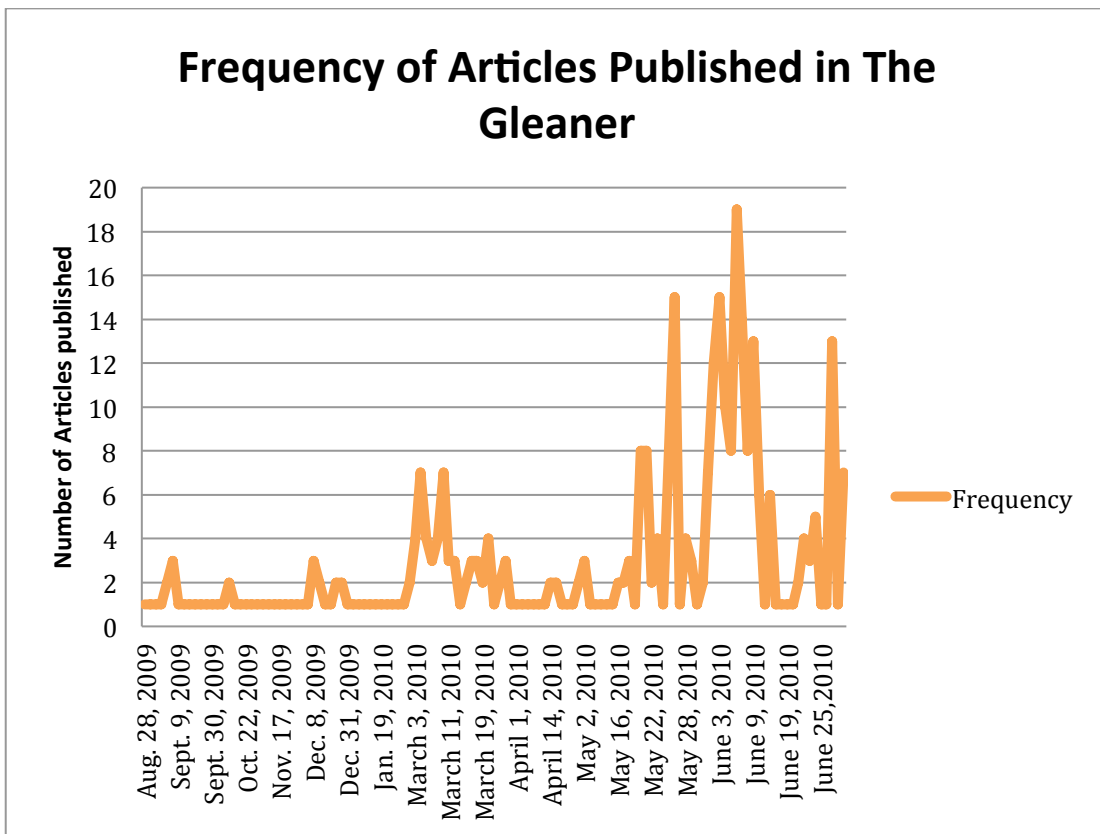


Chart 1: Chart showing the frequency of the articles published in *The Gleaner*

Based on the obtained sample of *Observer* articles, coverage of this newspaper was initially low intensity, with 28 (9.9%) articles published in the four months between August 2009 and December 2009. There was limited Coke coverage between January/February 2010 with only two (0.7%) articles included in the sample. *The Observer* heightened its coverage in March when it resumed with

the Manatt revelation by Peter Phillips and continued at a steady pace with 36 (12.7%) articles published in March, 32(11.3%) in April and 82 (29%) in June. There was a major spike in coverage in May when 103 (36.4%) articles were published with the majority falling between the period Golding authorized the extradition, the issuance of the State of Emergency and the ensuing Tivoli Gardens conflict.

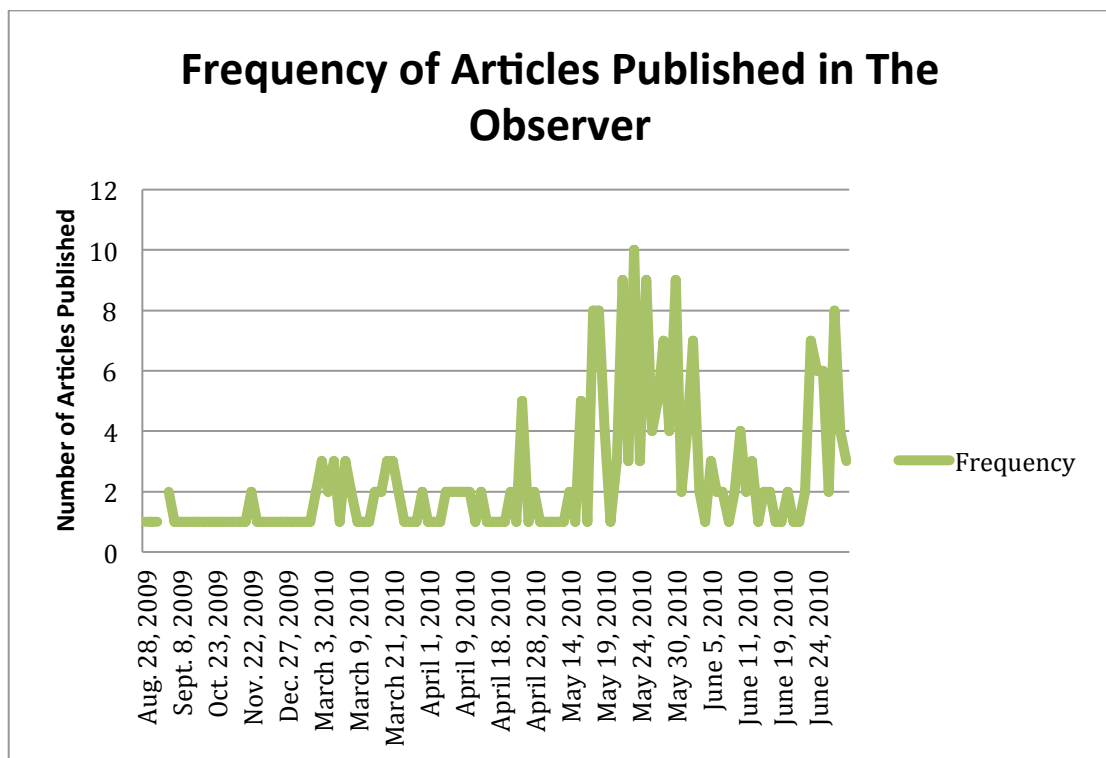


Chart 2: Chart showing the frequency of the articles published in *The Observer*

The coverage between the newspapers was almost identical in terms of the moments of heightened coverage. However it varied in the overall rate of coverage at each moment. The frequency charts show distinct differences in the times at which newsrooms and editorial boards were intrigued with the Coke investigation and the coverage peaked. Based on the sample collected *The Gleaner* had more concentrated and sustained Coke coverage than *The Observer* over the 10-month period. The frequency charts do not show a steady

rise in the news coverage but peaks and troughs over the 10-month sample. There was an increased spike in coverage between May and June, especially after the signature of Coke’s extradition warrant and the worsening of the crisis. There is a trough in mid-June as very little information was printed on the Coke manhunt and then another spike in coverage around the time Coke is apprehended and subsequently extradited. *The Gleaner* published significantly more Coke stories in the post-Tivoli incursion period than *The Observer*.

Reah (1998:50) contends that newspapers are more than mere information delivery systems; they present their readers with aspects of the news in a way that often times guides their ideological stance. Both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* placed emphasis not only on newsgathering but also on providing a forum for public opinion through letters to the editors and their columns.

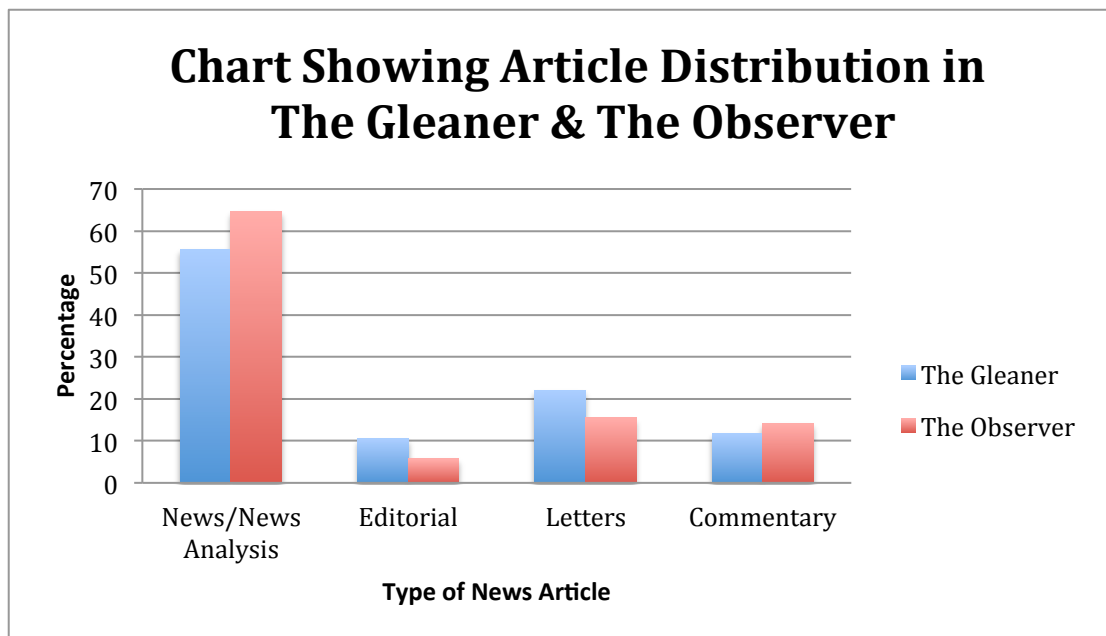


Chart 3: Chart showing the distribution of articles by story type in

The Gleaner and *The Observer*

The results show that 55.6 percent (202 articles) of *The Gleaner’s*

coverage comprised news and news analysis, 22 percent (80) letters to the editor, 10.5 percent (38) editorials and 11.8 percent (43) opinion columns. *The Observer's* was similar. It comprised 64.7 percent (183 articles) news and analysis, 15.5 percent (44) letters to the editor, 5.7 percent (16) editorials and 14.1 percent (40) commentary. *The Gleaner* published slightly more letters than *The Observer* and fewer news articles. *The Observer's* emphasis was on hard news while *The Gleaner* included more alternative voices in their coverage in terms of letters and editorials.

5.3 CAPTURING THE EXTRADITION THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHY

Neither newspaper used many photographs to highlight their extradition coverage. *The Gleaner* used photos in 46.3 percent (168) of its articles with 129 (76.8%) news articles, while images were included in one (0.6%) editorial, 11 (6.5%) letters and 27 (16.1%) commentary columns. *The Gleaner* published a wide array of photos online with 53 (14.6%) articles including multiple photos. Solo photos of Christopher Coke were shown in 5.8 percent (21) of the articles while, those of political figures embroiled in the extradition process were in 9.1 percent (33). One hundred and ninety-one (52.6%) articles had no photo accompanying the text.

Similarly, *The Observer* used visual aids in 49.1 percent (139) of their articles with 31 (11%) highlighting portraits of Christopher Coke and 34 (12%) those of politicians. Thirty-five (12.4%) articles included multiple photos, while 17 (6%) incorporated protest images. Most of *The Observer's* photos were included in news or news analysis articles 110 (79.1%), whereas four (2.9%) letters and 24 (17.3%) opinion pieces had photos while there was one (0.72%) photo included in the editorials included in the sample.

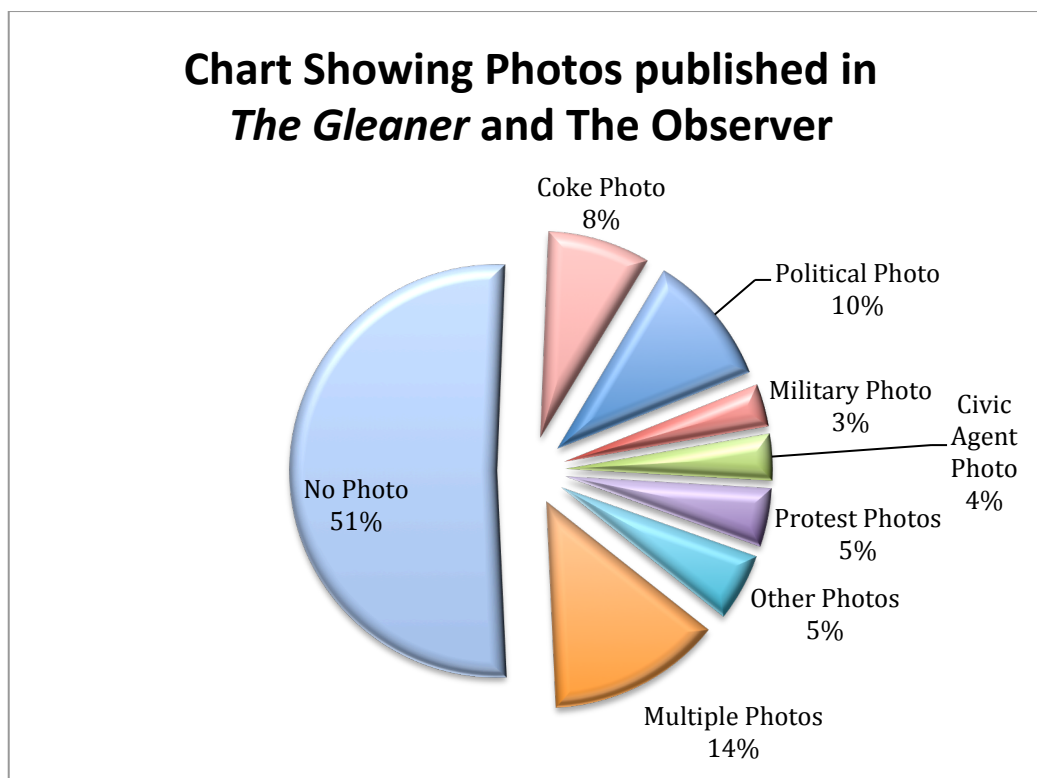


Chart 4: Chart showing the percentage of photos by category published in
The Gleaner and *The Observer*

While the newspapers used current photos of the politicians, civic activists and community snapshots to complement their Coke coverage, most of the Coke photos published before his arrest were old, undated photos of the elusive crime lord. No recent photos of Coke were published until his arrest in late June 2010. The Jamaican public was given a very vague, much younger portrait of the man the government and security forces were hunting for almost a month. The absence of current Coke photos meant the visual reporting was low on information, which helped to add to the mystery surrounding the Tivoli area leader. The profile released by the police and published in *The Gleaner* on May 24, 2010 in the article “*Who is Dudus*” included no photo and indicated no distinguishing marks that could be used to identify Coke. Instead, the article included information like the name of his

high school, businesses, mother and girlfriend along with their addresses.

5.3.1 PHOTOGRAPHY & THE TIVOLI INCURSION

Zelizer (2002: 56) contends that photos are a “helpful way of mobilizing a collective’s post-traumatic response. They help dislodge people from the initial shock of trauma and coax them into a post traumatic space, offering a vehicle by which they can see and continue to see until the shock and trauma associated with disbelieving can be worked through.” It is with this notion in mind that it would seem logical that both papers would have included more photos of both Coke and the Tivoli incursion in the online versions of the articles to incite more activism on the part of the Jamaican people. During the period of the Tivoli Incursion and its immediate aftermath between May 23 and June 1, 2010, *The Observer* included photos in 38 (65.5%) of the 58 articles included in the sample. Of the articles published, 13 used multiple photos including those of the military, Coke, the faces and places of Tivoli Gardens and damage in the aftermath of the incursion. Eight (13.8%) articles included photos of Coke, while 7 (12.1%) were coded as protest photos and 6 (10.3%) were portraits of politicians. *The Gleaner* sample included 46 articles in that time period, 25(54.3%) included photos. Ten (21.7%) articles included multiple photos, 5(10.9%) used photos of the military in the community and 6(13%) included protest photos. What’s interesting is that the aim of the incursion was to search for Coke and only 1 (2.2%) *Gleaner* article include a solo photo of the then fugitive.

The lack of photos of the actual conflict could also be as a result of the media blackout from the community during the initial four days of the incursion. The media were allowed to tour sections of the community, speak to

residents and take photos on May 27; four days after the incursion had commenced. To augment their coverage, *The Gleaner* Online did publish separate Coke photo galleries under the heading “*Tivoli Tour*,” but these links were not hyperlinked to the stories published about the military activity surrounding the crisis. *The Jamaica Observer* also has an online photo gallery; however, at the time of investigation, their current gallery began in February 2012 and did not include photos from the Coke extradition.

5.4 ATTRIBUTION vs. RETRIBUTION

Reich (2010:722) affirms, “By-lines represent an indirect admission that news is hardly an infallible mirror of reality but rather an imperfect human attempt to document it”. Jamaica’s crime rate and prospect of retaliation makes publishing in the newspaper under a by-line a responsibility that is shouldered by more senior journalists and columnists. *Gleaner* journalist, JM 001 revealed that it prefers not to by-line a story unless it is attributed to an experienced reporter because of a possible backlash against less experienced employees.

Newspaper	Story Type	Byline	No Byline
<i>The Gleaner</i>	News/News Analysis	131	71
	Editorial	5	33
	Letter	76	4
	Opinion/ Commentary	42	1
	Total	254	109
<i>The Observer</i>	News/News Analysis	92	91
	Editorial	1	15
	Letter	42	2

Opinion/ Commentary	39	1
Total	174	109

Table 2: A cross tabulation of by-lined and non-by-lined articles by story type in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*

Despite these conditions, as Table 2 shows, 70% (254) of *Gleaner* articles and 61.5% (174) of *Observer* articles were published with by-lines. Further examination of the results revealed that of the 183 (64.7%) news or news analysis stories written in *The Observer*, 50.3% (92) were attributed to a specific journalist. While 95.5% (42) of all letters written were signed and all but, one of the opinion and commentary articles examined were attributed to a newspaper contributor. Only one (6.25%) of the 16 editorials written in *The Observer* was by-lined. *The Gleaner* statistics show slightly more attribution on their news/news analysis stories, with 64.9% (131) being by-lined. The results from the content analysis indicate that despite the fear associated with publishing politically sensitive news articles journalists during the Coke scandal were willing to go on record with their findings and commentary regardless of the possible consequences. It also shows that the newspapers used their most experienced journalists to cover the Coke story. This runs counter to the findings in the interviews where non-response and silence to some aspects of the extradition were commonplace.

5.5 HEADLINES & FRAMING THE NEWS

Headlines are an integral facet of a news reporting; they attempt to captivate and persuade readers and indicate the news value and thematic treatment of a story. As shown in Table 3, of the 363 articles in *The Gleaner*

sample, 113 (31.1%) included ‘Dudus’ or Coke’s name in the headline, while 31 (8.5%) directly referred to the government or the Prime Minister. *The Observer* used Coke’s name much more, in 143 of 283 (52.9%) and referred to the government or Golding in 36 (13.4%). *The Observer* referenced Coke proportionally more than *The Gleaner* who used a varied range of headlines to allude to the Coke extradition. This is further discussed later in the chapter in section 5.11.

Newspaper	Name in Headline	Total	%
<i>The Gleaner</i>	Coke or ‘Dudus’	113	31.1
	Golding or Gov’t	31	8.5
<i>The Observer</i>	Coke or ‘Dudus’	143	52.9
	Golding or Gov’t	36	13.4

Table 3: The number of headline mentions of either Coke or Government officials in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*

The Gleaner’s coverage of the extradition began with a blind editorial on August 28th, 2009 titled “*Without fear or favour*” which began with the sentence ‘We have faith in the absolute and clear willingness of the Jamaican Government to adhere to its international treaties and to operate in accordance with the rule of law.’ This sentiment expressed by *The Gleaner* in hindsight appears highly ironic and foreshadowed the Government’s inept handling of the extradition. It also hinted at the fear that would ultimately plague the nation as well as the island falling out of favour with its international partners. It signalled the beginning of a period of extreme

upheaval in the political, social and economic climate of the island.

Between August and December 2009, *The Gleaner* sample consisted of 46 (19.7%) articles. The coverage continued through to December 2009 with a barrage of conflicting headlines including “*Tread carefully- law professor warns that Dudus case has consequences*” (Sept. 3, 2009), “*An extradition of high diplomacy*” (Sept. 30, 2009), “*Let Dudus have his day in Court*” (Oct. 9, 2009), “*No Dudus Mistake*” (Oct. 30, 2009), “*Dudus drama, Jamaica caught between a rock and a strong man*” (Nov. 15, 2009), “*Govt. must honour its treaty obligations*” (Dec. 8, 2009), “*Dudus and economic recovery*” (Dec. 31, 2009). The articles initially published by *The Gleaner* appeared to take a balanced view of the extradition, considering all the possible consequences of the government’s predicament.

The 10 (2.8%) articles in the sample that were published between January and February 2010 appeared to begin the newspaper’s trend toward the negative headlines, yet at the same time less intense coverage. The paper included the headlines: “*Bunting’s butt politics*” (Jan .3, 2010), “*Dudus still wanted*” (Jan. 13, 2010), “*Suspicious editorial push*” (Jan. 19, 2010) “*Wayne Chen’s US visa cancelled*” (Feb. 26, 2010) and “*Where is the Dudus Coke Case*” (Feb. 28, 2010). The decline in Coke coverage during this time could be attributed to other more pressing economic and social issues that occupied the government’s dossier at the time. These included the coverage of earthquake-ravaged Haiti, conditions surrounding the incarceration of children, Jamaica’s IMF agreements and the proposed Jamaica Debt Exchange.

In March 2010, *The Gleaner* began a more aggressive campaign. There were 59 (16.3%) articles included in the sample for that month. The

newspaper published multiple stories almost daily as they dealt with the revelation of the government's association with Manatt and the cancellation of prominent businessman, Wayne Chen's visa. This led to some criticism of *The Gleaner's* editorial push by the Jamaican public as the newspapers attempted to keep the Coke story in the forefront of the Jamaican consciousness. Some of the headlines included "*Tourism Jitters*" (March 3, 2010), "*Why Sacrifice Jamaica*" (March 5, 2010), "*Dudus Pressure*" (March 13, 2010) and "*Manatt Mystery*" (March 28, 2010).

There was a significant lull in April, with an escalation from May 16, 2010 until June 29, 2010 as the nation prepared for the signature of the extradition order, the civil unrest that followed in Kingston, its aftermath and the eventual capture and extradition of Coke. There were 248 (68.3%) articles published during this sample period. *The Gleaner* headlines became increasingly critical, beginning with "*US slams Jamaica over extradition delay*" (March 2, 2010), to "*Miller stands alone - 'Dudus' divides Church*" (March 14, 2010), "*Law firm links haunt government*" (March 19, 2010), "*Manatt mystery deepens*" (April 1, 2010), "*Jamaica's moral compass hinges on Dudus decision*" (April 14, 2010), "*Confession: Samuda amidst Brady hired Manatt*" (April 28, 2010). May 2010 marked the beginning of one of the most violent months in Jamaican history in thirty years in which 81 people died in Tivoli and countless more injured. The newspaper focused on the political consequences of the extradition with "*Realism vs. Reality*" (May 2, 2010), "*Statement by Prime Minister Golding on the Manatt affair*" (May 11, 2010), "*Egg on PM's face*" (May 18, 2010), "*PM prejudiced Dudus case, Says Phillips*" (May 20, 2010). This direction in coverage continued even in the wake of the bloody Tivoli incursion

with *“Jamaica’s interest must come first”* (May 23, 2010), *“Jamaica pays dearly”* (May 26, 2010), and *“The Sacrifice: Souls lost for the cause”* (May 30, 2010). *The Gleaner* headlines in June 2010 continued with an unrelenting tone with *“Tivoli bill on you”* (June 2, 2010), *“NYT hones in on extradition case”* (June 6, 2010), *“Bruce pays big”* (June 13, 2010), *“Extend the State of Emergency”* (June 21, 2010), and *“Coke nightmare ends, says Tavares-Finson”* (June 27, 2010).

In contrast to *The Gleaner’s* caution at the beginning of extradition coverage, *The Observer’s* coverage of the Coke story began not with an editorial but a more direct news story headlined; *“US Government wants ‘Dudus’”* on August 28, 2009. It stated, “Foreign Affairs Minister Kenneth Baugh yesterday confirmed that the US Government has formally requested the extradition of influential Tivoli Gardens don and businessman, Christopher 'Dudus' Coke.” *The Observer’s* bold stance in naming Coke would come to signify the tenor of its continued and sustained coverage over the 10-month period. For the initial four months after this article was published, *The Observer* posted 28 (9.9%) articles in the sample. The headlines stated, *“Dudus holds the key”* (Sept.4, 2009); *“Jamaica House speaks on Dudus”* (Sept. 18, 2009), *“No Dudus, No Ambassador?”* (Oct. 29, 2009), *“‘Dudus’ extradition request highlights party links with criminal elements- Phillips”* (Nov. 1, 2009), *“The Extradition Treaty between Jamaica and the USA”* (Nov. 25, 2009), *“Cops ready for Dudus disorder”* (Dec. 11, 2009). There were only two *Observer* articles in the sample published between January and February 2010; on Jan. 13, the headline read *“US firm on Dudus extradition.”*

Between March and June 2010, the sample covered 253 (89.4%) *Observer* articles as the newspaper began to mount pressure on the

government to finalize the extradition plans. The focus on diplomacy, international relations and economic issues by *The Observer* could be seen as strategic since its ownership and its business interests could be severely affected by continued discord between the two countries. *The Observer* places itself as the newspaper of big business on the island and the extradition had ramifications for Jamaica's trade partnerships.

The headlines in March focused almost exclusively on the relationship between Jamaica and the US, especially in light of the Manatt revelation. While all of the 36 (12.7%) articles included from that month alluded to the American relationship with Jamaica, 14 (39%) referred directly to the U.S. in their headlines. Some of these included "*Dudus' backlash- US blasts JA over extradition delay*" (March 2, 2010), "*J'cans give US dirt on Dudus*" (March 7, 2010), "*Marks! Set! Go! - US says it's awaiting credentials*" (March 25, 2010), "*Can the great United States be wrong?*" (March 15, 2010), "*How Mr. Golding damaged JA-US relations*" (March 29, 2010) and "*Jamaica and USA*" (March 30, 2010).

The 32 (11.3%) headlines in April held a similar foreign policy tone. These headlines included, "*US probing 2 gov't ministers*" (April 5, 2010), "*We are not sovereign*" (April 6, 2010), "*US agents stream into Jamaica*" (April 11, 2010), "*Dudus matter hurting Jamaica, says Dudley Thompson*" (April 19, 2010), "*New York Times joins Dudus debate*" (April 26, 2010), "*JLP confesses- Says Manatt deal a party initiative*" (April 28, 2010). On April 18, 2010, *The Observer* penned an editorial entitled "*Come Clean now, Prime Minister*", that explicitly confronted Golding about his stalling of the extradition proceedings. The editorial stated:

... We wonder how much longer he intends to carry the leaky bag of excuses that he has employed to explain his administration's handling of the US' extradition request for the strongman of his West Kingston constituency, Mr. Christopher 'Dudus' Coke.

This editorial exemplified the growing national frustration with Golding's lack of progress in the processing of the extradition warrant. However, the JLP revelation that it had sanctioned the Manatt lobbying initiative instigated a spike in the Coke news coverage. There were 103 (36.4%) articles of *The Observer* sample published in May 2010 as both the media and the Jamaican public became increasingly concerned about the direction the JLP was taking in dealing with the extradition matter. As the pressure grew on the JLP so did the concern that Coke's apprehension was going to lead to widespread violence in the Kingston Metropolitan Area. This was replicated in the headlines published in the first half of May.

The May 2, 2010 headline stated "*US Pressure over Dudus grows,*" this followed with "*Dudus may be the most powerful man in Ja, says Phillips*"(May 9, 2010), "*PM: I sanctioned the Manatt initiative* " (May 14, 2010), "*Adams warns of mayhem if Dudus' case goes to court*" (May 15, 2010), "*Dudus' goes global*" (May 16, 2010), "*Warrant signed for Dudus' arrest*" (May 18, 2010). By the time Golding had signed the extradition order, the fears expressed in the newspapers became reality as the army was dispatched to Western Kingston to apprehend Coke. *The Observer* headlines highlighting the Tivoli invasion in late-May tell a story of an island in turmoil. They included, "*Downtown ready for 'Dudus' lockdown*" (May 19, 2010), "*You could have said more, Prime Minister*" (May 20, 2010), "*Willing to Die for Dudus*" (May 21, 2010) "*US issues travel alert for Jamaica*" (May 22, 2010), "*JA takes foreign press battering over*

Dudus" (May 24, 2010), "*Casualties of war*" (May 25, 2010) and "*Dudus is not the real enemy of Jamaica*" (May 29, 2010), "*Dudus unrest hits businesses*" (May 30, 2010).

June 1, 2010 brought Jamaica's crime crisis to the forefront of the news with the headline "*Massacre in Tivoli Gardens*". *The Observer* tried to capture the mood of the island, post the Tivoli civil unrest with its subsequent headlines. These included "*Clean up the JLP*" (June 2, 2010), "*It falls on civil society to help*" (June 5, 2010), "*Dismantling a garrison- the rough guide*" (June 11, 2010), "*'Dudus' ran like a 'puss'*" (June 14, 2010), "*Dudus bounty now J\$5m*" (June 19, 2010), "*UPDATE: 'Dudus' captured*" (June 22, 2010), "*Keep demanding answers*" (June 24, 2010), "*Rethinking Politics after Dudus*" (June 27, 2010) and "*Take a stand for a better society*" (June 29, 2010). While the headlines appear to be sensational and abrasive, they reflect the sensational events of the Coke extradition. However, the article content was more predisposed toward presenting a more neutral, fact-based case to the Jamaican people.

5.6 SETTING THE NEWS DIRECTION AND TONE

The mass media play an integral role in setting the public agenda. The newspaper as a communication space is fundamental to holding both governments accountable and keeping voters informed enough that they use their influence to shape the political process. Bernard Cohen (1963:13) stated that "the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about."

When Paulette Henry (1989) examined Caribbean newspapers as a source of political agendas she found that "in the development of their political agendas, governments in the Caribbean tend to focus more on issues in the

media than factors such as economic conditions, ideology and the electoral calendar.” Twenty years later, the Jamaican media made Coke the focal point of their campaign for enhanced government transparency and accountability. *The Jamaica Gleaner* and *The Jamaica Observer* both represented a wide range of views from politicians, security forces, members of civil society, academics and ordinary Jamaican citizens as they tried to understand the implications and ramifications of the Coke extradition not only for Jamaican citizens but also for the country’s relationship as an ally of the United States. Although these newspapers’ proprietors have party allegiances, which may be expected to adversely shape political stories, Chart 5 suggests that the Coke coverage was seemingly done from a neutral point of view. The sustained and prolonged coverage especially after March 2010 can be seen as a neutral campaign to raise awareness about the Coke crisis and so put pressure on the government. Despite their persistent coverage, the newspapers maintained balance in their reportage.

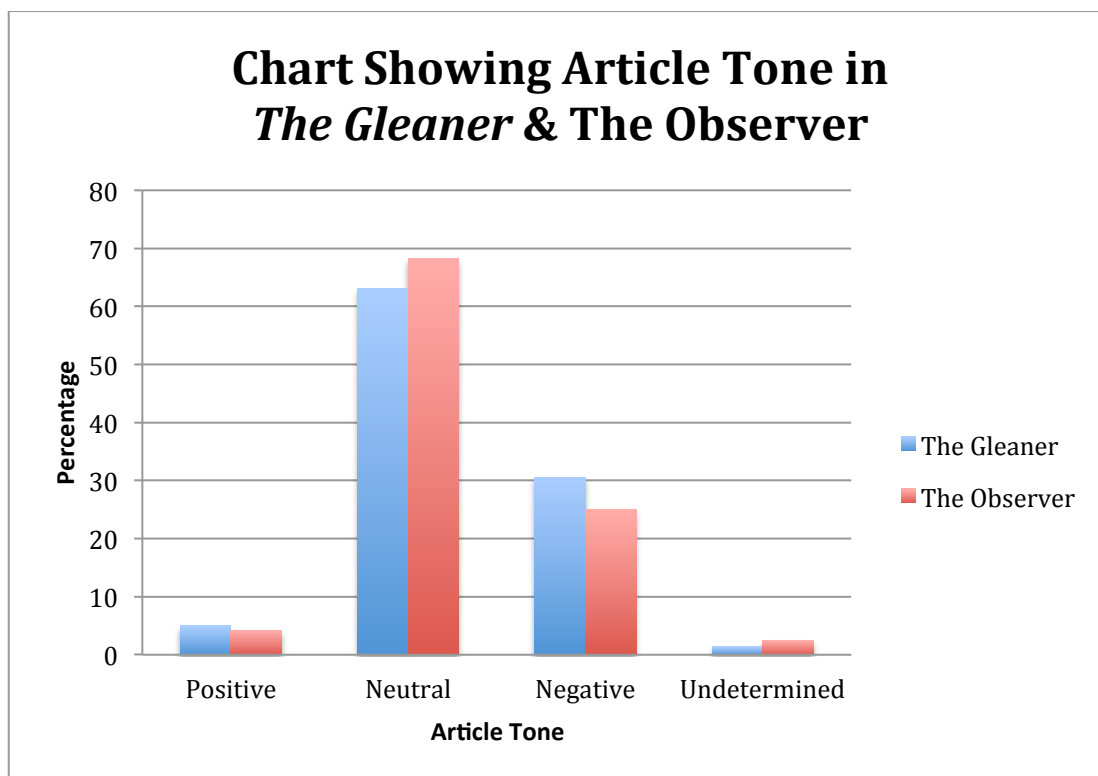


Chart 5: Chart showing the distribution of articles by tone in
The Gleaner and *The Observer*

While some stories had distinct angles, they were not obviously slanted either for or against the extradition process. *The Gleaner* published 18 items (5%) that were deemed as positive, 229 (63.1%) neutral, 111 (30.6%) negative and 5 (1.4%) undetermined. Of the 229 neutral articles published in *The Gleaner*, 189 (82.5%) were found in the news/news analysis classification. Comparably, in *The Observer*, 193 (68.2%) of the entries were neutral, 71 (25.1%) negative, 12 (4.2%) positive and 7 (2.5%) undetermined. One hundred and seventy-five (91%) of the neutral *Observer* articles were in the news/news analysis section. Of the 363 articles published in *The Gleaner*, 205 (56.5%) were classified as informative, giving only the facts of the extradition void of any news voice and opinion while 89 (24.5%) was analysed as critical and 58 (16 %) as argumentative, with an explicit point of view. The analysis of

The Observer articles showed it took a slightly more neutral stance than *The Gleaner* with 47 (16.6%) articles classified as critical, 39 (13.8 %) as argumentative and 184 (65%) framed as informative. Eleven (3 %) of *Gleaner* articles were deemed as miscellaneous with 4.6% (13) articles from *The Observer* placed in the same category.

A more in-depth analysis of the numbers show that, in the initial four months of *The Gleaner's* coverage there were 20 (43.5%) news/news analysis articles, 10 (21.7%) editorials, 13 (28.3%) letters to the editor and 3 (6.5%) opinion columns focused on Coke and the extradition. The story tone wavered between negative and neutral with 22 (47.8%) and 20 (43.5%) articles respectively. Over the period, 20 (43.5%) of the articles were classified as informative and 17 (37%) as critical. During these months, *The Observer* published 23 (82.1%) news articles, 2 (7.1%) editorials and 3 (10.7%) columns on the Coke extradition. The newspaper's story tone was notably neutral with 23 (82.1%) and 5 (17.9%) of the articles classified as negative. The neutral articles were also deemed as informative, 23 (82.1%) while 2 (7.1%) were argumentative and 3 (10.7%) critical.

Over the next three months between January and March 2010, in *The Gleaner*, the sample included 31 (44.9%) letters written to the editor, and 25(36.2%) news/news analysis articles and the story tone still wavered between neutral 40 (57.9%) and negative 25 (36.2%). However, the increase in letters to the editor being published on the Coke case could be seen as an indication of the growing concern by the Jamaican people at the Government's lack of urgency in processing the extradition warrant. Twenty-two (31.8%) articles were classified at argumentative, 24 (34.7%) as informative with 15

(21.7%) as critical. Over the same time period, *The Observer* published 22 (57.8%) news pieces, 7 (18.4%) letters to the editor, and 5 (13.2%) columns. Twenty-three (60.5%) of these articles were identified as neutral and 12 (31.6%) as negative. The article direction was grouped as predominantly informative (20, or 52.6%) and argumentative (11, or 28.9%).

Over the following three months, the newspapers intensified their coverage. There were 248 articles published in *The Gleaner* between April and June 2010. Of those articles 157 (63.3%) were news/news analysis stories published and 33 (13.3%) opinion columns. The article direction was overwhelmingly informative with 161 (64.9%) and 26 (22.9%) critical articles. The story tone was neutral in 169 (68.1%) articles and negative in 64 (25.8%). A further breakdown of the neutral *Gleaner* articles between April and June indicated that 88.1% (149) were in the news category, 2.4% (4) in editorials, 3% (5) as letters and 6.5% (11) as opinion or commentary. In *The Observer*, 217 articles were published in the period with 147 classified as neutral stories. Of those stories, 89.1% (132) were found in the news category, 0.68% (1) in editorials, 2.7 % (4) in letters and 6.8% (10) in the opinion sections.

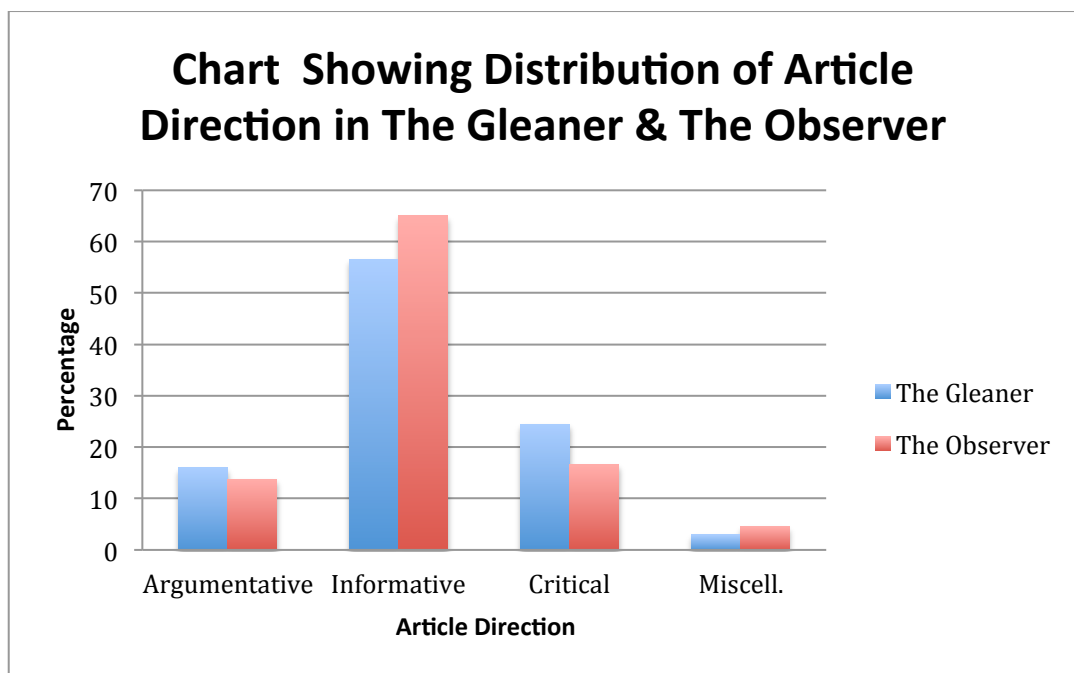


Chart 6: Chart showing the distribution of articles by news direction in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*

The breakdown of the newspaper coverage into periods shows an escalation in the Coke coverage over these three time periods in both newspapers. It also shows that while *The Gleaner's* coverage initially wavered between negative and neutral it became progressively more neutral over the ten months. In contrast, *The Observer's* coverage began on a neutral tone in August 2009 and continued in that same vein for the entirety of the sample period. The coverage also shows a focus on reporting the 'hard' news and less on opinions about the extradition process.

The news direction taken by *The Observer* indicated that, 175 of 183 (95.6%) news/ news analysis articles were classified as informative, with 3 (1.6%) as argumentative and 5 (2.7%) as critical. Of the letters written to the editor, 36 (81.8%) fit into the category of either argumentative or critical with the others classified as either informative or miscellaneous.

The Gleaner's approach to news and news analysis presented 3% (6) of the articles as argumentative, 94% (190) as informative and 2.5% (5) as critical. Critical and argumentative directions were noted in 86.3% (69) of the letters to the editor. These results show that while journalists in both newspapers seemed to be trying to provide a neutral point of view and some amount of balance in their coverage, persons writing letters to the editor were quite vocal in presenting their personal views on the crisis on the horizon. There were no substantial differences in the coverage of both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* in this respect.

5.7 FRAMING THE NEWS WITH SOURCES

Berkowitz (1987:513) asserts that sources are integral to “shaping information from which people unconsciously build their images of the world.” Manning (2001:4) contends that “a healthy democracy in the contemporary late capitalist world must be one in which a variety of campaigning groups, if not all citizens, can circulate diverse and critical interpretations of issues and ‘news events’ through the news media.” Sources provide credibility to the news and frame the narrative of the story and ultimately the stance taken by the newspaper.

The Gleaner used sources in 93.1% (338) of its articles. It named their sources in 298 (82.1%), implied them in 54 (14.9%) across the sample and used anonymous sources in 62 (17.1%). *The Gleaner* had 25 (6.9%) articles where it used no sources; this included three (12%) news/news analysis articles, six (24%) editorials, seven (28%) commentaries and nine (36%) letters to the editor. Thirty-seven percent (135) of all *Gleaner* articles published had three or more sources, with 94 of 202 (46.5 %) in news stories

and 20 of 43 (46.5%) commentaries following the traditional journalism standard. In contrast, *The Observer* attributed their sources in 234 (82.7%) stories, used implied sources in 63 (22.3%) and did not use names in 68 (24%). Fifty-eight percent (163) of *Observer* articles had less than two sources, of these; about 57.1% (93) were found in news stories. This is compared to 53.5% (108) of *Gleaner* news stories.

Newspaper	Story Type	Named Sources	Anonym. Sources	Implied Sources
<i>The Gleaner</i>	News/News Analysis	180	52	16
	Editorial	21	1	19
	Letter	63	6	13
	Opinion/ Commentary	34	3	6
	Total	298	62	54
<i>The Observer</i>	News/News Analysis	164	60	28
	Editorial	10	0	4
	Letter	28	2	14
	Opinion/ Commentary	32	6	17
	Total	174	109	63

Table 4: A cross tabulation of named, anonymous and implied sources by story type in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*

The majority of sources used by both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* were linked to a faction of either the Jamaican or the American government. Government officials were the most frequently quoted sources included in 263

(40.7%) of the 646 articles analysed in both newspapers. Government ministers, career politicians and affiliates “enjoy the capacity to exercise significant degree of control over information flows which sustain journalism” (Manning, 2001: 107). Both governments tried to manage the information being filtered into the public sphere about the extradition and its progress.

The majority of the coverage in both newspapers was focused on the Golding administration’s handling of the extradition. In a May 16, 2010 *Observer* article, the headline read “*Apologize Bruce: JCC says PM has lost its respect and confidence,*” a May 18, 2010 article gives an even graver scenario with “*Panic as report about ‘Dudus’ extradition circulates.*” While a *Gleaner* headline from March 19, 2010 shared the same sentiment with “*Law firm links haunt Government,*” another said “*Golding Survives*” on June 2, 2010. These articles attest the tensions both in parliament and on the streets of Kingston as the government navigated the Coke extradition.

The Gleaner used political sources in 136 (37.5%) of its articles, while *The Observer* used them more often, in 127 (44.9%). These did not include documents and press releases issued by both governments. Documents like the Extradition Treaty and press releases from Jamaica House and other civic organizations were referenced in 91 (25.1%) *Gleaner* articles and 80 (28.3%) *Observer* pieces. A total of 155 (24%) articles quoted media sources or other media outlets, with 72 (19.8%) in *The Gleaner* and 83 (29.3%) in *The Observer*. The results indicate that the newspapers were paying keen attention to the Coke coverage carried by their competitors both at home and abroad.

Type of Source	<i>The Gleaner</i>	<i>The Observer</i>
Government	136	127
Document	91	80
Police/Military	49	57
Ordinary Citizen	88	47
Media	72	83
Civic	56	36
Academic	25	12
Other	63	65

Table 5: Cross tabulation showing the number of articles that used specific types of sources in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*

Herman & Chomsky (1988:26) describe the existence of a “symbiotic relationship” between the sources and media, as it is in the economic interests of the news media to establish a good relationship with sources. However, the abundance of articles with less than three sources and the prevalence of document sources was a clear indication that journalists at both newspapers, but more so *The Gleaner*, appeared to be either lax in their newsgathering or were having difficulties cultivating appropriate sources. Nick Davies examined this idea in 2008 in his book, *Flat Earth News*, and coined the term *churnalism*. He believed that journalists were becoming passive participants when it came to news gathering, they were just content to use the information that was passed along to them, either by reporting on events or using press releases and other documents. This is very evident in the way segments of the Coke coverage was presented in the newspapers. However, Jamaican journalists

might also be constrained by the local laws and by the social environment with the “informer fi dead” culture. The threat of being isolated, as McChesney (2002) argues when a journalist moves beyond the official party line and tries to provide alternative views or question the motives and antics of those at the seat of political power, they are no longer seen as professionals.

5.8 PRIMARY SOURCES

Closer examination of *The Observer* results indicated that the most prevalent sources used in news/news analysis articles were government 51.9% (95), police and military sources with 30.1% (55), media outlets with 24.6% (45) and documents with 25.7% (47). While in *The Gleaner*, the sources used to compile news/news analysis articles came from the government at 45% (91), documents 25.2% (51) and the other category 27.2% (55). Other sources included business owners, lawyers and members of several international non-governmental organizations. The primary sources in news content steered the news direction. While journalists have an entire population of sources to choose from for any given story, they usually rely on a narrow contingent of official sources to shape their stories (Bell, 1991). As a result, “news is what an authoritative source tells a journalist” to the exclusion of diverse or alternative ideologies (Bell, 1991: 191-192). The distribution of sources used to shape the Coke extradition conformed to this pattern.

The single biggest primary sources in *The Gleaner* were ordinary citizens with no stated political or civic affiliation who were cited in 42 (11.6%) articles; however, political voices were all together more prevalent in the Coke debate. This was followed by document sources 28 (10.37.71%) that

included the International Narcotics Control Strategy Report prepared by the U.S. State Department. Media organizations such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* dominated as a primary source in *The Observer* with 10.46% (30).

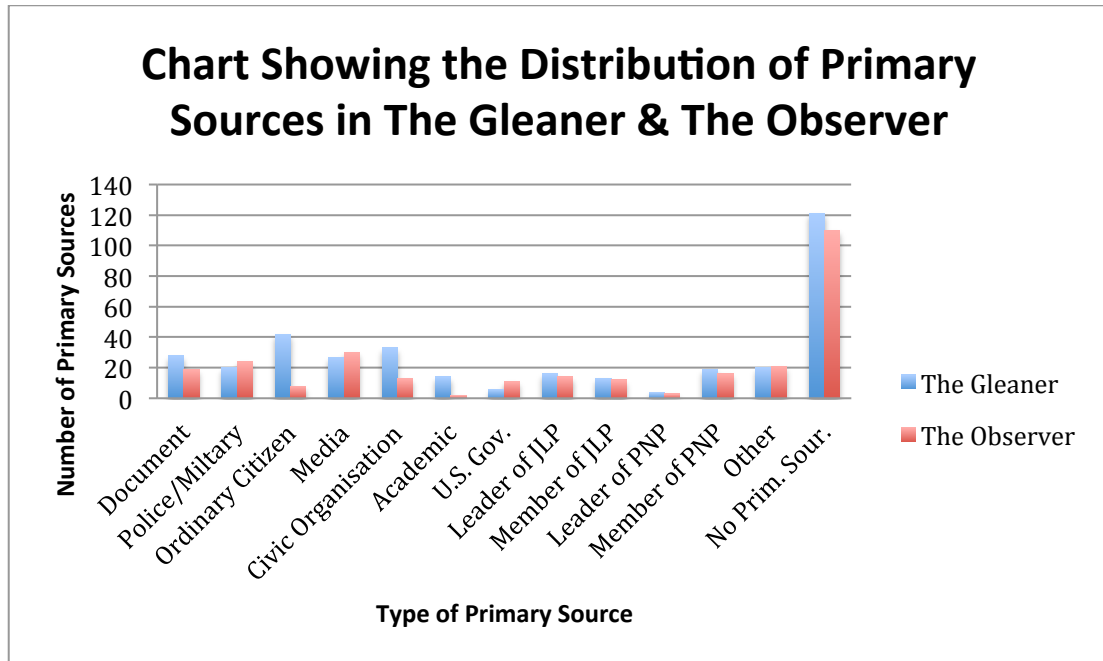


Chart 7: Chart showing the distribution of primary sources in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*

All primary government sources used in *The Gleaner* total, 58 (16%) with the members of the JLP and Prime Minister Golding monopolizing the primary spotlight with 50% of these (29), the PNP with 39.7% (23) and the US government with 10.3% (6). In *The Observer*, the government officials were used as primary sources in 56 (19.8%) articles with the JLP administration having a slightly more dominant voice with 46.4% (26), the opposition with 34% (19) and the United States with 19.6% (11).

Direction of Source	<i>The Gleaner</i>	<i>The Observer</i>
Favourable to Extradition	42	34
Favourable to JLP/Golding	9	4
Favourable to Security Forces	6	7
Neutral	22	15
Critical of Extradition	17	13
Critical of JLP/Golding	50	31
Critical of Security Forces	10	2
Other	84	64
No Clear Direction	2	3
No Primary Source	121	110

Table 6: Cross tabulation showing the direction taken by primary sources in
The Gleaner and *The Observer*

The stance taken by most primary sources in both newspapers tended toward being the other category 148 (22.9%) with 84 (56.8%) in *The Gleaner* and 64 (43.2%) in *The Observer*. This is a methodological anomaly, the large categorization means that the coding missed its object or that the coverage was too diffuse to be easily captured in the coding. This category included ideas that were not coded in the study and they examined issues like criminal gangs, the Seaga legacy and Jamaica's laws. However, there was also a division among primary sources in both newspapers who were favourable to the extradition process 76 (11.8%) and those who were stridently critical of the Golding administration 81 (12.5%). Sources seemed ambivalent about the line they should take in the extradition debate. In a total of 229 (39%), the primary

sources had no primary direction. The percentages of other categories of primary sources favourable to the JLP administration, favourable to the security forces, neutral, critical of the extradition and those with no clear direction were negligible. In *The Jamaica Gleaner*, 50 (13.7%) primary sources were coded as being critical of the JLP and 42 (11.6%) were seen as favourable to the extradition. Of the 50 articles with negative primary sources commentary focused on the JLP, 26 (52%) were found in news/news analysis, 7 (14%) in editorials, 10 (20%) in letters and 7 (14%) in opinions/commentary. While, of the primary sources favourable to the extradition, 30 (71.4%) were found in news and 5 (11.9%) in letters to the editor, 3 (7.1%) in editorials and 4 (9.5%) in the opinion section.

Correspondingly, in *The Observer*, the most frequent direction taken by primary sources was found in the “other” category with 64 (22.6%) articles. The high other category makes this field less useful, and harder to draw concrete conclusions about the political leanings of primary sources. There is a more nuanced understanding of the pros/cons of the Coke extradition that were not explicitly expressed by these primary sources and as a result not coded for in the content analysis. The other category was followed by 34 (12%) articles with primary sources that were favourable to the extradition process and 31 (11%) stories with primary sources that were critical of the JLP. Sources used in *The Observer* appear to be less willing to voice a definitive opinion on the way the Coke extradition was being portrayed on the national stage.

A finding of note is that while at the beginning of the debate, Golding proclaimed that Jamaica had a right to protect its citizens and that it was the

Attorney-General's job to decide on the extradition, this changed (*The Jamaica Observer*, Dudus had rights too, says Golding, Sept. 28, 2009). He became the public face of the extradition debate with more citations than any other Government source. Golding was directly quoted in 59 (16.3%) *Gleaner* articles and in 48 (16.9%) *Observer* stories. The pressure and criticism in many of the news articles fell directly on his shoulders as Prime Minister. *The Gleaner* reminded Golding of his 2007 election mandate, in a February 28, 2010 editorial, headlined "*Where is the Dudus Coke Case?*" they stated:

Fifteen years ago when Bruce Golding began aggressively to seek the job of Prime Minister of Jamaica, he didn't merely lodge his application. He also wrote his own job description, accompanied by a business plan for the overhaul of the country.

The core of Mr. Golding's proposal was the reform of politics and to run a government that was moral. Critical to this restructuring would be, in the language of the period, the dismantling of political garrisons. Mr. Golding would not cavort, directly or otherwise, with the enforcers of these zones of political exclusions that have morphed fertile territory of violence, extortion and other forms of criminality.

This scathing review of Golding's promises to the island spurred a new round of critique and reflection from the newspapers. *The Observer* described the debacle as Golding's sternest political test and compared it with former Prime Minister's Michael Manley's fight with the American government in the 1970s over socialism.

Intensified coverage of the extradition and increased scrutiny of Golding began with the Manatt scandal. The PNP publicly put pressure on the sitting government in an April 28, 2010 article "*PM must address 'corrupt' Manatt affair- Portia*", Opposition leader, Simpson-Miller noted,

The Prime Minister must come clean and tell Jamaica the truth

before the international media reveals more. If he does not, what confidence can the people of Jamaica have in his administration? Now more than ever, the Opposition will intensify its insistence that the truth, and nothing but the truth, be told to the Jamaican people. The people of Jamaica can be assured that the Parliamentary Opposition will not allow this issue to die (*The Jamaica Observer*).

In response to the criticism the JLP, through its General Secretary, Karl Samuda insisted that Manatt was an initiative carried out by the party and not by the Government. However by May 11, 2010, Golding admitted in parliament that he'd sanctioned the Manatt initiative. "I sanctioned the initiative, knowing that such interventions have, in the past, proven to be of considerable value in dealing with issues involving governments of both countries," the Prime Minister told Parliament (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, May 12, 2010, FLIP-FLOP: Golding admits sanctioning contract with Manatt).

On May 17th, 2010, Golding addressed the nation in a television and radio broadcast where he said, "In hindsight the party should never have gotten involved the way it did. I must accept responsibility for the way it was handled and I must express my remorse. I ask for your forgiveness" (*The Jamaica Observer*, Jamaica to sign Dudus extradition request). Many commentators agreed that it was time for Golding to acknowledge his mistakes but for many it was a little too late. In a *Gleaner* article "*Forgive Me*," published, May 18, 2010, civil society activist, Dr. Carolyn Gomes said,

It was a good mea culpa (my fault). There are still some questions that need answering. I am still a little disappointed that the prime minister did not take the opportunity to lead by example of accountability and probity and resign. We can seize the opportunity to try and make these nice words turn into actions; if they do, they are good actions.

Golding's opposition counterpart, Simpson-Miller was cited only a total of 13 (1.8%) times in both newspapers. She instead chose to have her surrogates present the party's disdain with the government's handling of the extradition. Among members of the PNP commonly cited was Dr. Peter Phillips, PNP members were quoted 38 (10.5%) times in *The Gleaner* and 33 (11.7%) in *The Observer*. The members of JLP including the Information Minister, Daryl Vaz, were referenced 52 (14.3%) times in *The Gleaner* and 27 (9.5%) in *The Observer*. The differences in the prominence of each party would come to highlight the strength of the leadership in the individual parties. Despite Golding's affiliation with Coke's constituency, the extent of his involvement in the reporting illustrates the criticism that he was too involved and the extradition should have been handled more by party surrogates.

The American government and its lawyers were rarely referenced in the newspapers on the subject of the extradition; they were only mentioned in 45 (7%) and 9 (1.4%) articles respectively across both newspapers. This is reflected in the State Department's statement about its unwillingness to discuss the case in the media. A December 14, 2009 *Gleaner* article headlined, "*US mum on PM's extradition comments*" stated, "US officials do not normally comment on extradition matters." This article set the tone for the stance the American government had on the Coke affair for the majority of the 10-months. However, despite the American stance one *Gleaner* editorial noted, "We would not be surprised if the Americans begin to ratchet up political pressure on Jamaica, starting with government agencies that are presumed to do business with Mr. Coke or his associates." (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, February 28, 2010,

Where is the Dudus Coke case?) The content analysis data indicate that the Americans were challenging the Coke extradition through diplomatic channels and not in the media spotlight. *The Gleaner's* prediction became even more evident when the United States State Department released their International Narcotics Strategy Report on March 1, 2010 where they noted that "Jamaica's delay in processing the US extradition request for a major suspected drug and firearms trafficker with reported ties to the ruling party highlights the potential depth of corruption in the Government" (376). This publication revealed just how strained foreign relations between the two countries were and was a clear indication that the Americans were not going to acquiesce.

5.8 NEWS THEMES

The analysis of the articles in both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* showed that while almost all of the articles had a primary theme, they were focused around one primary topic. The most prevalent primary theme in both newspapers across all the thematic categories was government accountability 153 (24%) followed by international perception and diplomacy 96 (15%). The following chart shows statistical breakdown of the main themes prevalent in the Coke daily newspaper coverage. These themes were followed by civil unrest 75 (11.6%), political corruption 61 (8.9 %) and crime and violence 50 (7.7 %). Nearly 10 percent (61) of the articles had no primary theme.

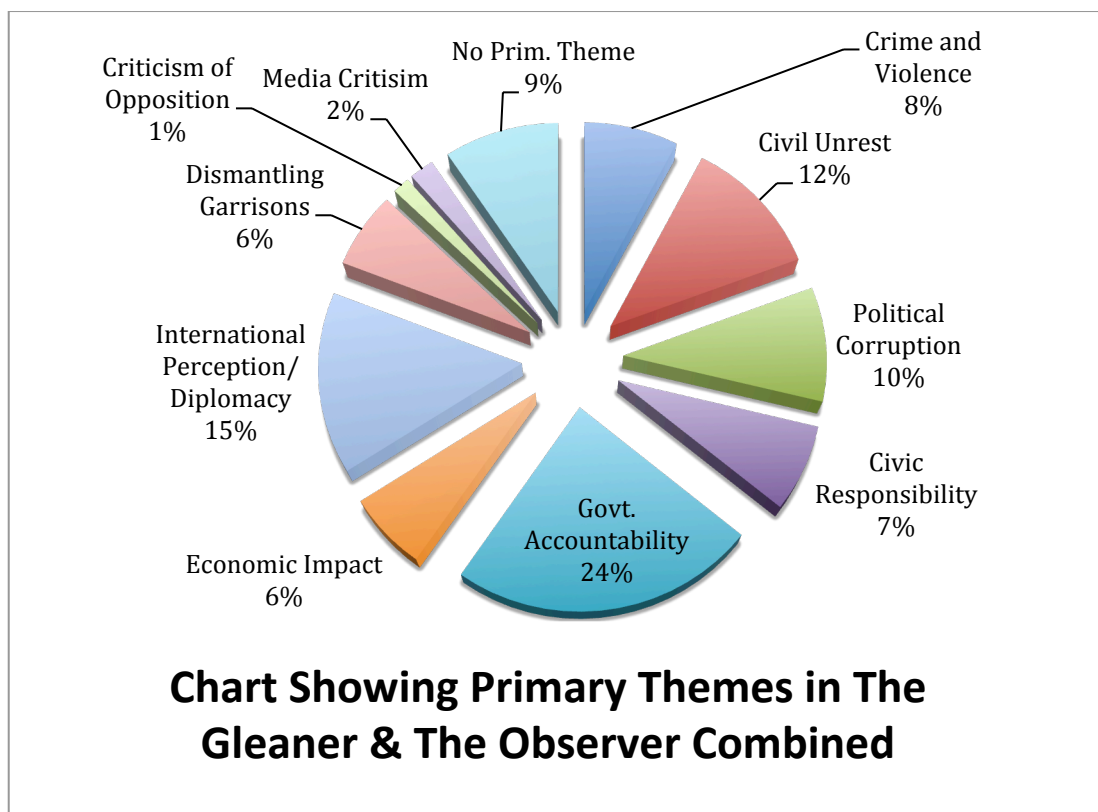


Chart 8: Chart showing the primary themes used

In *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* coverage of Coke.

While the primary focus of both newspapers was the role the government was playing in the extradition, *The Jamaica Gleaner* referenced political corruption and civic responsibility as a primary theme more than *The Observer*. Political corruption was referenced as the primary theme in 10.2% (37) of *Gleaner* articles and 8.5% (24) of *Observer* articles while civic responsibility was coded as the primary theme in 9.4% (34) of *Gleaner* stories and 4.2% (12) in *The Observer*. The latter newsroom focused more on the international perception 19.1% (54) of the extradition than *The Gleaner* with 11.6% (42). The differences in the news coverage between the newspapers show the differing agendas of each newspaper. *The Gleaner* was more focused on local repercussions; *The Observer* had a more global point of view, which

was most likely shaped by the outlook of its founder, Butch Stewart and the possible economic repercussions for his businesses. The role of newspaper ownership is further discussed in Chapter Seven.

Government accountability was the most referenced primary theme in *The Gleaner's* news and editorial articles with 47.1% (41) and 13.7% (12) published pieces respectively. In contrast, *Observer* statistics indicate that government accountability was noted in a smaller 23.3% (66) articles. The call for the JLP to be responsible in its handling of the extradition was also prevalent in letters to the editor, editorials and commentaries which totalled 51.5% (34) of the stories that highlighted this theme. One *Observer* editorial on government accountability stated,

We must, expectations aside, demand better behaviours from those who insist on occupying positions of leadership in this country. Even if barefacedness is the new way forward, we can't sit silently by and say nothing when our leaders begin to make fools of us and themselves (Let's pray for the backsliders too, June 25, 2010)

The Government's role in the extradition quickly became the sole focus of the news reporting. The news/news analysis and commentary/opinion articles in both newspapers didn't focus as much on Jamaica's crime debacle and the drug trafficking that created and fuelled the Coke debacle but instead chose to remain very focused on the JLP and the Prime Minister's parliamentary ties to Coke's garrison. *The Gleaner's* February 28, 2010 editorial noted:

The government insists that it is protecting the constitutional rights of a Jamaican citizen. The problem for the administration is that neither the United States nor a large swathe of the Jamaican population believes that. They see in our government's action dithering and waffle.

Mr Coke happens to be based in West Kingston, Mr Golding's

parliamentary constituency, whose political epicentre is Tivoli Gardens, which is considered by many as a kind of command and control centre of the governing Jamaica Labour Party. Mr Coke, as benefactor, is considered to be a man of great power and influence in West Kingston and elsewhere, which he 'inherited' from his father, Lester Coke, or Jim Brown, who the Americans also tried to extradite. It is presumed that Mr Coke's actions can influence the political fortunes of the JLP and that to touch him might ignite a volatile security powder keg. (Where is the 'Dudus' Coke case?)

A December 9, 2009, article titled *"Golding will not discuss 'Dudus'"* cited the opposition's concern that "the justice minister was taking too long to deal with the extradition request for Coke was rubbished by Golding, who argued that many cases in the past extended beyond three months." This was a trend that continued for months in the news coverage with the vast majority of the articles published solely focused on government accountability.

Secondary Themes	<i>The Gleaner</i>	<i>The Observer</i>
Crime & Violence	30	14
Risk of Civil Unrest	16	20
Political Corruption	45	32
Civic Responsibility	15	8
Government Accountability	55	42
Economic Impact	15	7
International Perception	30	13
Tourism Impact	8	1
Class Warfare	2	1
Previous Extraditions	11	2

Garrison Culture	28	9
Police Corruption	12	10
No Sec. Theme	96	124

Table 7: Table showing the distribution of secondary themes used in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* coverage of Coke.

The commonplace secondary themes were political corruption and government accountability. *The Gleaner* published 55 (15.1%) and 45 (12.4%) articles respectively referencing these secondary themes. While, 32 (11.3%) *Observer* articles referenced political corruption as a secondary theme, 42 (14.8%) referenced government accountability and 20 (7.1%) included civil unrest as a secondary theme. The JLP's accountability was a recurrent ancillary theme with *The Gleaner* showcasing 29 (8%) stories and *The Observer* 14 (4.9%). This was followed by the theme of garrison culture and its impact with 32 (5%) stories published as an ancillary in both newspapers. Two hundred and twenty (34.1%) of the stories included in the sample had no secondary theme and 422 (65.2%) had no ancillary themes. This shows that many of the stories were written around one central idea and there was very little divergence or expounding on the other issues.

5.9 MEDIA CRITICISM

One primary theme that stood out was the media criticism of the coverage of the crisis by Jamaica's media outlets, particularly the newspapers. There was more criticism of the Coke coverage noted in *The Gleaner* in 10 (2.8%) than in *The Observer* with 3 (1.1%) articles. The criticism came mainly in the form of letters to the editor as ordinary citizens voiced their concerns

about the news coverage and the extradition. Winston Maragh's letter was published on May 1, 2010 and headlined "*Dudus news story boring.*" He contended, "Too much attention was being wasted on the issue under the guise of being news" and said:

I cannot help but notice that the news media and the PNP have teamed up and are having a field day in respect of the Dudus and the Manatt, Phelps and Phillips affairs. It is as if there is no other news good enough to make the headlines any more.

For Maragh, the news media seemed to be in cahoots with the PNP opposition to cover news that he deemed as non-news. His concerns were reiterated by others who saw the coverage by the newspapers as unfair and a diversion from other, more pertinent issues. Mervin Stoddart in his *Observer* column "*Dudus is not the real enemy of Jamaica*" on May 29, 2010 said, "Dudus is a fall guy and the media hype surrounding his story is a smokescreen." Stoddart saw the extradition as a loss of sovereignty and a commentary on the influence of Euro-American ideologies and values on both the JLP and the PNP. This influence has led to a breakdown of law and order on the island and the rise of garrisons.

The commentary was focused on the role the media was playing to keep the controversy at the forefront of the news agenda. The first critical statement against the media's role appeared in a *Gleaner* column on November 29, 2009 and criticized the media for not covering the story. It appeared under the headline "*Golding's 'Dudus' dilemma*" and said "the media are treating the matter gingerly,.... The public seems to have adopted the attitude that the Prime Minister (PM) is between a rock and a hard place and is sitting back to watch. The circumstances deserve more attention." At this point columnist, A.E. Hueman, was calling for more active participation by media to uncover the

facts of the extradition.

However, by April the tone of the news media had changed, as Claude Robinson noted in an April 11, 2010 column when he acknowledged the pressure on the Prime Minister. Robinson stated, “But as the weeks passed the headlines and editorial comments have not been going as Mr. Golding appeared to expect when he spoke on March 17.” (*The Jamaica Observer*, The 800-pound gorilla in the room again). Despite Robinson’s acknowledgement of the media pressure on the Government, citizens like Janice Hunter raised concerns about limitations on press freedom on the island. Hunter in a June 8, 2010 *Gleaner* letter to the editor noted,

The journalists are calling for transparency, even while many who now sit in newsrooms quietly turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to stories of colleagues who took sides, and carried lines in the last elections and beyond. It is even whispered in news circles that such actions won some a ticket out of the newsroom and others a little top-up. Do the media have the decency to openly discuss or investigate these issues of its own integrity? Will this even be published? Is the media fully free? (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, Hypocrisy epidemic).

These comments show that there was an evolution in the public analysis of the role the newspapers were playing in the extradition. It also shows that there is evidence of transparency from both *The Gleaner* and *Observer* newsrooms. The newspapers openly printed letters that were critical of their coverage. These letters and opinion columns act as an acknowledgement that the newsrooms understood that they were part of the Coke story and that they also bore some of the responsibility in the shaping of the national debate. They also indicate the growing frustration on the part of ordinary Jamaican citizens who felt they were unable to get a complete understanding of the factors shaping the Coke

debate because the newspapers were selective in their reporting. However, the report for calls of transparency by journalists also shows the difficulties they had in gathering information to comprehensively report on the Coke story.

5.10 MEDIA MENTIONS & NEWS VOICE

Despite the criticism, the newspapers frequently included other news organizations in articles published over the 10-month period. *The Gleaner* referenced itself or another media organization in 157 (43.3%) of its 363 articles. Most of these references were found in news/news analysis articles with 99 (63.1%), 20 (12.7%) in the editorials, 18 (11.5%) in letters to the editor, and 20 (12.7%) in the opinion columns.

Newspaper	Story Type	Media	No Media
<i>The Gleaner</i>	News/News Analysis	99	103
	Editorial	20	18
	Letter	18	61
	Opinion/ Commentary	20	23
	Total	157	205
<i>The Observer</i>	News/News Analysis	95	88
	Editorial	8	8
	Letter	16	28
	Opinion/ Commentary	19	21
	Total	138	145

Table 8: A cross-tabulation of articles with a media presence by story type
In *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*

The Observer included media references in 138 (48.8%) of its articles,

95 (68.8%) were featured in news stories, 8 (5.8%) in the editorials, while 16 (11.6%) letters to the editor featured media mentions and 19 (13.8%) commentaries. These figures show that the newspapers were paying attention to the Coke discussion featured on other local and international media networks. Media influence arguments were featured in the newspapers from time to time. *The Observer* commented, “For it is crystal clear that if the press had not facilitated the sustained pressure that the right-minded people in this society have been putting on our leaders since last year, we wouldn’t be where we are now“(Let’s pray for the backsliders too, June 25, 2010). While, in *The Gleaner*, Ian Boyne asserted that:

.... When the two morning papers, representing some of the most powerful private sector interests and players in this country, were united almost daily, they were impossible to ignore, and Golding was too sagacious a politician not to realize what he was up against. (Dudus captured, Bruce released?, June 27, 2010)

Boyne’s assertion about the partnership between the newspapers to hold the government accountable is also reinforced by the government accountability statistics garnered in the content analysis as shown in Chapter 5.7.

Newspaper	Story Type	Active	Passive	None
<i>The Gleaner</i>	News/News Analysis	8	8	186
	Editorial	31	3	4
	Letter	5	8	67
	Opinion/ Commentary	7	2	34
	Total	51	21	291

Table 9: A cross tabulation of articles with *The Gleaner’s* news voice by story

type

Newspaper	Story Type	Active	Passive	None
The Observer	News/News Analysis	5	16	162
	Editorial	13	1	2
	Letter	1	6	37
	Opinion/ Commentary	1	6	33
	Total	20	29	234

Table 10: A cross tabulation of articles with *The Observer's* news voice by story type

The Jamaica Gleaner's news voice or editorial stance on the extradition was evident in 19.8% (72) of its articles with an active news voice in 51 (70.8%) and passive in 21 (29.2%). *The Gleaner's* active news voice was most prevalent in 31 (43%) of its editorials. Their April 12, 2010 editorial focusing on the JLP's criticism of those who disagreed with their position on Coke was an apt example. *The Gleaner* noted,

Happily, Jamaica is not in a position where critics are carted off to jail to be tortured for their views. Up to now, while politicians may occasionally lead crowds to your gates with blustery warnings, the press remains relatively free and the constitutional guarantees of freedom of expression, though containing too many exceptions, are largely adhered to.

The foregoing, however, is not to suggest that there are not other forms of subtle pressure, if not outright intimidation, of presumed critics and troublemakers by government officials or their hounds (Karl Samuda's Disingenuous Observation).

In this editorial *The Gleaner* subtly acknowledged that it was under pressure because of its intense Coke coverage and indicated it was not going to capitulate.

The Observer's news voice was slightly less prevalent than *The Gleaner's*. *The Observer* exhibited its editorial opinion in 17.3% (49) of its articles with 21 (42.9%) noted in the newspaper's editorial section. In the aftermath of the Tivoli incursion, *The Observer* also acknowledged its robust position on the extradition in their June 2, 2010 editorial.

We have not been shy in taking a strong position -- some have accused us of being strident -- on the abysmally poor handling of the Christopher 'Dudus' Coke/Manatt, Phelps & Phillips affair by Mr Golding. From the moment that he declared he was prepared to pay the political price for his defence of Mr Coke, we urged him to put the matter into the hands of the local courts (*The Jamaica Observer*, Tivoli Gardens: Out of bad let good come).

The news emerging from both newsrooms show they saw themselves at the centre of the Coke debate and as catalysts that pushed Golding to order the signing of the extradition warrant. However, because of *The Observer's* perceived connection to the JLP, its criticisms were an indication of the political and economic toll the extradition was having on the island. They put political partisanship aside to keep their readership connected to the unfolding of the extradition story. The possible motivations of the newspapers are further explored in Chapters Six and Seven.

5.11 CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE COKE COVERAGE

Traditionally, civil society groups don't "aspire to control the government and exercise power," however; they do play a role in raising public awareness and shaping public policy (Burnell & Randall, 2005:123). Despite Burnell and Randall's assertions, civil society was under-represented in the newspapers during the Coke debate. There were only 56 (15.4%) *Gleaner* articles citing civic organizations and 36 (12.7%) in *The Observer*. The

headlines pertaining to civil society began in *The Gleaner* in March 2010 continued sporadically for the remaining four months of the study. The March *Gleaner* articles included, “*Dudus irks PSOJ*” (March 11, 2010), “*Miller stands alone - 'Dudus' divides Church*” (March 14, 2010), “*Will the Bar Association please speak?*” (March 15, 2010) and “*JCC chimes in on Dudus issue*” (March 17, 2010). In *The Observer*, civil society was noticeably absent from the headlines with the exception of “*PSOJ turns up Dudus heat*” published on March 11, 2010.

Despite their absence in the surface examination of the newspapers, civic agents, academics and public servants wrote many of the commissioned opinion columns. So, they were still an active part of shaping the Coke argument. Of the 646 articles surveyed, 553 (85.6%) had no civil society representation with organizations like PSOJ, Jamaicans for Justice and the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce intermittently adding their voices to the news debate. One *Observer* letter writer, Eaele St. A. Scarlett of Atlanta, GA pointed out:

Civil society has existed in Jamaica ever since adult suffrage. Animated political party rivalry had been the hallmark of Jamaica’s ‘disputatious’ society... Political apathy, so prevalent in many democracies today, is alien in Jamaica’s political culture since the days of popular activism in the late 1930’s and formation of political parties in the 1940s appealing for self-rule. (*The Jamaica Observer*, Violence & Democracy: an uneasy nexus in Jamaica, June 6, 2010)

The lack of civic engagement during the lead up to the Tivoli incursion precipitated the call for more involvement from local stakeholders. Veteran journalist Ian Boyne noted:

Reporters, commentators, editors, talk-show hosts and media managers must join with other sections of civil society, including

Jamaicans for Justice, Families Against State Terrorism, business and church groups along with the parliamentary Opposition in coalescing around tough short-term measures to contain crime (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, Getting tough on crime, May 2, 2010)

On May 16, 2010, Clause Robinson reiterated the need for civil society to become more vocal in the extradition process when he stated in his column,

Civil society, including The Church, the business community, the unions, civic groups at community and national levels must demand answers and channel their anger and outrage into demands that the prime minister does the right thing (*The Jamaica Observer*, Golding's revelation changes everything... for the worse).

Based on their limited representation in the newspapers, civil society groups appeared reluctant to take up the call to action in the lead up to the Tivoli incursion. However, they appeared to become more vocal in the newspapers in the aftermath of the civil unrest in Kingston with the formation of the Jamaica Civil Society Coalition. Their renewed vigour on the public stage did not go unnoticed. One commentator said "...the emerging coalition of civil society activism must remain steadfast to the mission of insisting on a governance structure where leadership considers itself accountable" (*The Jamaica Observer*, Rethinking politics 'After Dudas', June 27, 2010). However, this did not mitigate their absence in the lead up to the extradition.

Many civil society activists are also part of the local intelligentsia. However, outside of civil society, there were very few academic voices in the Coke dialogue. The least used sources were academics with only 25 (6.9%) *Gleaner* mentions and 12 (4.2%) in *The Observer*. Academics like Trevor Munroe, and Horace Levy wore dual hats as active members of civic organizations and academics. Hunter who criticized journalists in her

“Hypocrisy epidemic” *Gleaner* letter also noted that academics were noticeably absent from the Coke debate. She said,

Some academics who once had a lot of 'mouth' have now shifted their weight from their left leg to their right leg, either openly or clandestinely. Others are culpable by omission - the silence is deafening. The trade unions are very quiet. What happened to all that gumption built up over the last 80 years? Is there integrity in your silence? Have you forgotten who your constituents are? Meanwhile, the voiceless majority continues to suffer (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, June 8, 2010)

The newspapers, however, did use many academics such as Claude Robinson, Wendel Abel, Robert Buddan and Martin Henry as part of their commentary staff who penned columns throughout the debate.

While the weak presence of civil society in the news could be an indication that they were not actively participating in the Coke debate it could also mean that journalists were not tapping into this source as they covered the story. Their muted voice in the newspapers could be another example of Davies’ (2008) criticism that journalists aren’t doing the news-gathering that is necessary to find and publish the truth for their readers.

5.11.1 THE CHURCH & CIVIC ACTIVISM

Globally, religion is usually used to “focus and coordinate opposition,” especially but not exclusively among the poor and disenfranchised (Burnell & Randall, 2005:104-104). In Jamaica, The Church performs such a role as an important section of the Jamaican civil society community. However, in the chosen newspaper samples, members of Jamaica’s church community were directly quoted in very few articles, only 20 (5.5%) *Gleaner* and 8 (2.8%) of *Observer* stories. Rev. Al Miller was the most visible member of the clergy throughout the entire extradition process. He seemingly acted as broker

between the Coke family, the security forces and the Jamaican government. Miller was supportive of the Prime Minister's caution in signing the warrant and said in a *Sunday Gleaner* statement that civil society sectors were "getting sentimental to the point of overlooking justice." However, not all of Miller's colleagues agreed with his stance and this could be the reason for the silence from the Church in the newspaper coverage. In "*Miller stands alone - 'Dudus' divides Church,*" Bishop Rowan Edwards of Lighthouse Assembly and president of The Jamaica Association of Full Gospel Churches asserted that the Coke extradition request should be discussed in court (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, March 14, 2010).

While there were few quoted members of the clergy in the sample, members of the clergy did sporadically write letters to the editor and voice their opinions in the commentary section of the newspapers. Rev. Devon Dick who is a columnist for *Gleaner* and pastor of Boulevard Baptist Church in St. Andrew noted , "... there is no salvation for Jamaicans while Obama and Golding spar, instead, Jah kingdom goes to waste and Jamaica stands only to lose" (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, Obama vs. Golding: Jamaica loses, March 11, 2010). But as with many aspects of the Coke newspaper coverage there are varying opinions on the appropriate level of activism the Church should have had in the matter. In a letter to the editor in *The Gleaner*, Augley Stewart, was critical of The Church's role in the extradition debate. He said:

Now, we have The Church calling on the Government to resign. Are they serious? With all due respect to the various church groups that have called for the PM's resignation: get a grip. In case you heads of churches don't understand, you have to look at yourselves before judging anyone, clear out your backyard, then

you can speak to Jamaicans. None of you are better than Bruce. He came out and confessed, so you should be proud of him. (Clergy should shut up, June 7, 2010)

In contrast, political commentator Lloyd A. Cooke openly applauded Rev. Miller for his involvement in Coke's eventual capture. Cooke, in a *Gleaner* letter noted:

A Christian, and more so a minister of the gospel, owes first allegiance to God in terms of his motivations and actions: his first concern is to do God's bidding and bring about a safe ending for Dudus and for Jamaica. He accomplished that end, knowing that it could possibly be at risk to himself;

As a pastor, Rev Miller is aware that his own master, Jesus Christ, frequently acted contrary to Jewish law and custom in order to accomplish God's will, and was willing to face the consequences. Al Miller did God's work last Tuesday afternoon (All hail Al Miller, June 29, 2010).

The lack of consensus in the stance taken by The Church can be seen as indicative of the flux the Jamaican church now finds itself in. The clergy were perhaps unwilling to voice their opinions for fear of alienating a dwindling and segmented congregation. The role of The Church in civic activism is further discussed in Chapter Six.

5.12 FRAMING CHRISTOPHER COKE

There was a lack of focus on Coke and his transgressions beyond the headlines. As discussed earlier, *The Gleaner* headlines included the word "Coke" or "Dudus" in 113 (31.1%) of the articles in the sample. *The Observer* headlines kept more of a focus on Coke by invoking his name in 143 (50.5%) of the articles sampled. The use of Coke's name in half of *The Observer's* headlines can be seen as one of the techniques employed by that newsroom to keep its core demographic focused on the Coke story. Despite the prominence of his

name in the headlines, many of the stories in both newspapers did not focus on Coke, but mainly on the government's handling of the extradition. In addition even though he was the focus of the extradition there were very few in-depth pieces on Christopher Coke '*the man*' and '*the alleged drug dealer.*' Indeed, on many occasions the news coverage made him appear as a mythical figure who was cloaked in mystery. However, both newspapers did try to sketch a composite of him for their readership based on interviews from former teachers, members from his community, security forces and his father's legacy. In "*A convenient AFFAIR: Bruce & Dudus,*" published on May 23, 2010, *The Gleaner* explained that despite being leader of Tivoli, Coke abhorred politics because he felt that political partisanship had led to the demise of both his brother and father. This was an interesting revelation, especially considering his exalted stature as a "pseudo-political" figure not only in his community but on the island more generally.

As noted earlier, despite his status and profile in his community, prior to his capture, the newspapers published only a few old photographs of Coke that they repeatedly used for reporting prior to his capture. As a result, the readers of both newspapers never really garnered the true depth of his power and net worth beyond his allegiance to the Prime Minister and his ability to organize and provide for his community. Coke appeared a simple man with a large legacy. In the wake of his capture Coke released a statement where he indicated he was waiving his right to fight the extradition in the Jamaican courts. "I take this decision for I now believe it to be in the best interest of my family, the community of western Kingston and, in particular, the people of Tivoli Gardens and, above all, Jamaica, " read Coke's statement (*The Jamaica*

Gleaner, Dudus Vs. USA, June 25, 2010).

On the day of his extradition, multimedia commentator, Barbara Gloudon, in her June 25, 2010 *Observer* column, noted that Coke left Jamaica a hero despite the bloodshed. She stated:

Coke played the role to the hilt. He issued a farewell message of regret at leaving his family and his community. Tivoli was singled out by name. He had waived his rights, he said, and agreed to his extradition in their interest and that of the wider nation. It could have been any statesman expressing concern for his people. (*The Jamaica Observer*, Last hurrah of the mighty Dudus?, 2010).

The Observer editorial team seemed almost apologetic for Coke at the end, in spite of all the havoc his actions wreaked: “No man is beyond redemption. Not even Mr. Christopher Coke” (We know Dudus can redeem himself, June 24, 2010).

Instead of the coverage focusing on Coke, the spotlight stayed almost firmly on Golding and The JLP’s management of the entire extradition process. Walker (2002) notes that political journalism is a balancing act between the journalists who report the news and public relations professionals who spin it. In the Coke coverage, the more the Government tried to deflect the national attention away from the extradition, the more the papers focused on it. However the focus was on tactics and not necessarily on the substance that had moved the island to this point in its young history.

5.13 NEWSPAPERS & NEGOTIATING GARRISON CULTURE

One theme that seemed central to the Coke debacle but wasn’t emphasized in the newspapers’ extradition coverage was the impact of Jamaica’s garrison culture on the process. Garrisons have been at the root of Jamaica’s crime problem and many on the island saw Coke’s extradition as the

beginning of the demolishing of the garrison structure on the island. Yet, the culture of garrisons was only featured as a primary theme in 28 (7.7%) *Gleaner* articles, as a secondary theme in 28 (7.7%) and an ancillary theme in 19 (5.2%). In the considered sample, *The Observer* published 13 (4.6%) articles with garrisons as the primary theme, 9 (3.2%) in the secondary theme category and 13 (4.6%) as the ancillary theme. The articles that focused on this topic made some very succinct and cogent points including that members of garrison communities were psychologically estranged from the rest of the island, the locus of power between garrisons and the political parties had shifted and that there would be financial gain for the government in seizing the assets of known criminals in these communities.

Joshua Spencer of Toronto, Canada, in a letter to *The Gleaner* editor saw the infiltration of Tivoli by the security forces as a dismantling of the garrison and a chance at freedom for all Jamaicans (*A taste of freedom*, June 9, 2010). Academic and civic activist Trevor Munroe commented, if Golding could really actualize his dream of de-garrisonisation then it could lead to a period of renewal for the island. In a June 03, 2010 news article Munroe noted that despite the delay, Golding had taken on a “crime monster” and that:

When all the gangs are removed, including those aligned to both political parties, there will be a need for massive economic, social and psychological help inside Tivoli Gardens, and other communities to restore them to a state where business and enterprise can flourish and where people can live normal lives without being beholden to criminal dons. (*The Jamaica Observer*, Golding's future beyond 2012 in the balance)

Despite Munroe’s fighting words, the lack of discussion on the end of the garrison era could also be attributed to the fact that the system is so

entrenched in the Jamaica political economy that it is a mammoth social structure to tackle. This was evident in the way the newspapers painted Coke's community of Tivoli. It was described using phrases like "a fiefdom on its own," "a separate and different part of Jamaica," "mother of all garrisons," "most feared inner city community in Jamaica for the past five decades" (*The Jamaica Observer*, Dudus matter hurting Jamaica, April 19, 2010 & A close-up view of 'Dudus', June 6, 2010).

These negative descriptions largely ignored the residents of the community and the social conditions that lead to the garrisons. However, some news articles did focus on some positives about the garrison. In "Torn Loyalties" published in *The Gleaner* on June 6, 2010, Tivoli resident, Suzie explained her divided loyalties between Coke and Golding. She noted that with Coke out of the way the community was destined to return to a lawless society with a rise in petty robbery and serious crimes. "The boss (Dudus) and Mr Golding split justice, if you need help and ask (for it) you will get it from both of them," she said.

In the framing of Coke and his community in the extradition discussion, there were glimpses of the island's class warfare and stark inequalities. In "Tivoli's bloodshed, our pain and the endgame," published on May 28, 2010, Franklin Johnston points out that "Upper St. Andrew is the brains behind the problem- they miscalculated. Tivoli is only a symptom!" Johnston is referring to the ideology of what happens downtown does not affect the elites who live on the hills uptown. However, inequalities and class warfare were only identified as a secondary theme in 3 (0.5%) articles in both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* and as an ancillary theme in 6 (0.9%). The power struggle on the island is so

pervasive that it no longer merits discussion in the island's newspapers even on the verge of a national crisis. Further discussion about the framing of Coke and his community is discussed further in Chapter Six.

5.14 TOURISM, CRIME AND ECONOMIC IMPACT

Anthony Hall (2012:59) notes that Jamaica's trouble with corruption and elevated levels of violence are frequently covered in the media and that "these well-publicized incidents have serious negative implications for Jamaica's international image and reputation, and by extension, the tourism industry." Despite the economic implications the impact the extradition and Tivoli incursion would have on the tourism industry, it was rarely discussed in the ten months leading up to the extradition. Tourism was noted as a secondary theme in 9 (1.4%) articles and an ancillary theme in 4 (0.6%) across both newspapers.

In May 21, 2010, *The Gleaner* noted that despite the 80 percent hotel occupancy, "the tourism sector is on edge, but none of the island's hotels have been hit by the current controversy surrounding the Christopher 'Dudus' Coke extradition order" (Tourism Sector Nervous). This was mainly because much of the island's high volume tourism sector is outside of the Kingston Metropolitan Area where the Coke extradition fight was unfolding.

However, the island's struggle to curtail the violence associated with the extradition was noted as a primary theme in 50 (7.7%) articles across both newspapers with *The Observer* publishing 26 (52%) of these articles. Crime and violence was noted as a secondary theme in 30 (8.3%) articles from *The Gleaner* and 14 (5.2%) from *The Observer* and as an ancillary theme in 33

(5.1%) articles across both newspapers. The statistics in the study indicate that, the newspapers paid keen attention two of the major indicators for the Jamaican economy and social welfare during the Coke debacle without over-reporting on the topic. Journalists in their coverage of crime and violent news during the extradition period were trying to strike the balance between their social responsibility to keep the public informed and not to instil a sense of fear in the community (Robinson, 2009).

The economic implications of the extradition were noted as a primary theme in 41 (6.3%) articles in the total sample. It was coded as a primary theme in 26 (7.2%) articles from *The Gleaner*, as a secondary theme in 15 (4.1%) and ancillary theme in 13 (3.6%). In *The Observer*, there were 15 (5.3%) articles where economic impact was noted as the primary theme, 7 (2.5%) as a secondary theme and 10 (3.5) as the ancillary theme.

5.15 CONTENT ANALYSIS OUTLIERS

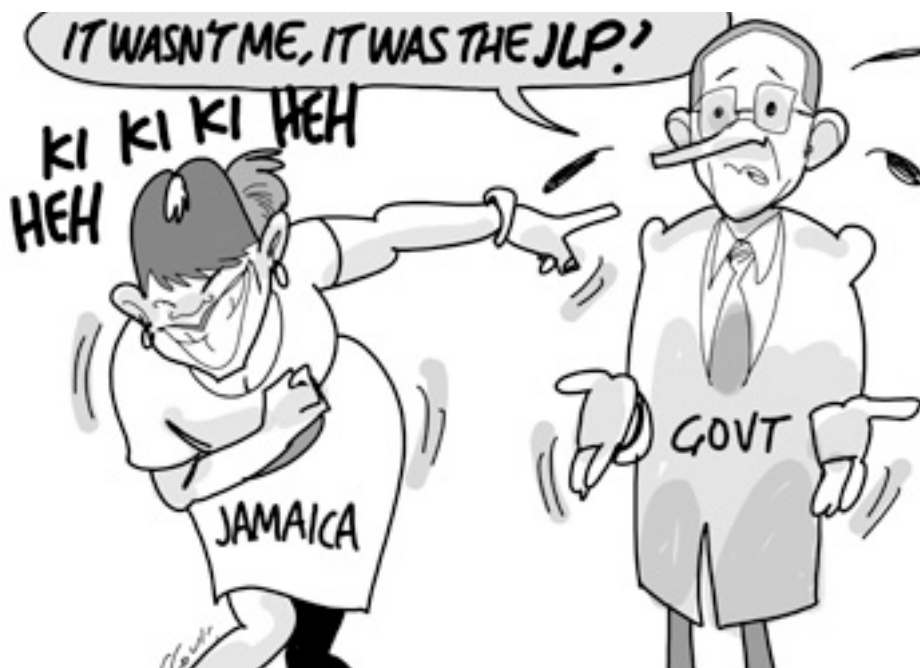
There were several outliers in the content analysis that were not coded for, as they were not anticipated or found in the pilot study or were not easy to code for, but were a running part of the Coke dialogue over those 10 months. The island's culture, relentless editorial cartoons and the involvement of the Jamaican Diaspora were all prominent facets of the extradition coverage.

The island's culture was evident in the way the newspapers covered the conflict, in the newspapers use of local dialect, humour and the inclusion of expatriate Jamaicans. Despite the tension that arose from the prolonged extradition debate there were still moments of humour in the extradition coverage. An *Observer* opinion piece titled, "*Hey, that's my man you're laughing at,*" published on May 16, 2010 chronicles the disappointment of Sharon Leach

with the Prime Minister and the Manatt affair. She said,

Mr Golding may like to make distinctions between the JLP and the Government in trying to explain away the sordid Manatt, Phelps & Phillips extradition debacle that is this administration's albatross, but I think it's safe to say neither the JLP nor the Government has a chance of insulting well-thinking Jamaican people again for a long time (*The Jamaica Observer*).

The following editorial cartoon accompanied Leach's article, it depicted Golding as the laughing stock of this island as he tried to explain the distinction between the retention of Manatt by the JLP versus retention by the government of Jamaica.



While editorial cartoons were not included as a variable in the sample, Clovis Brown at *The Observer* and Las May at *The Gleaner* captured the struggle of the extradition through their caricatures. Both newspapers published almost daily editorial cartoons on the extradition, especially in between April and June 2010.

Jamaicans in the Diaspora were consuming and circulating not only the

cartoons but also, the articles published on Coke. The Jamaican Diaspora used the newspapers as a vehicle to voice their opinion on the pace of the extradition. They wrote a large proportion of the letters to the editor and opinion pieces with by-lines stating their current countries of residence. Wilberforce Reid from New York in a *Gleaner* letter in the aftermath of the Tivoli incursion said:

Dear Prime Minister Golding, you can and should turn this catastrophic situation in Jamaica into your finest hour. This could be the beginning of the end of the dark days that Jamaica has been going through. Now you have the opportunity to rid our beautiful island of crime and corruption. You can once again make Jamaica the pearl of the Caribbean, where millions of us in the Diaspora want to come back and make it our home once again, to live in a land where no one is above the law. (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, Go after gangs, goons and garrisons, June 7, 2010)

The Jamaican Diaspora was vocal in the 10 months leading to Coke's extradition and was most prevalent in the letters written to both *The Gleaner* and *Observer* editors. The publishing of these letters also showed an acknowledgement by the newspapers of the importance of Diasporic voices in their news coverage. It also shows a keen understanding of their readership demographics and the influence of the Diaspora in political resolution on the island.

5.16 SUMMARY

Even though the Jamaican journalism culture is shaped by traditional roles and values, the coverage of the Coke extradition reveals a shift toward a more civic or public journalism. According to the statistical analysis both newspapers mounted pressure on the Jamaican government to generate action on the Coke extradition request especially as fears of civil unrest increased.

This concentrated news coverage increased significantly in March, 2010 after Golding revealed he had hired an American lobbying firm to consult on the extradition in Washington and the cancellation of Chen's visa. The analysis of the interviews in the following chapters helps to facilitate a more complete understanding of the role of both the newspapers and civil society.

The newspapers through their thematic coverage tried to hold the government accountable and point out the seemingly blatant political stance the JLP has taken in the extradition process. They also chose to focus on the possible repercussions both to Jamaica's standing on the global stage, the economic fallout and the threat of violence against its citizens.

The literature suggests that many news organizations use their editorials to reflect their newspaper's ideology on the injustices at hand. Conboy (2010:52) explained that traditionally, editorials represent the identity of the newspaper and are designed to represent both the newspaper's philosophy and the perceived identities of their audience. However, *The Jamaica Gleaner* and *The Observer* published relatively little editorial content from a partisan point of view over that 10-month extradition period. They seemed to be making a concerted effort to keep partisan politics at bay in their coverage. However, they did reference the ideas of other media entities, particularly those in United States where the other end of the debate was being showcased in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. The results did show that *The Gleaner* seemed more connected to the ordinary voices on the street, civil society and the academic community. This is most likely because of their long history on the island as well as the trust and credibility they have been able to accumulate in these communities.

While the consensus from interviews discussed in Chapter Six was that civil society played a significant role in pressuring the government to eventually sign Coke's extradition order, the statistics show that they were woefully under-represented in the newspapers, even with the addition of media and academic commentary. The possibility is that civic agents were using other mediums such as radio and television and digital mediums like Facebook and Twitter to showcase their ideologies and frustration. The role of civil society is explored and further discussed in Chapter Six on civic agency.

The content analysis results also show that even though Jamaicans seemed concerned with how the island would be perceived overseas, very little attention was given to the economic effects of the scandal, especially how it would affect tourism in light of the island's state of emergency and international governments warning its citizens not to travel to Jamaica. The content analysis takes the thesis closer to answering the key research questioned outlined in Chapter One. It showed that both newspapers in spite of their reliance on political sources, had statistically similar coverage as they tried cover the Coke debate and represent factions of all the parties embroiled in the scandal. Just as Hallin and Mancini (2004) argued in Chapter Three, the increased emphasis on the presentation of neutral news was replicated in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*. However, despite the neutrality of the coverage, the role of the newspapers in shaping the debate, Golding's capitulation and Coke's capture cannot be understated or underestimated. It gives an indication of the prevalence of civil society as well as how the island's socio-economic climate affected the coverage.

CHAPTER 6: CIVIC AGENCY & A SEGMENTED CIVIL SOCIETY

"I alone cannot change the world, but I can cast a stone across the waters to create many ripples."
- Mother Teresa

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Jamaica was at a pivotal point in its democracy when the United States government issued the Coke extradition warrant. The island was adjusting to JLP governance for the first time in 18 years; the effects of the global financial crisis, low productivity and an escalating crime rate compounded this. Jamaica was at a point in its history where civil society had an opportunity to strengthen social empowerment on the island, not only as a way to press for more government accountability but to foster more civic engagement in the island's governance. The addition of the tension of the Coke extradition provided a platform for civil society to lead a social revolution on the island but as the newspaper coverage showed in the content analysis, they seemingly failed to meet this challenge.

As noted in Chapter Three, for the purpose of this thesis, a broad definition of what constitutes civil society includes nongovernmental organizations, community organizations, universities, religious institutions, the parliamentary opposition and the daily newspaper. Many of the civil society organizations and civic agents mentioned in the CIVICUS Report in Chapter Two were absent from the newspaper coverage of Coke. The discussion to follow will examine some of the civic groups present in the extradition debate

as well as the role of civil agency in Jamaica and how it was used to engage a community and lobby for increased government accountability. It will discuss civic agency on the island as it relates to the Coke extradition with the backdrop of the newspapers. It will also examine the Jamaican brand of civil society and the tangential formats where groups and organizations came together to play an integral participatory role in building a democracy.

6.2 JAMAICAN CIVIL SOCIETY: ACTIVE OR PASSIVE?

Jamaicans have a history of questioning their politicians, as well as of incivility, organizing protests and engaging media entities to facilitate their complaints. Former Prime Minister Michael Manley (1974:25) noted “it is in the Jamaican personality to argue, to be disputatious, to listen to contending views and eventually to say ‘let’s take a vote.’” However, as evidenced from the content analysis, mobilization by traditional civil society organizations was underrepresented in the newspapers in the lead-up to Coke’s extradition. Despite their robust history, civil society at the juncture of the Coke extradition appeared to be floundering. In times of crisis, civil society is expected to protect citizens, monitor and pursue accountability, provide advocacy and public communication, build communities and act as a mediator between the citizenry and the state (List & Dorner, 2012). The Coke extradition was a unique opportunity for collective civic action on the island and a move toward strengthening the island’s democracy.

The interviews revealed that there were varying beliefs and responses about the role of civil society and civic engagement amid the political controversy, media speculation and civil unrest that accompanied the Coke extradition. There was some disagreement about the influence of civil society

on Prime Minister Golding and his willingness to sign the extradition papers. It is evident that the civic actors had multiple agendas for wanting to facilitate the resolution of the extradition that moved beyond just national pride to personal, economic and travel restrictions. The narratives that emerged from the interviews indicate that political corruption; garrisons, crime and violence are part of the accepted status quo in Jamaica. As a result, crises are often ignored until they have escalated to violent outcomes. The interviewees indicated that the crisis that arose with the issuance of the extradition warrant was seemingly inevitable within the island's political and economic climate in 2009/2010.

Collier (2005:53) suggests "many societies lack directive rules that allow their citizens the right to participate in government decision-making... societies often restrict both the release of government information and the media's ability to investigate and report. Therefore citizens often know little about government activities, which hampers their ability for real participation in government decision-making." Many times it is up to active civic agents to organize around an issue, build social trust, infiltrate these barriers and hold the governing entity accountable. The Coke extradition was a defining moment in the Jamaican democracy. *Gleaner* Columnist, JM008 said "I'd never seen an issue where a civilized society questioned its survival, the social fabric, the criminal fabric, it was chaos in Jamaica and we see a fragmenting of society where the criminals take over."

As seen in Chapter Two, civil society groups span a wide range of categories and levels of influence and involvement on the island. During the Coke extradition battle, many forms of civic agency emerged ranging from

traditional civic groups, to the opposition party to members of Coke's community advocating on his behalf. Despite, this broad spectrum of civil actors, there are many obstacles to the cohesion of civil society groups. Based on the findings in the content analysis, the more active groups during the extradition showdown were the Private Sector Association of Jamaica (PSOJ), Jamaica Chamber of Commerce, Jamaicans for Justice (JFJ), National Integrity Action Forum (NIAF), The Jamaica Bar Association, Families Against State Terrorism (FAST), Hear the Children Cry and the Jamaica Civil Society Coalition (JCC), which was formed in the immediate aftermath of the Tivoli incursion. These organizations have over the years made it their mission to influence public opinion toward their ideology of what is in the country's best interest. In Jamaica, progress is usually hampered by class and income disparities, political allegiances and questions of faith. The content analysis in Chapter Five shows that civil society was not very visible in the news coverage but as columnists for both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*, civic agents were able to frame some of the Coke content. These columnists wore dual hats and found a way to forge an alternative relationship with the media.

Many of the organized civic groups are run by the political and intellectual elites on the island; they are the ones with power and access. Political consultant and newspaper commentator, JM011 noted, "Jamaica has one of the most mature, non-governmental sectors in the Caribbean." He described the foundation for civil society on the island as a largely invisible social assistance infrastructure,

They say 43% of the Jamaican society is underground so then you wonder who really controls them. It's the same way with civil

society, you have the formal civil society, which consists of the Council for Voluntary Social Services (CVSS) that is the largest umbrella organization, they do not to any great degree take controversial public positions and this goes not just to the CVSS as an institution but goes also for the member institutions. They are so busy in building community structure and bringing assistance to needy groups. That is how they see their role; you don't see politicians trying to court them in any serious way (JM011).

These types of grassroots civic organizations were completely absent from the newspapers during the Coke debate. It appears that there are civil society segments on the island, those that quietly foster real community activism and service and those that lobby for change through the national media outlets.

There were conflicting views on civil society's influence in the Coke extradition, but the consensus was that it had evolved past political partisanship. Some interviewees were confident that the civic agency of organized civic groups played a very pivotal role in forcing the Prime Minister to execute the extradition warrant and subsequently convene the commission of enquiry. JM002 noted that "it's not often that we see such a confluence of public perspectives, publicly declare against a public act or a public issue, so I have no doubt in endorsing the widely held view that civil society played a major role." Businessman and columnist, JM008 further explained that he thought Golding bowed to the combined pressure of civil society and the press when he signed the extradition order. He said, "It had to be resolved, we could not have these things hanging around our heads and have the country becoming an international pariah because we don't want to extradite a drug criminal."

Some interviewees were sceptical about the collective of voices and their sway in shifting the Government's stance on Coke. JM011 said that civil

society's influence was "almost zero, they got caught up in the whole clamour, surveys have showed that crime is Jamaica's biggest problem, so in that context, they would have gotten caught up in all of that but in terms of any organized push by civil society through their organization then no." *Gleaner* reporter and online guru, JM018 noted, "The Dudus thing, that wasn't civil society that was just people disgusted with the government." Civil society was not seen by many respondents as proactive, only reactive. This resulted in the widespread notion that civil society exaggerated their role in the extradition debate and were just caught up in the furore of the situation. JM014 said, "I think many of them want to claim the fall of Coke as a victory of theirs... [They] have one thing in common, they are anti-party and they believe that there is a rightful place for citizens outside of the party system." These varying views make it hard to define civil society's exact role in the resolution of the Coke affair; they are as segmented as the factions of civic life on the island.

Civil society's' direct influence over Golding is also debatable but they carved out a niche audience with Jamaica's voting public. The loss of U.S. visas by a few prominent Jamaicans including Wayne Chen who was head of the State-run Urban Development Corporation scared many Jamaicans into being more proactive and demanding of the government. With this March 2010 revelation, the spotlight on the relationship between the Golding administration and Coke intensified, especially in the media. JM011 noted that "several people lost visas, and the little man said, well I don't even have one yet. Public opinion was engaged from that point and at the grass roots and this is where politicians start to listen because it could translate to voting choices," especially with an election pending.

Jamaica's global reputation was also at stake; the country was being cited as a rogue state and this threatened the business and self-interests of many individual civic agents. Civic life on the island does extend beyond the collective of organized groups to include a very individualistic tone, especially when personal interests are threatened. With the loss of the visas, there was a shift from private interests to working collectively to resolve the Coke debacle so that more individual interests were not compromised. The newspapers were integral at this juncture. It was against their backdrop that the middle-class and civil society were able to launch their rebellion against the government. JM002 acknowledged, "[civil society] eventually became aware that what was happening was a grave endangerment to the reputation of Jamaica, to their own interests and the interests of the future of the country and therefore they made their voices heard." While, traditional civil groups were not overtly active in the newspapers the interviews indicate a perception of increased civic engagement with broadcast media formats from this point. Civil society appeared to carve out a space in the broadcast media where they could produce an active version of themselves.

Civil society had impediments in terms of influence and financial backing. JM014 explained the limitations of civil society, as it "doesn't have that history of preparing a society for the threats to democracy. What civil society will do is to identify more specific problems like crime and violence or street children, but what parties will do is to look at the threats to democracy." Notwithstanding their limited voice evident in the newspaper and the varying range of views provided by the interviewees, the most profound civic agency lesson learned from the months of quietly lobbying the government to act was

the power of social empowerment, by strengthening their voice as a collective and being more vocal in the community post-Coke. However, the lack of urgency from civil society until the country was almost in crisis mode also revealed some weaknesses in their organizational efforts. *Gleaner* columnist Martin Henry in his June 13, 2010 column, “*Government and civil society*” argued,

Quite a number of diverse demands have been made upon the Government of Jamaica by an aroused 'civil society'. In some instances, demands have been made from the premise of an upright and ill-done civil society confronting an abusive government lacking integrity. The fact of the matter is that civil society has its own adjustments to make for more effective governance to be possible. What now needs to be carefully considered are the mechanisms which will allow orderly and productive engagement without unduly constricting the capacity of the Government to govern.

Despite Henry’s criticism, it is undeniable that the Coke extradition represented a critical moment in Jamaican history where civil society was part of the public mobilization effort to incite change on the island. JM002 said, “I am not sure whether this kind of civic unity can even be achieved again to the same effect.” The newspapers played an important role in raising awareness about the extradition process and highlighting the vocal factions of civic society as they championed their mutual cause of government accountability and increased transparency.

6.3 THE GOVERNMENT, TENSION & CIVIC DUTY

The Coke extradition raised questions about the functionality of the Jamaican public sphere and the legitimacy of public life. The Jamaican government, with the JLP and Golding at the helm held the country in limbo for

months while they tried to ignore, lobby and bluff their way through the extradition negotiations with the U.S. government. As a constitutional parliamentary democracy, many of the island's dilemmas are negotiated openly in Gordon House, yet, the government refused to have Coke discussed in parliament, despite the pressure from both civil society and the opposition. The Jamaican Government seemed to take the view that Coke was not a topic for public discussion as it sought to resolve the problem outside of the public sphere. It is this same tactic that forced the PNP to walk out of parliament and call for a vote of no confidence against Golding.

The previous PNP administrations have generally had an amicable relationship with civil society. However, the JLP was under enormous pressure with the Coke extradition looming and sections of the capital city under curfew. The relationship with civil society became fragile. In the aftermath of his 2007 election, *The Gleaner's* Ian Boyne exalted Golding's relationship with civil society. Boyne said, "Golding has always respected mainstream values and the voice of civil society. Much to the annoyance of his own colleagues, some of whom are still in the old tribalism mould. He must bring them along. He must train them in the New Politics" (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, Golding's dance with destiny, September 9, 2010). Nearly, three years later, the love affair between civil society and the JLP was on the verge of collapse. On March 11, 2010, *The Gleaner* published an article entitled "*Dudus' irks PSOJ*" where it said "according to the PSOJ, Jamaica has demonstrated its commitment to fight criminality by signing the relevant international treaties and in enacting the necessary domestic legislation to facilitate cooperation. 'It is imperative that we continue to demonstrate our commitment by honouring our obligations under the

treaties to which we are a party.” This news article was significant because it showed, that the powerful business interests on the island represented by the PSOJ were determined to hold the Government accountable not only to the island but to their international partners. The Government in return tried to silence civil society by making an example of the PSOJ by filing lawsuits against them. JM004 noted the government uses lawsuits to scare citizens and impede them from discovering the truth. Lightbourne, in filing the government’s lawsuit against the PSOJ, seemed to be persecuting the organization for voicing their opinions on the Coke matter.

6.4 CIVIL SOCIETY & GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY

Civil society has over time taken on the role of ensuring governmental transparency especially in the Third World. Political corruption is so rampant in the Caribbean that it is part of the local culture and oftentimes overlooked. It has become a threat to national security, economic prosperity and social life, especially when in alliance with transnational criminal organizations; it supports terrorism, arm smuggling, drug trafficking and money laundering (Leiken, 1996).

The legitimacy of the Government was questioned repeatedly during the extradition debate in the newspapers. The Coke extradition escalated very quickly to a political issue because Coke was a known supporter of the JLP. It was the notion of the PNP and its supporters that Golding was bending the rules to protect one of his own and his place as Member of Parliament for Tivoli Gardens. The linkages between party politics and dons like Coke are part of the social contract of garrisons. “The dons, in short, have carved out small

fiefdoms for themselves where they can pretty much operate without impunity. As such they pose a more serious challenge to the sovereignty of the Jamaican state than any foreign power ever did" (Rapley, 2003:28). By approving Coke's extradition, Golding would break the contract between Member of Parliament and area leader to protect him from the hands of the law. He would also betray the trust of his constituents in Tivoli.

The interview analysis indicates that the allegiances between Coke, Golding, Tivoli and the JLP in relation to the extradition were too blatant and egregious to be ignored for an extended period of time, especially with Jamaica's economic and social future hanging in the balance. In the years prior to the Coke extradition there had been a distancing of politicians from the criminal factions in their communities, however, the Coke extradition highlighted the connection between politics and crime on the island. JM011 acknowledged that garrison communities "don't exist in isolation; there is cooperation in the criminal network which transcends political boundaries, so I think the Tivoli situation would have been a setback in terms of the nexus between politicians and criminals, the criminal element or more generally between politicians and civil disobedience."

Golding's credibility, which had been questioned in his 2007 election debate, was further smeared. His seeming solidarity with Coke had moved beyond the possibilities of legitimation. Jamaicans could no longer sit back and say this is the way power is distributed on our island. His connection with Coke challenged too many civic and business interests on the island and was ultimately the impetus for increased civic agency on the island, not only on the

parts of traditional civic agents and agencies. JM002 explained that “nobody could defend Golding, nobody could defend Lightbourne⁷, and nobody could defend Dudus. In the circumstances where we all knew that he represented this thing and that the arguments that were being put sounded more like fig leaves.”

The revelation that the JLP had retained the law firm Manatt, Phelps & Phillips to lobby Washington for a more amicable resolution added to the tension. The blatant and repeated denials by the Golding administration and the nuances involved in distinguishing between whether the firm was hired by the party or the Government angered many Jamaicans. His actions cut across Golding’s pledge in his inaugural speech to be chief servant of the people, to curtail the powers of the Executive and strengthen parliament so that it could exert more control over the government. In the end, it was the parliamentary opposition, through their relentless fact finding and antagonism on the parliamentary floor that forced Golding to reveal the JLP’s association with Manatt.

These debates were amplified by the newspapers, which by April were publishing almost daily stories on the JLP’s connection to Manatt. *The Gleaner* published headlines “*Manatt goes quiet*” (March 24, 2010), “*Manatt Mystery, It’s a conspiracy!*” (April 11, 2010), “*Manatt mystery deepens*” (April 18, 2010), “*Int’l pressure mounts over Dudus, Manatt...*” (April 16, 2010), “*Manatt issue returns to Parliament*” (April 22, 2010), “*Mr Christie should investigate Manatt*

⁷ Dorothy Lightbourne was the Minister of Justice and Attorney General in the JLP government during the Coke extradition and was tasked with executing the extradition warrant.

scandal" (May 16, 2010), and *"Manatt casualty"* (May 22, 2010). *The Observer* followed suit with *"That 800-pound gorilla in the room, again"* (April 11, 2010), *"Manatt dispute strains Jamaica/US relations: Washington Post"* (April 15, 2010), *"Government denies dealings with Manatt, Phelps & Phillips"* (April 27, 2010) and, *"Put to rest Manatt, Phelps and Phillips affair"* (May 13, 2010). On March 16 when the Manatt connection was first raised in parliament the PNP opposition walked out because they said Golding was being abusive. Two months later on May 18, the PNP again vacated its parliamentary seats because Golding refused to speak on his dealings with Manatt and the progress of the extradition, even after his televised address to the nation the previous night. In response to the latest walk out, *The Gleaner* published an editorial on May 24, 2010 titled, *"Opposition walkout was justified"* throwing their support behind the PNP. The editorial board said,

Like the Opposition, we believe that it is contemptuous of Parliament for the Prime Minister to ignore his responsibility of not updating the legislature of a very important national issue such as this one. The fact that Prime Minister Golding used a national broadcast on Monday to apologize for the embarrassment and damage he has caused Jamaica in the handling of the extradition request for Christopher 'Dudus' Coke, does not excuse him from providing answers to Parliament.

The numerous articles focusing on the shortcomings of Golding and the JLP, the strife between the parties and the Manatt debacle empowered and invigorated not only civil society but also ordinary Jamaicans to become more involved in the debate. The content analysis indicated a spike in the civic and ordinary voices discussing Coke by May 2010.

In spite of the enquiries, investigations and commissions into the Coke saga many questions remain unanswered and this can perhaps be blamed on the island's culture of silence. JM004 noted, "90% of the time these issues have never been resolved, it's only the hearsay that trickles out, to appease the public, one person might become the scapegoat." In the case of the initial 10 months leading up to the extradition, that person was Dr. Ronald Robinson who resigned on May 20, 2010. At that time, the PNP's Peter Phillips, noted that Robinson was "the 'fall guy' for the JLP" (*The Jamaica Observer*, Ronald Robinson resigns as senator, junior minister, May 21, 2010). Gleaner journalist, JM004, acknowledged that there is a kind of donmanship in public life too, it may not be violence but there are many implied and explicit professional threats. These pockets of silence make the eradication of corruption within Jamaica's governing elite, a hard task to police and eliminate. However, as Johnston (1998) notes, social empowerment is integral to "strengthening civil society in order to enhance its political and economic vitality, prodding more orderly paths of access and rules of interaction between state and society, and balancing economic and political opportunities." As discussed in Chapter Two, civil society on the island shows that traditional civil society groups are among the least influential on the island and this assertion was also evident in the analysis of Coke.

6.5 THE OPPOSITION PARTY AS A CIVIC AGENT

As a young democracy, Jamaica is a work in progress; this was particularly evidenced through the work of the PNP during the extradition negotiations. The CIVICUS Table 1 identifies the opposition as one of the most influential segments of civil society on the island. This influence was also seen

in the way the extradition unfolded in the newspapers. The main charge of a parliamentary opposition is to hold the presiding administration accountable for the way they are managing the country and its resources by defining the issues of public interest. Jamaica's political system is based on the "Westminster democratic model, state and government are conceived in more separate terms and it is entirely legitimate to organize opposition to the government" (Manley, 1974:26). As noted by Collier in Chapter 2.7.6 party politics on the island is also shrouded in silence.

In the case of extradition, the opposition, the PNP, despite its previous issuance of several government contracts to Coke during 18 consecutive years in power, clamoured not necessarily to have Coke extradited but to ask the JLP for more transparency in its negotiations with the U.S. government. There are ideological disparities between the JLP and the PNP, which became even more evident during the extradition fight. This was an ideal moment for the PNP to challenge the JLP's foreign policy stance and facilitate a wider debate, not only about political corruption but also about a move toward national reconciliation.

It was the Opposition's Peter Phillips who embarrassed the JLP by bringing the nation's attention to the JLP's hiring of the Manatt firm in a March 16, 2010 parliamentary session. This was reported immediately by both newspapers. The Opposition's power was not just to raise issues in parliament but, to get them into the public domain, largely through the newspaper. The PNP's civic role was partly enacted through its mediation. By March 18, Phillips had ramped up his criticism of Golding commenting that he was "definitive and

abusive in his denial in Parliament that there had not been any possible arrangement or contact by Government" with Manatt. He also said, "It is now clear, by his own admission today, that he obviously was not in possession of the facts" (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, Manatt Mystery Deepens). The Opposition pursued investigations about methods of payment, retention of services, a vote of no confidence in the Prime Minister and ultimately called for a commission of enquiry. JM014 surmised that traditional civic groups treat Coke as a failure of the Westminster system. In turn they "cast themselves in the role of defeating that monstrosity of the don and his gang is for them a victory of civil society against the parties. So, there is that reason why they want to claim victory but the truth is that it is mostly a victory of the party system because it was the Opposition party (PNP) that had laid the ground for the extradition" (JM014). However, JM008 disagreed and argued that the PNP acted in connection with civil society, "it played out like typical Jamaican party politics, the PNP saw blood in the water and they went for it and civil society aided and abetted the PNP." The analysis of the newspaper coverage indicates that the PNP managed to facilitate an important national campaign and sustained it in a pluralistic political environment in a way traditional civil society organizations were unable to.

The PNP was not without criticism for their role, threats were made against Phillips, an April 11, 2010 Sunday Gleaner article reported "Over the past 72 hours, with increasing frequency, strident criticisms of Phillips have been scratched, painted or sprayed on walls or other surfaces in public places in West Kingston." Phillips responded to the threats by stating he wouldn't be

intimidated. The coverage of the extradition revealed that Jamaican public life is defined by constant negotiations and intimidations at the state, civic, local and especially in garrison communities. Additional criticisms were levied at the PNP as comparisons were made between the JLP's Coke scandal and the PNP's 2006 Trafigura scandal⁸. The PNP were seen as hypocrites for lecturing the JLP about transparency. However, critics and supporters both agree that it was the strong presence of the PNP that led to the demise of Golding and ultimately cost the JLP the 2012 elections.

6.6 THE CHURCH AS A CIVIC AGENT

Unlike the ideology of separation of Church and State in many first world countries, The Church is a dynamic part of social and political life in Jamaica. Christianity and faith have always been a fundamental part of the island's culture. The Church has been at the centre of the island's struggle both pre and post-independence. It is usually at the forefront of social and cultural dilemmas. The literature has shown that The Church has been instrumental in tackling social justice issues on the island; however there is an on-going debate about its effectiveness since they can be described as more reactive than proactive (Jones, 2007). With the decline in church attendance in the past decade, The Church appears to be cautious about adding their voices to political crises on the island.

As demonstrated in the content analysis, The Church was an almost absent voice from the newspapers in the Coke fight with the exception of a few

⁸ Dutch oil-lifting firm, Trafigura Beheer made a \$30 million contribution to the People's National Party (PNP). When this was made public it erupted into a major political scandal in the run-up to the 2007 general election.

letters to the editor, and the occasional social commentary from Boulevard Baptist Church Pastor, Devon Dick. In addition there were sporadic articles on Political Ombudsman and Chair of the Peace Management Initiative, Bishop Herro Blair, who was also appointed by the government to negotiate with Coke on their behalf. The Coke extradition was a prime example of what Boyne termed the island's crisis of religious leadership. JM015 said that the idea that The Church is a part of civil society is a romanticized view of their role in the Jamaican society. He said, "The Church is a captured institution. It is co-opted, you either have a co-opted church or you have an independent church. The Church never intervened, [they believe that] God outside of the world." His analysis of The Church's absence from the debate is part of the on-going dialogue about their civic participation and effectiveness in recent years. Veteran journalist, Ian Boyne wrote,

Our elite is highly secularized, and even when prominent members of the society attend church, their values are still heavily influenced by the Western materialistic ethos. There is a values crisis in Jamaica, and that is at the heart of many of our most severe problems. The Church has been a dismal failure in this country in terms of articulating an intellectual vision and a philosophy, which sharply challenges secular humanism.

The Church has many intellectually competent persons, but they have rarely engaged the public square, retreating into their little intellectual ghettos where they preach to the converted, often in incomprehensible rhetoric, or speak among themselves in a kind of intellectual masturbation. Once in a while a group of them

issues a statement on public affairs, which this newspaper carries. But mostly they are silent, while the secularists dominate the media and set the agenda. (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, Building an ethical Jamaica, January 20, 2008)

This values crisis Boyne alluded to in his article was clearly on display during the Coke extradition and there seemed to be a moral battle between sovereignty, identity, political policy and the island's culture. This battle is most evident in the role The Church played in the extradition discussions in the newspapers.

The strongest voice to in the newspapers from The Church and to challenge the silence of the religious community was Rev. Al Miller who was both a minister at Fellowship Tabernacle Church and leader of the National Transformation Program. *The Gleaner* seemed to have open access to Miller and featured him in several of their Coke update articles and included several of his personal letters in the Coke coverage. In the height of the Coke debate, Miller sided with Golding and cautioned the Jamaican public to not let outside forces destroy their national unity. In a letter published on March 14 in the *Sunday Gleaner*, Miller noted,

Our problems continue because those with the authority either do not know how, or often lack the will and/or humility to ask for help. Let us not allow the Christopher Coke extradition to further divide us, but [let us use it] to look at ourselves and galvanize around a 'cause', a common enemy to fight 'negative international perception'. Let us unite and show the world who we really are as Jamaicans (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, Another side of the 'Dudus' Affair, March 15, 2010).

Miller was in Coke's company when he was finally arrested and he was charged with harbouring a fugitive but he remained undaunted. He truly believed that

providing counsel to Coke, despite his transgressions was his duty as a minister. The results from both the literature review and the interviews show that there was support for this more engaged religion. Lloyd A. Cooke in a letter to the editor on June 29, 2010 praised Coke and insisted the Jamaicans should see his Christ-like sacrifice as an example worth following. Cooke wrote,

He is following in the footsteps of his master, who was accused of being "a friend of publicans and sinners". It is too bad that many Christians no longer feel the necessity to soil their garments in contact with the poor and needy and, yes, even criminals, in order to show them the love of Jesus and perhaps turn them around to become worthwhile persons in the society. May The Church not forget its role in society! (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, All Hail Al Miller,)

Cooke's assessment of The Church abandoning the poor and the needy is a recurrent theme in the commentary of The Church's involvement in the extradition. Miller also accused The Church and the private sector of being too sentimental and ignoring justice because they were seemingly pushing for a resolution rather than protecting Coke from persecution abroad.

In a 2011 reflection article in *The Gleaner*, "Rev Al Miller on a New Mission," Miller said, "I just continue to do what I have to do. I am committed to the issue of transformation of the nation. God has the answer to the problems of this nation and we must transform this country without question and that is what I live for." Miller as a civic agent was unwavering in his commitment to service to his people and his community during the extradition. He served as not only a broker for Coke but many of his associates as well and was a bridge between the garrisons and the government.

Interviewee reflections on the Coke newspaper coverage shows that part of The Church's struggle is the balance between civic agent and catering to

their congregation and their differing political beliefs and allegiances. Interviewee, JM011, indicated, “The Church which could exhibit a lot of influence but again, The Church as a vehicle is accused of not having a voice, not using its voice. I don’t suggest motives in any of these things. This is just the way it has evolved.” The interviewee placed their views in historical context by saying,

The church used to be very vocal during the time of Michael Manley, because there was an affinity with the type of politics he preached, which was egalitarianism and lift up the base of the pyramid and the down trodden so I think they found a certain kind of an agreement or an affinity with that he was trying to do and of course, going much further back to the colonial times, even as far back as slavery, The Church was, several of our national heroes were church leaders, but in today’s dispensations, it does not openly take political stances (JM011).

While JM015 contends that,

You have sections of The Church that are sponsored very very well so they can’t really afford to do anything that will interfere with their success and the others just want to get. There some of us who are just too blind to care and others are too matured to care, they can’t budge an inch, they say this is what The Church should do and they do that. They are not sponsored, they are not intimidated, and they are just indifferent to what’s going on.

The Church as a collective was mostly absent in a country in crisis, at a time where prayer, counsel and guidance were desperately needed. Members of the community also appear to be conflicted about working on civic and social issues through The Church. However, in the aftermath of the Tivoli incursion, newspaper evidence indicates that The Church became more vocal, pledging to provide pastoral counselling to victims and their families, confirming criticisms that they are more of a reactive entity than leading.

6.7 THE DIASPORA AS A CIVIC AGENT

The Jamaican Diaspora monitored the lead up to the Tivoli incursion and the eventual extradition of Coke with a unique interest through the online newspapers and social networks. Martin Conboy (2010) argues technology has reshaped the language of newspapers and ultimately public communication. This is most evident in the way the Jamaican Diaspora is now able to interact with their news media back home. Newspapers globally have responded to the technological challenge by including more letters, reader driven features and user-generated content to “maintain reader loyalty in an era of media fragmentation” (Conboy, 2010:136). This was evident in the number of letters to the editor written by members of the Diaspora, the noteworthy comments published and articles published that detailed the concern of the Jamaican Diaspora at the direction the extradition was taking the country in on the international stage.

Though both newspapers have been online since the 1990s the focus has been mainly on providing information to members of the Diaspora community. Sives (2012: 123) argues that it is only a small segment of the Diasporic community that has actively “chosen to be part of a transnational community and to express their sense of Jamaican identity through collective action and engagement.” However, online news has become the space to bridge the emotional gaps of being both at home and abroad. It has become a new platform for people to become engaged in the democracy without fear of its repercussions. Mary Kaldor (2003) noted that civil society is not confined to state borders but part of a global network. In many ways, the Diaspora is part of Kaldor’s definition that global civil society is part of a belief system where

there is a “genuinely free conversation and a rational critical dialogue” (2003:12). Coke became a way for members of the Diaspora to play a big role in democracy. They participated in the news cycle by sending letters to the editor, especially those living in the United States. *Observer* editor JM013 noted that about 60% of their online readers are overseas while *Gleaner* journalist JM002 noted, “there is a large number of people outside who are interested in what’s happening in Jamaica, Jamaicans or their children and family of Jamaicans.” This was reiterated in a March 8, 2010 *Observer* article, “*Dudus jitters hit J’cans in US*”, which explored the fears and frustrations of Jamaicans in the Diaspora. One source, a Florida-based attorney, Marlon Hill voiced his concern that the country should be punished over its insubordination with the extradition issue. He argued that a quick resolution was in the best interests of the island.

In the aftermath of the Manatt revelation, *The Observer* surveyed Jamaicans living in the U.S. and reported, “Jamaicans here fear the matter will cause serious implications for their homeland.... Most Jamaicans who spoke to the *Sunday Observer* here described the Prime Minister’s action as a betrayal of the oath of his office and an act that has tarnished the reputation of their country’s name here” (US Jamaicans shocked at Golding’s revelations, May 16, 2010). Similar sentiments were expressed in “*Manatt scandal irks Diaspora*” published on May 22, 2010, in which *The Gleaner* reported on Diaspora reactions to Golding’s Manatt revelation. The newspaper interviewed prominent members of the Jamaican community abroad and reported, “The Manatt affair has reportedly dominated discussions among Jamaicans in the United States and Canada. Representatives of the Diaspora communities in

both countries say Jamaicans are "angry" and "hurt" by Prime Minister Bruce Golding's handling of the matter." Diaspora opinions were a common thread running through the extradition debate in the newspaper; it was an indication of the value placed on the Diaspora and the importance of the remittances they provide to the Jamaican economy. There have been criticisms of Jamaican Diasporic civic arms as being co-opted by the state (Mullings, 2012). However in the case of the Coke extradition, members of the Diaspora were adamant that the state needed to be more proactive. They diverged from their perceived support of the state and sought to engage a variety of voices and ideas as they remotely clamoured for more government accountability and transparency. Despite their geographic distances the online newspapers provided an important route by which Diasporic individuals could take part, and by which the Diaspora more generally could become part of public life back home in ways that demanded accountability and justice.

6.8 COKE AS A CIVIC AGENT

Despite his connections to the transnational drug movement and the Shower Posse, Coke's commitment to his community cannot simply be dismissed. He was a member of Jamaica's political elite and had political and economic ties to both the JLP and the PNP. As an area leader, while he may have facilitated illegal activity, he also worked tirelessly to improve conditions in his constituency. However, with tension and anxiety rising over the pending extradition, Coke rallied his constituents, to protest and even sacrifice their lives to save him from pending extradition and incarceration. Johnson (2008:17) argues that in Jamaica "protestors is proof that ordinary citizens can also incorporate and use spectacle in their own quest to reorder the status quo

and affirm their right of place in their own society.” The interviews revealed that for many inner city communities, the extradition became a civil issue not only because of the threat of losing Coke but the police began infringing on their social and leisure activities. The authorities implemented curfews, cancelled dance permits and ramped up surveillance details in the community.

Jamaica is no stranger to acts of civil disobedience that have inspired change and extended the ideology of civil society. Coke used his influence to organize non-violent protests on the streets of Kingston. Thousands of West Kingston residents took to the streets to implore the Prime Minister to ignore the extradition warrant. Residents held placards and signs stating “*Jesus die for us, we will die for Dudas*”, “*Taking our Boss is like taking Jesus*,” “*After God, Dudas comes next*” and chanted slogans like “*No Dudas, No Jamaica*.” These protests added to the fear and sense of panic on the island, especially in Kingston, yet should not be read in any simple way as damaging civic life. These constituents were practicing their civil right to protest. Coke’s supporters occupied an alternative space in civil society. They were excluded from traditional civic organizations and largely ignored by the media and on the periphery of the power networks outside of election cycle hype and promised handouts. By protesting, they were exercising their social power and raising awareness about the Coke positivity that the newspaper coverage overlooked.

In the months leading to the Tivoli incursion, Coke not only strategized with members of his community but with neighbouring rival garrison communities to build his own brigade. JM004 explained, “Politics has been deemphasized in the garrisons; people might call Tivoli a JLP [area], because

traditionally the communities are associated with the party. But during these times, it's all about the money, politicians cannot finance them." Coke with his vast financial backing was able to foster a sense of community in West Kingston, even with his territorial political enemies that the country hadn't witnessed since before the evolution of garrisons in the 1960s. JM013 said, "There was at one point the feeling that the supporters of Coke were extending the territory that they control. What happened is that they had barricaded an area, but then they extended the barricade almost as if they were coming to take over more territory and so there was panic in the society." The most profound blemish on Coke's civic record was that in the midst of the bloodshed and conflict, instead of being a leader on the battlefield he abandoned his troops. *The Observer* on June 14, 2010 interviewed some of his associates who said "Yeah, me never rate how him do him thing. Him just run way so and a him cause all a dis fe gwaan. It better if him did give up himself, because so much people woulda never dead" ('Dudus' ran like a 'puss').

When peaceful protests failed to sway the Government, and the State of Emergency was issued, Coke's followers felt their livelihoods threatened. They resorted to their tribal socialization and retaliated. It was in their self-interest to defend themselves and many of the intricacies and injustices of the days-long gun battle have gone unreported because the media, including the newspapers were shut out of the community by the security forces. "Tivoli genuinely believed that they could withstand the attack from the army. Because Tivoli has a very insular outlook, them nah know nuttin' else" (JM004). Traditional civil society had abandoned Tivoli to the point where they saw themselves as an entirely separate entity from the state. As a result, it became

the civic duty of West Kingston residents to defend themselves and their community. The newspapers predicted it long before the altercation arose. On September 8th, 2009 *The Gleaner* published an article titled “‘Dudus’ nightmare,” where they noted “A local intelligence official is warning that the nation is being plunged into a diplomatic nightmare, which is likely to have dire implications for the safety of the public and the economy of the country.” The unnamed source the newspaper used in this article, who had connections to the Ministry of National Security, foreshadowed the violence that ultimately plagued the island, mainly because they had an understanding of the relationship between Tivoli and their area leader.

The organization of Coke is a testament to his stature as a stakeholder as well as a commentary on the political economy of the country where a marginalized segment of the society can put the welfare of that stakeholder before that of the wider community. This is further discussed in Chapter Seven. In the wake of his extradition, the productivity and economic vitality of the community and its environs has changed, it has become a police enclave. JM011 who has worked extensively with garrison communities said “the dynamics that exist between Tivoli and someone of a stature of Dudus, if people really understood it, they would understand that once you cut off those legs the body would literally fall.”

The news coverage indicated that Coke was able to tap into the civic agency of the poor garrison communities; they were willing not only to protect him but the patronage system Coke represented. The analysis of how the newspapers interacted with Coke and fostered his civic agency shows that they too understood his power. The newspapers gave Al Miller, Coke’s lawyers,

Tivoli constituents and security forces a platform to discuss Coke as a civic agent and the possible repercussions of a Tivoli invasion. The newspapers also seemed to create a separate civic space for Tivoli constituents; they only had limited power to cross over into the newspapers' public sphere. Apart from his brief statement upon his departure, Coke's personal views were not articulated in the newspapers. The newspapers were aware of his power but did not augment it.

6.9 SOCIAL MEDIA AND CIVIC AGENCY

Technology has been the impetus for rapid development in the Caribbean. Ramsaran (2002:3) notes, "Increased communication and awareness have enhanced the power of local communities and given a new stature to non-governmental organizations and informal sector." Online social networks like Facebook and Twitter represent an online public sphere where, civic agents, activists and ordinary citizens can converge, strategize and contribute ideas for increased social and state accountability. For the Coke extradition, these networks became discussion forums, particularly during the period of the state of emergency and Tivoli incursion. *The Gleaner* acknowledged the importance of social media specifically during the unrest in Tivoli. *The Gleaner* reported, "OMG! The Christopher 'Dudus' Coke extradition saga and the ensuing anarchy unleashed across parts of the island have done more than put people on edge; it has also got them tweeting, texting, facebook-ing and BlackBerry messaging like nobody's business." (Camera- Shy Dudus Turns 'Celeb,' May 28, 2010).

On Facebook the news site, *On the Ground News* emerged during the height of the civil unrest in Tivoli with the slogan "Fast, Accurate, Concise

Citizen Journalism.” The forum attempted to keep people informed, track the escalation of the violence and its impact on social and economic life in the Kingston and its surrounding environs. They became the forum for ‘eye witnesses’ to the unrest to become citizen journalists and form a new network online (Castells, 2000). It also provided a space for members of the Jamaican Diaspora to keep connected to the island as the unrest unfolded. The Facebook forum revolutionized citizen journalism on the island. The page facilitated agenda-setters and opinion leaders to shape the public discourse especially as the post-extradition debate unfolded. Social media became a facilitator for community journalism and activism especially during the incursion and later in the Dudus/Manatt Commission of Enquiry. *The Gleaner* Online Content Coordinator, JM018 noted,

The reason *On the Ground* sprung up is because of traditional media’s slow response to putting up information about Coke, so because there was the gap, *OTGN* filled it because websites weren’t putting out the information. They were using different people to put stuff out but it wasn’t quick enough. I think in that regard, traditional news failed people.

Academician, JM005 said *On the Ground News* was a good example of how social media contributed to the civil society discussion. He noted, everybody is now a journalist because I can say, ‘I’m hearing gunshots.’ It was live and was reported as it was happening. They were not doing this on *The Observer* or *Gleaner* websites.” At the time of the incursion, both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* were still trying to figure out how to seamlessly integrate their social media platforms into their wider business model (JM002) and as a result, *On the Ground News* was able to capitalize on this gap in the media market.

There were divergent opinions about the use, ethics and effectiveness of social media by the interviewees, JM002 noted, “Social media is increasing in its importance in the coverage of the news, in the capture more than coverage, capture of moment in the news and the debating of those moments, among segments of the population that has access.” While, veteran journalist, JM010, argued that social media was primarily a gossip sheet. She said, “The social media route is having the greatest impact on what is happening in Caribbean communication. Everybody listens to social media first.” JM010 further asserted that “Jamaica is perhaps one of the most compulsively global communicatory countries that they have, everybody walks around tweeting, they would prefer to top up their credit for a bb [blackberry] than to buy their lunch. That in itself is a very different frame of mind because the newspapers in themselves have copied the American way more than anybody else, a kind of lack of awe for what the establishment used to be, they feel free to report anything.”

There was also intense criticism about the social responsibility of social media, especially in their impact on local journalism. When looking at the Coke extradition and the violence in Tivoli, JM001 contends that “social media allowed a level of irresponsibility and inaccuracy which was equalled probably only by the North American reporters who came to Jamaica with no clue of Jamaica and wrote rubbish.” He emphasized that especially during the Tivoli incursion; social media may have spread misinformation at times. “What I found with social media, I’m in West Kingston, the police vehicle was set on fire, on Facebook two minutes later, there is a story that three police vehicles have been taken away by thugs in West Kingston and are now ablaze in

Hannah Town. I am meters from where the single vehicle is.” In another example, JM001 said a radio station indicated on the day the incursion had begun with the story that more than 100 persons had been killed including Christopher Coke and his brother Leivity. He said the reaction at the newspaper was one of panic because “we had just come off the road and there was nothing like that. So we sent the team back on the road, now it is getting late, it was very intense, there were explosions all around but we had to put the team back on the road. When I checked with the radio station, oh somebody who them trust put it up on Facebook; the person who them trust is a policeman who is a Facebook friend of theirs who is supposed to be on the operation” (JM001).

The interviews suggest that journalists feel a greater responsibility for the accuracy of the stories they reported, especially during the period of violence in Tivoli. JM001 stated, “Until Mr. Coke has pleaded guilty in New York, he still had a reputation that we could damage so the social media went with what they could. We [journalists] have a much greater responsibility to our readers, our shareholders and to our reputation.” Despite, the social responsibility felt by journalists, it is undeniable that the immediacy of social media has transformed the ability of the citizenry to monitor their community, organize and protect themselves.

In the wake of the Coke crisis social media has been incorporated more into *The Gleaner* and *The Observer's* online presence. However with so much diffusion with both the newspapers and social networks, it becomes more difficult for journalists to focus and follow stories to their culmination. As JM018 notes, the OTGN has become an integral part of the newsgathering

practices at *The Gleaner*. He commented, “Half of the young reporters here are gleaning through *On the Ground News* for stories, the editors come to me and they follow it. It’s just that it’s hard for them to give credit. I hope that eventually that we will move to a US model where we’re not afraid to share information. We’re limited in our approach.” In recent years, *The Gleaner* has incorporated social media commentary from Facebook and Twitter to its editorial pages. JM010 states “I grew up knowing that the editorial pages were the most important pages, now if you take it and look at it, it’s a lot of what people call chat.”

On the Ground News has evolved into the island’s first social media news network. Social media, in particular, *On the Ground News*, was an integral component of promoting civil life on the island because it helped to narrow the public space, especially for younger Jamaicans. JM018 argues that civic life is increasingly moving online within certain segments of the Jamaican civil society. “The good thing about people being able to use social media is that they are able to concentrate on particular angles. It is a quantifiable, rather than going on the road to protest.” However, when we consider social media within the Jamaican context, we have to keep in mind the digital divide on the island, who has access and who are the people actively participating. Due to access limitations on the island, social media has to act in tandem with traditional communication media to realize its civic potential and reach a wider audience. As seen in Iran, Libya and Egypt, “Social media might have created an opportunity for citizen journalists to get their voices heard but it was the traditional media’s practices of gatekeeping that selected the information that would reach wider audiences” (Ali & Fahmy, 2013:66). Social

media allowed civil society to be more involved in the public sphere. Just as Bowman and Willis assert in Chapter 3.5, the results on social media as a civic agent indicate that newspapers were slow to accommodate social media during the crisis. The newspapers were in many ways divorced from the way social media allowed for a different form of public interaction involving newly empowered voices.

6.10 THE NEWSPAPER AS A CIVIC AGENT

Without the newspapers and other communication media, none of the aforementioned civic entities would have been well informed about the Coke extradition. The newspapers were stages where participants in civil society were able to disseminate their outrage, disgust and suggest plausible methods of reconciliation. Both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* played integral part in keeping the Jamaican public both at home and abroad informed. They appeared to be beacons of civil solidarity despite their perceived differing political affiliations. They were unified in the stance that the Government needed to sign the extradition warrant. Formal civil society organizations were not the only ones with a keen interest in the extradition. Ordinary Jamaican citizens also persevered to have their voices heard and this was reflected in the newspapers in the form of letters to the editor and the comments section online beneath published articles. Communication specialist and university professor, JM008 noted, “The intelligentsias [helped to] shape opinions to an extent with the written word. Like *The Gleaner* editorial, the intelligentsia would pay attention to it but the common man in the street would not be reading that.”

The newspapers influenced the political debate of the day; they informed the coverage of television news and talk radio and set the tone for the extradition coverage. They began with their news stories and then the idea slowly trickled to the letters to the editor, the commentary section and finally in their editorials as the country became more informed and began formulating their own ideas about the extradition delay.

The Observer was the first to name the person wanted in connection with the extradition on August 28, 2009. While *The Gleaner* mentioned an extradition was in the works, it was much more cautious in identifying who was named in the papers. *Gleaner* journalist, JM001 indicated that *The Gleaner* is a much more conservative paper, “We just never wanted to go down until we had in our possession the extradition warrant. At the time the rumours were swirling from Coke to PM Golding to James Robertson⁹.”

The biggest criticism against the daily newspapers was that there was a lack of in-depth reporting about the extradition crisis and a lack of follow-up in general. “What I find that is happening a lot with papers; trivia has replaced any kind of fact. You don’t get the kind of persistent behind-the-scenes reporting, what you do is simply drop a word of something about the person and the real story gets ignored” said JM010. Communication Specialist, Dr Grace Virtue reprimanded the local media in a 2012 CARIMAC public lecture for their lack of investigative reporting. She said, “On any given day the stories are 'he said, she said'. The papers are announcing that there is going to be an announcement.... Everything that comes out of a politician's mouth is there

⁹ James Robertson is the JLP Member of Parliament for West St Thomas and deputy leader for the party. He was also Minister of Mining and Energy from March 2009 to May 2011.

whether it makes sense or not. If you're hanging on their every word and everything gets them on the front pages of paper or gets them on the evening news. Where is the challenge for them to come better?" (Communication specialist blasts local journalists, Jamaica Gleaner, 2012). As seen in the results of the content analysis, these criticisms can be extended to the way the newspapers covered the extradition. Development journalist Alan Chalkley in 1970 asserted that a journalist has a job to keep their readers informed with well-interpreted facts. But they also have the task of promoting. He said "it is your job not only to give the facts of economic life, and to interpret those facts, but also to promote them, to bring them home to your readers. You must get your readers to realize how serious the development problem is, to think about the problem, to open their eyes to the possible solutions – to punch that hole in the vicious circle" (Chalkley, 1970:2). Alternatively, JM015 thinks that the Jamaican community is too small to warrant in-depth reporting. He said, "The issues are not complex enough. With Coke there are layers and layers to sort through, but who do you write it for? The journalists don't make enough money and if you write something in detail, nobody reads it, at least not sufficiently." On some level within Jamaican newspaper journalism sub-standard reporting has become acceptable.

In addition to the lack of readership for in-depth reporting, Jamaican journalists argue that they are hampered in their reporting because of the island's defamation laws and the Official Secrets Act. Civil society, including organizations like Jamaicans for Justice have been lobbying for the repeal of the Official Secrets Act for decades and finally succeeded in the years post-Coke. The act has been on the island's books since 1911 and was the shield that

many government ministries and departments invoked to deny information to the public. *Gleaner* journalist JM004 noted, "People will deny things, even though they are quoted. It is so commonplace, the culture will continue to be like that until we can get the Official Secrets Act and the court can prevent people from retaliating. It's not just the laws but your psyche has to change, as long as the status quo remains as it is, you'll find a lot of unnamed sources."

Despite his criticism, he (JM004) saw the duality of the libel laws which he noted were too protective but felt that there was a risk if journalists had too much latitude in what they were able to report in a public forum like the newspapers. In contrast, JM010 disagreed with the premise that the libel and slander laws needed to be updated and adapted. He stated, "I think that society still has to have some respect for other people, but that you have to respect people otherwise it becomes a wild west type of society like America has become, in the sense that you say anything about people, you go into people's business even when you're wrong."

JM014 agreed with this premise. He said,

I've heard people talk about the libel laws and to reform them and to replace them, but I think that the media has wide latitude because it prints a lot of things that if they were are constrained to print as they make it out it be they wouldn't have been able to print those things. It might be that they want to call names but that raises questions again about fear, you can make statements about political parties, give guns to gun men, which they do wantonly and randomly without any proof, mind you, if it is the case that they want to go one step further to say John Brown is known to give guns to gunmen, then they would have to be able to support that. If they have that evidence then they need to report it, rather than call for the freedom to publish it because even after you publish it, nothing is going to be done in the courts or with the police unless it is reported.

However, columnist and businessman, JM008 believes that part of the constraint is that Jamaican journalists don't get paid well enough to challenge the system and put their jobs at risk. He asserted that "press freedom in Jamaica is constrained by the smallness of the society and the tendency of big businessmen to put their vested interest first. Vested interests are very powerful, and as a small society, how do you stop that?" In spite of his analysis, the island's ranking on the World Press Freedom Index in 2009 was 23; in 2010 it was at 25 and in 2013, at 13. So despite the constraints, journalists still seem able to function well as free and independent entities. JM002 explained that *The Gleaner* was at the forefront of the national campaign to alter the libel law. He however indicated, "I do feel that there is need for some reform of the libel laws and the removal of certain aspects like seditious libel but I am not going wholesale with *The Gleaner's* notion that we should make it easier for newspapers to publish things about people and the burden of proof or veracity of what has been published will rest with the victim." Journalists and the media sometimes falter in their coverage due to a reliance on certain sources who they attest to reflect the political consensus of their readership. As Hall (1986:9 cited in Harcup, 2009) notes, "the structure of access to media is systematically skewed in relation to certain social categories." Given the initial narrowness of their coverage, it is entirely possible that both newspapers neglected their duty to ensure their readers understood the local and international repercussions of the extradition before it escalated into an untenable situation, visas were cancelled, Coke had amassed an army and the country was in a state of emergency and headed toward a violent showdown.

There is also a question of community retaliation which is one of the reasons put forward for not digging too deep when it comes to reporting, especially sensitive stories like the Coke extraditions. While it is acknowledged that the close-knit nature of Caribbean islands means people in the press face a lot of harassment and violence, it is part of their job description. This phenomenon is very likely what happened with the Coke story in the newspapers; there was extensive publishing of press releases and covered meetings and a very obvious lack of in-depth interviews in the reporting. However as JM010 points out, “we’re a part of the community too, a reporter can be shot dead just as quickly as a man selling coconuts on the side of the road. There are certain issues which just come right back to the human condition.” There is genuine fear to be considered when writing on nationally sensitive topics like Coke. “You try to be responsible and say what is to be said but on the other hand, I have a family and people say ‘how far does Dudus’s hand go? How long do those tentacles extend, nobody really knew’. So you say ‘boy I might say something and somebody in the town come for me or something’ said Gleaner columnist, JM008. He further noted that journalists are more vulnerable and paranoid than columnists since they are the ones on the ground and many of them live in or near volatile communities. So, despite their fervour and eagerness to advance their stories, journalists and commentators are also vulnerable and experience real fears of retaliation.

The content analysis showed an absence of clear explanations surrounding the motivations for delaying the extradition, civil society voices, and a lack of discussion on tourism and economic repercussions. There have also been questions about what the newspapers failed to cover and what their

motives were for not covering integral parts of the story. JM004 contends that it wasn't necessarily a failure of the newspaper but part of the culture of the island and the need for journalists to protect their sources despite having access to information. He said, "Silence is so entrenched in the culture. Every journalist who is worth his or her spawn would want to get a named source, it adds credibility to the story but we live in an '*informer fi dead*' culture." He also further explained that this ideology is so potent that it affects the professionalism of the newspaper and the media in general. Another hindrance is an inordinate number of government sources are experts at giving information off-the-record. "Sometimes the only thing you can do is lie in the same story, even though you have the truth. But you have to *say a well-placed source*, in order to give the story credibility; you protect government officials even though you have the truth" (JM004).

The Coke extradition placed the newspapers in a very precarious position, both because of their locations and proximity to garrison communities and the connections between their ownership and political parties. It was a forum for contending views; they documented the emerging perspectives from government, opposition, United States government and others including the Diaspora. Columnist and academician, JM014 stated, "newspapers had an ambiguous role, a two-faced role. One was not to deny that Coke was a criminal or that he was a head of the Shower Posse or that the Shower Posse was a monstrous organization and they did not deny that the Shower posse was linked to the JLP nor did the JLP deny that, it was just never discussed in the media." JM014 is able to make this analysis because much of Coke's history in garrison politics and Tivoli's connection to the JLP is part of

local legend and common knowledge. It was also part of the newspaper's act of omission in not reinforcing the corruption networks of the government that have been an integral part of the local political fabric for decades.

Editorially, the newspapers performed the role of a pressure group, a pseudo-civic agent, by directing their readers' focus to the extradition warrant and the aftermath of the subsequent state of emergency. The interviewees alluded to the newspapers as an ally to democracy; they straddled a fine line between activism and capitalist enterprises.

According to the interviews and the results reflected in the content analysis, the Coke extradition appeared to be carefully managed news. "Caribbean states often make efforts to restrict information from their media and citizens. ... Officials justify holding information release at such high level as a means to ensure the executive remains responsible for the actions of their subordinate civil service" (Collier, 2005:101). JM002 extended this idea to the linkages between the newspapers and politics in Jamaica to indicate that the media was so enamoured with the new JLP administration that they neglected to hold them accountable in the beginning of the Coke negotiation. He said, "I think that there was a lot traveling on the credibility and authority of Bruce Golding. I think a lot of people in the newspaper world didn't as yet see him the way that he eventually emerged. They didn't see he was, is and has been a very articulate spokesperson for his point of view. Education and articulation play a big role in terms of obfuscation." The ideas expressed by JM002 link back to the Jamaican fascination with the return of Golding to power, their interest in class stratification and the change he represented after 18 consecutive years of PNP domination.

JM014 theorizes that the newspapers made the story about the inadequacies of the Jamaican political system and not necessarily about the failures of the JLP and their connections to Coke and Tivoli. He said “ what the media did was – and this is something that has to be consciously contrived – was whatever they were willing to accept as a failure on the part of the JLP, they would try to drag the PNP down the same road. Thus the thesis ‘The Parties’, ‘The Politicians’, so their position was to make broad, general remarks about the parties, the politicians so that the public could not distinguish in terms of the proportion of wrong, the proportionality of wrong between the parties, a lot of people in the public didn’t buy that. It was not to say that Coke was a good guy, it was to accept that donmanship and garrisons were bad but it was a problem for ‘The parties’ not just the JLP.” The newspapers seemed focused on the tribalism that permeates the island’s politics rather than on partisanship that so often is part of the social dialogue on the island. These are the same tendencies seen in the ‘objective’ press in the United States. Newspapers in the U.S. are not directly involved in “affirming or disconfirming the political power parties,” and newspapers willingly analyse the political system but there is a reluctance to say definitively why the political system is failing. This is also evident from the thematic focus in the newspaper coverage on government accountability and political corruption as demonstrated in the content analysis.

But JM015 thought that there were no winners from a party point of view where Coke was concerned. “There will be those who are interested not to embarrass the PNP, since he was a JLP man, they tried as much as possible to downplay his party affiliation so he became a terrorist, a national figure rather

than a party figure.You can accuse the newspapers of being partisan, what they didn't do was rush to judgment, they left certain connections unmade and some questions unasked."

The coverage of the extradition also exposed several weaknesses and flaws in the fabric of Jamaican print journalism. The interviews revealed an awareness of the shortcomings of the daily newspapers. "In print, they are going for the big headlines and the short stories. *The Gleaner* is mostly visual these days, but the point is how much deeper will they go behind a story" (JM010). JM002 notes, "they do not ascribe sufficiently or in a rigorous enough way sources that are reliable, so a lot of it comes over as just ordinary reportage, just say what's happening ... [they are] a kind of parrot for news releases and for hearsay so it is purely in my mind a measure of the need for better training and better practices in the industry." These comments were substantiated by the quantitative analysis of the sources used in constructing the Coke story. As noted in the content analysis many stories had no primary sources and the most frequent primary sources used in *The Gleaner* were ordinary citizens and media sources in *The Observer*. In addition, document sources were referenced in 25.1% of *Gleaner* articles and 28.3% of *The Observer* stories published whereas sources from civic organization were only referenced in 15.4% of *Gleaner* articles and 12.7% *Observer* articles. The newspapers were not actively soliciting and engaging civil society activism, instead they were quite content to attend some civic organization meetings and quote press releases especially from the PSOJ.

They also neglected to tell stories in their entirety. JM005 criticized the newspapers' information hoarding and noted that both the attitude of

journalists and the citizenry is going to have to change when it comes to transparency. “There is a lot of self-censorship, the editors are censoring themselves” (JM008). Gaber (1989) suggested that journalists create a reality for their audience by framing content, which is then interpreted and judged within a certain context. This was not actively happening at *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* as they covered the initial story of the extradition. As revealed in the content analysis results, the newspapers began to more actively participate in framing the extradition in the April-June news cycle.

Another school of thought is that the newspapers cover what is/was in the best interest of their shareholders. In the case of *The Gleaner*, JM005 said it publishes, “Whatever will sell newspapers, it’s all about making money, let’s not fool ourselves. If they start losing money they will shut down the organization. If they were civic agents they would be in operation regardless of the money they make.” He said *The Gleaner* was not obligated to be a civic agent when it has a business to run. Gleaner journalist JM004 sees this as a dilemma, where business interests are accommodating a public more interested in the entertainment value of news to sell papers versus the journalists who tend to be purists and want to see a higher standard in news coverage. However, for theologian and newspaper columnist, JM015 it is all part of the news elite plan to keep the society ignorant. He said “the less people are informed, the more gullible they are, it is easy to sell them junk, this sloppy journalism feeds into a larger agenda of domination.” The newspapers were part of a larger picture of a sometimes vigorous, but more often quiescent, and always constrained space of civil society. To understand this further we have to

examine the political economy of the island's media. This is further discussed in the following chapter (Chapter Seven).

Beyond the extradition and the Commission of Enquiry, the newspapers ultimately helped to frame the demise of the Golding administration in the 2011 general elections. Theologian, JM015 said, "I don't think any politician will take a chance in being overtly or tacitly related to any gangster in Jamaica." He noted that in terms of continued political linkages with Jamaica's criminal underworld,

Coke was the last man standing. The JLP could count on him to marshal. The last election proved that without him they lost twice as many seats. PNP was leading 2/1 that's the Coke factor, it's not just the public relations crisis that they'd gone through, it was also the political crisis. I don't think that you can hide any more behind a strong man. The JLP cannot win on falsehoods and hype they have to appear to be a credible party. Seaga cost them four elections and I believe this is going to cost them dearly.

This stands in sharp contrast to the previous stated assertions that the newspapers were not initially active participants in the debate because they wanted to give Golding a chance to prove himself to be a deserved leader. JM004 is optimistic that with the Coke extradition there has been a shift in the culture of silence on the island. A "whole heap of our leaders realize that perhaps slowly society is changing, people want to know. What people like Golding, who are part of the dinosaurs in local politics did was to underestimate the people." In the wake of the extradition, increased access to technology and more widespread use of social media, there appears to be increased government transparency as the Jamaican people are more vocal about the direction of their governance.

In the years preceding Coke, civil society has become more involved in community activism. Several new civic organizations have emerged; community organizations appear more active and The Church more prominent in governmental discussions. JM001 said, what journalists noticed was “a more active civil society and it was reflected in *The Gleaner’s* coverage of the last election [2012]. We had persons from the business community, from academia who formed themselves into what they called *The Gleaner* Council and they were willing to speak on every electoral matter and they spoke loudly and forcefully.” This increase in civic engagement is one of the highlights to emerge from soul searching and critiques from the Coke extradition debacle.

The Gleaner Council emerged as a civic arm of *The Gleaner* newspapers in the wake of the extradition and has placed itself as beacon for good governance. It has been lobbying politicians to break the link between crime and politics, tertiary institutions to do more political research, and the media to monitor the performance of politicians. Its most important platform is to challenge more ordinary Jamaicans to become more civic-minded and ensure that the political leadership remains accountable. It continues to meet and write periodic articles in *The Gleaner*, particularly about good governance. At *The Observer*, The Monday Exchange has created a forum for various non-governmental groups to showcase and champion their causes. *The Observer* has facilitated not only a way for civil society to be more visible in the public sphere but also an avenue to generate additional content for their columns and news articles.

Despite their award-winning coverage¹⁰ of the Coke extradition, both newspapers still have a long way to go to move past their business and political affiliations toward more inclusive coverage of all factions of the society. Jamaican journalists must embrace the notion that their community has the right to know the entirety of story, regardless of who it may embarrass or how it will affect the newspapers' bottom-line. Politics in Jamaica has traditionally been secretive because of its legislative system and the informal way politics happens on the island. In the past decade, there has been an increase in transparency with the implementation of the Freedom of Information Act (2004) but as seen with the Coke extradition, other long-standing laws such as the Official Secrets Act (1911) prohibit true government transparency. As noted in 2.7.6, in the wake of the extradition, the Official Secrets Act has been replaced with the Protected Disclosures Act (2011). However, despite these impediments, journalists have an obligation to chase leads and uncover the truth. It is only with this level of transparency and accountability that Jamaica will curb its corruption dilemma and enhance its prospects as a thriving democracy. "For if we are to enjoy domestic tranquillity in our pursuit of happiness, and if we are to achieve the blessings of liberty, newspapermen must be the explosive specialists in democracy" (Finnegan, 1942:167).

6.11 SUMMARY

The newspaper coverage of the Coke extradition provided a panoramic view into the many factions of civic agency in contemporary Jamaica. As illustrated in the chapter, the empirical data collected from the interviews

¹⁰ In 2010 both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* won awards for their coverage of the Coke extradition including awards from the Press Association of Jamaica.

suggests that civic agency during the extradition crisis was not restricted or limited to traditional civil society constructs. This chapter was not meant to be a study of the failures of civic actors during the extradition process, but mainly a commentary on their role especially as represented in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*.

The 10-months leading up to Coke's extradition represented a period that is unique in Jamaican history. Despite the sporadic voice of traditional civil society groups in the Coke debate, the Coke extradition forced Jamaicans both at home and abroad, to confront and reflect on the flaws in their political system. Notwithstanding their political affiliations, they were forced to actively participate in their democracy by demanding more social responsibility and increased government accountability. The Buckley Report concluded that the capitulation of Golding and the JLP was a collective civic effort. Their "*Dudus Affair- Civil Society Win Round One*" blog post on May 18, 2010 noted, "Civil society, PNP, JLP and no P, you and me played our part in pushing back against the attempt by the political directorate to fatally corrupt the state. We have sat back for too long and allowed things to get out of hand. Alas, the apparent attempt to 'lowjack' the state by alleged criminal network aroused us out of our complacency. Furthermore, people are dying like flies daily by the gun in Jamaica!"

There are disparities in the information gleaned from the interviews with the information provided in the newspapers. However, the interviews and the content analysis show nuanced understanding of the forces acting for and against civic engagement on the island. It was evident that the newspapers

were writing with the assumption that their readership was aware of Coke's history and the connections between civil society and Jamaican politics.

Finnegan (1942:168) maintained the press was a "quasi-public agency because it is a public necessity." In this vein, it is the responsibility of the press to live up to its social obligations, report stories with depth and give civil society actors a platform to fulfil their civic duty. The newspaper coverage and the reflections of civil society in the wake of the Coke experience have revitalized civic life on the island. JM001 asserts, "Jamaicans have found their voice and I suspect that it is part of the development of the culture. We are maturing politically and we're maturing as a civil society."

CHAPTER 7: JAMAICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY: THE SHAPING OF THE CHRISTOPHER COKE EXTRADITION

"Nearly all men can stand adversity, but if you want to test a man's character, give him power."
-Abraham Lincoln

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The newspaper coverage of the extradition can't be understood as simply a representation from a position outside Jamaican public life but it is not separate from the power mechanisms on the island. This chapter examines the position of the island's daily newspapers in relation to the complexity of the political economy of 21st century Jamaica. Both the content analysis data and the interviews were characterized by absences, in particular of civic activism. These can be explained in two ways: either these elements were not significant, or else their absence signifies the workings of power. This chapter uses the political economy framework to uncover the intricate relationship between money, class and power on the island and considers how they were reflected in and reinforced by the Coke extradition coverage through the lens of the daily newspapers and observer contemplation. While the extradition may have seemingly unified Jamaicans across race, class and creed it was also a commentary on the island's culture, its democracy and its national struggle with power and social stratification.

The strength of the political economy approach for this study is that it allows for a wider characterization for the way power is entrenched in the Jamaican society. It looks at the traditional political economy ideologies along

with the practices and structures within which they are deployed but it also leaves room for the study of newsroom culture, press-politics relationships, self-censorship, newspaper patronage, education, economic structures, cultural identity and the evolution of online news. These ideas are to be understood not by their individual meanings but as ways in which power is shaping the socio-political landscape of the island. Political economy as a theoretical framework anchors all of these concepts together. As argued in Chapter Three, to study the political economy of the Jamaican daily newspapers during the extradition we have to look beyond the traditional structures of the theory that were constructed mainly for developed countries.

Political economists often look for a line of influence from those who control news media to how this power is perceived and reflected in news coverage and ultimately their influence in national decisions. However in developing countries like Jamaica the framework differs fundamentally. As discussed in Chapter Two, in Jamaica there is a client-patron tradition that also has to be taken into consideration. In Stone's (1980:95) analysis his major concern was

The domain basis of political and party allegiance in a clientelistic party system is personal loyalty to individual political actors who have or are perceived to have a high capability to allocate and distribute divisible material and social benefits. Class and ideological considerations in party allegiance are essential to the rationalizations of a perceived capability to deliver material and social inducements in exchange for support.

Stone's seminal work helps to theorize and appreciate the forces at work in modern Jamaica but he does not take into account the polarizing role of the newspapers and the culture on the island. This chapter explores these latter

factors.

There are gaps and limitations to analysing the political economy of the newspapers within the Coke context; these include the cultural distrust, silences and barriers to reporting the story. The most successful forms of power are those that are not visible, which is painfully evident in this case as attempts to see beyond the layers and draw a coherent thread are shrouded in a cloud of fear even years after Coke's extradition. This chapter considers how the socio-economic disparities in Jamaica were reflected in the newspapers and influenced the Coke coverage. It looks at the role of garrisons, education, class, culture, governmental and international actors on the coverage toward formulating a cohesive answer to the third research question on how Jamaica's national ideologies shaped the coverage.

7.2 GARRISON LIFE AND THE EVOLUTION OF COKE

The newspaper reportage on the Coke extradition debacle indicated that while the ties between politicians and garrisons have become more elastic and shifted in terms of financial reliance; the linkages still remain. As Sives (2002) noted clientelist politics tied these garrison communities into the political hegemony of the island for decades through favours and identity-based affiliations. Because of Jamaica's history of clientelistic politics many of the island's politicians have taken advantage of the poor to ensure they win elections. These distribution channels have closed and politicians are no longer perceived as openly courting the leaders of garrison constituencies; however instances like Coke still leave questions about the power relationship between parliamentarians and their corresponding area leaders. It became more

important for newspapers and factions of civil society to accelerate discussions about the otherwise clouded power relations on the island.

With the deregulation of the Jamaican economy in the past two decades, there has been an increased reliance on the informal economies like the drug trade and gun trafficking to sustain the economy especially in lower income communities. These new channels of revenue have elevated area leaders like Coke beyond the realm of mere party enforcers and elevated them to power brokers. They informally ensured a lot of the island's stability by providing for constituents that were previously supported by the state. These links were noted by *The Gleaner*, "The fact is, many of Jamaica's leading politicians, in both parties, including several in the Cabinet, represent constituencies with gangs. Politicians may not condone these gangs - which is usually the claim - but often benefit politically from their actions. Gangs, historically, rustle votes for the party/candidate to which they are aligned and between elections keep 'order' so as to prevent 'defections'" (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, Hold special parliamentary sessions on gangs, 2010). Despite the soaring crime rate and sporadic clamours from civil society for the dismantling of garrisons, the political culture of the island lends itself to what is seen as a symbiotic relationship between politicians and dons.

Garrison culture is entrenched in the Jamaican psyche and while it may have not been a major theme in the Coke content analysis it was alluded to throughout the newspaper coverage of the extradition. This was noted particularly as a perceived separation of state power and garrison power and the autonomy of these inner city communities. "For the people, legitimacy in the Government stops at Carib 5 cinema (in Cross Roads). From that point

down, he (Dudus) is more legitimate than the Government. He has a monopoly of force and consensual power because he has legitimacy that the Government of Jamaica cannot even dream to have where the urban poor is concerned," said a Caribbean scholar in a September 2009 article (*The Jamaica Observer*, Dudus holds the key, September 4, 2009).

The early news reports after the August 2009 revelation of the extradition request are a testament to the power Coke wielded, the lingering fear associated with the inner city, and the angst surrounding Golding's silence. In a September 9, 2009 letter published in *The Gleaner*, "Dons rule our 'failed state'," L.A. Bert Ramsay outlined Coke's influence and hinted at a violent outcome with the execution of the warrant. He said,

Neglect of inner-city problems by government agencies inevitably forces residents to resort to their own substitute devices in order to survive. The problem morphed when criminals were allowed to develop huge power bases, which defy legitimate institutions. No entity gives up the power it has amassed easily and the first responsibility of power is to maintain its power base or garner more power.

The interviews and the newspaper coverage indicate that the mass political and economic capital held by these dons incited fear in many Jamaicans.

Charles Price (2004) asserts dons like Coke understand and are able to manipulate the morality of their constituents, especially through both their philanthropy and the ever-present threat of violence. This vast mental control of the inner-city communities was also acknowledged by businessman and columnist JM008 who explained that with the issuance of the warrant the

consensus was that the Prime Minister had to obey the law but there was fear that this would lead to a civil war that would include criminality from all over the island and there would be immense bloodshed.

The newspaper coverage of Coke highlighted the reality of Jamaican life and the flaws in the social contract between the Jamaican government and its people, especially those living on the fringe. The newspapers pushed to the forefront questions about the legitimacy of Golding's power in relation to Coke's perceived influence. Interviewee JM013 revealed that *The Observer* coverage focusing on Coke's stronghold, Tivoli, was intense because of the community's history of isolation and its connection to party politics on the island. He said "People generally just turned a blind eye, society allowed them to go on operating as they chose to, so it was almost a state within a state, police force by and large stayed out, to go in meant too much stress. So when the extradition request was made by the United States, it naturally became the most important story for every news medium in Jamaica." By May 2010 the tension was palpable and the newspapers seemed to be preparing their readerships for an all-out civil war in what is repeatedly described as one of the most governmentally stable countries in the developing world. Retired Superintendent of Police, Renato Adams in an *Observer* interview warned the country that there was going to be increased criminal activity and that it would be a security nightmare for the government (*The Jamaica Observer*, 2010).

Articles reflecting these sentiments were published by both newspapers and raised questions about the history of garrisons on the island and who was to blame for what seems to be the culmination of 30 years of politicking and political party preservation. The newspapers did lay some framework about

the history of garrisons for their readership. *The Gleaner* published "Golding's 'Dudus' dilemma," "Politicians speak on gangs, dons and corruption," "When politicians go naked," "A convenient AFFAIR: Bruce & Dudus - the constituency power-share" and "The rise and fall of the Coke empire" while *The Observer* was less subtle with "Bruce, move to Tivoli and declare its independence," "I did not let Seaga down," "Shut up! Adams tells Seaga," and "The garrison phenomenon." On May 28, 2010, *Financial Gleaner* columnist, Wilberne Persaud, gave a succinct critique of the state of garrison politics: Persaud stated:

From the standpoint of the Jamaican nation, handling of this whole episode, the set of decisions taken by the main protagonists - the Government and JLP on the one hand, led by Prime Minister Golding, and alleged drug kingpin Dudus on the other, warrants but one truly valid description: unadulterated, or rather unmitigated, completely unwise, dangerous and sadly but entirely predictable, deadly folly. To an outside observer, the whole shebang may appear inexplicable. Not so. The simple truth is that garrison politics inexorably led us to this edge of the precipice as a state and society (One D and four Gs: Dudus, garrisons, Golding, good governance?).

Persaud's synopsis of the extradition debacle was taken a step further by *The Observer*, which singled out Tivoli's mastermind, Edward Seaga. *The Observer* in its editorial "Share the blame, Mr Seaga" said, "The cold, hard fact is that Mr Golding has inherited from Mr Seaga a constituency whose reputation for violence overshadows its positive achievements. Adding to that dilemma is a culture ingrained in Tivoli that it is a state within a state. Mr Golding's task now

— if he intends to reclaim some amount of respect and authority — is to change that culture.” The analysis by both newspapers shows a society struggling to deal with the repercussions of decisions that were made to secure a post-independence electorate. As Thomas (2011:323) notes, the extradition saw the Government trying to dismantle “a set of structural practices they themselves established and from which they benefited.”

As the newspapers reported and built their arguments for and against the execution of the extradition warrant, they also painted a mosaic impression of Coke. There were obvious contradictions in the way the newspapers shaped Coke as both a terrorist with immense political and community connections but also as a successful businessman and an astute leader of his flock. The newspapers used descriptive phrases like “the Great Don,” “benefactor to hundreds,” “the strongman,” “The Mighty Dudus,” “The Presi,” and “more powerful than the PM” to describe Coke’s awesome power not only in Tivoli but island-wide.

In a May 22, 2010 *Gleaner* editorial, “*Wounding law and order*” even compared him to Pablo Escobar. However, the editorial board tempered its comparison with these chilling words for his constituents. “Somebody needs to tell the people of Western Kingston that if Christopher Coke is guilty of drug and gunrunning, he is an evil man and should be punished for his crimes. He is no hero, for cocaine destroys people's lives and guns are designed to kill people, and Jamaicans have lived through enough years of grief and bloodshed to understand this” (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, May 22, 2010) Despite these harsh assertions, as alluded to above, the newspapers also demonstrated that they were acutely aware of the service he provided for his community and to his

party in terms of guaranteeing election votes. *The Observer*, in covering an extradition protest by Tivoli residents reported, "the protesting West Kingston residents sang Coke's praises, saying that he had brought peace and discipline to the constituency and voiced their willingness to lay down their lives in his defence" (Willing to Die for Dudus, May 21, 2010).

The Observer's headlines over the 10-month period emphasized Coke's role as a powerbroker with "*Dudus holds the key*," "*Dudus' may be the most powerful man in Ja, says Phillips*," "*Dudus' tells how to get guns off streets*," "*Nobody should be that big*," "*Cops ready for 'Dudus' disorder*" and "*Dudus more powerful than PM*." There were also headlines that pitted Coke against the U.S., "*US Government wants 'Dudus'*" "*Dudus vs USA*." "*Lightbourne denies stand-off with US over 'Dudus'*," "*US blamed for 'Dudus' delay*." With the culmination of the Tivoli incursion, the headlines also exposed his cowardice with "*Dudus' ran like a 'puss'*," and "*A pink wig found with Dudus*." While *The Gleaner* headlines ranged from, "*Dudus' nightmare*," "*Dudus' Drama*," "*Jamaica caught between a rock and a strongman*," "*Dudus' panic*," " ' *Dudus' defense*," "*Dudus' pressure*," to "*How 'Dudus' lost Tivoli*," "*'Dudus' hunt intensifies*," and "*Jamaica's 'moral compass' hinges on Dudus*." He is painted as David against a Goliath system that extended beyond the boundaries of his island home to the authoritarian society of the United States. These headlines gave a glance into the complexities of Coke and the nature of his power structure on the island. JM005 contends that the rise and dominance of Coke posed a question of how much Jamaica had changed in terms of who the average citizens look to for leadership. He said the change was an "indication of a modification in the status quo. Thirty or 40 years ago, you had the business class, overall economic power, you also had middle-class

politicians who people looked up to but that has eroded considerably and there is something that has changed in Jamaica's social structure. The erosion of the traditional status quo has meant the emergence of new kinds of leaders in a more segmented Jamaican population." This shift in the social fabric of the island has given leaders like Coke an inordinate amount of power and stature both within and outside the bounds of his community, which the newspapers both reflected and critiqued.

Lloyd B Smith in a May 25, 2010 *Observer* column, "*Casualties of War*," summarized Coke's immense influence when he noted "Jamaica's checkered political history will be chronologically categorized as AD - Anno Dudus (in the year of Dudus), BD (before Dudus) and AD (after Dudus)." Smith said that he did not blame Coke for the island's predicament. "We all know who Dudus is and what he stands for. He has carved out his own fiefdom and established a state within a state which he rules over as the "president"." In Tivoli, Coke had his father's legacy to uphold and became the most feared don on the island and while criminality was anecdotally connected with him, he was seen as untouchable. Veteran journalist Barbara Gloudon's *Observer* column, "*Last Hurrah of the mighty Dudus*," on Coke's departure noted, "Coke is not the first Jamaican to be extradited to answer charges in the US courts, but there is no memory of any other evoking the level of emotional public response like his. Not only the Tivoli community to whom he was 'don and saviour' but a wider range of persons who regard themselves as 'poor people' spoke of him with goodwill."

Throughout the Coke newspaper coverage there are undertones of a cult-like fascination of Coke by his constituents. The newspapers' coverage of

the Tivoli incursion showed not only Coke's robust organizational structure but also reinforced the devotion of the constituents not only in Tivoli but also in the neighbouring communities. At the helm of the uprising, they described Coke's use of guerrilla tactics, and his execution of a near perfect rebuttal to the use of force by the island's security forces. *The Observer* in the height of the tension described neighbourhood thugs using residents as human shields and mounting deadly barricades to keep the security forces away from Coke (*The Jamaica Observer*, Human Shields in Tivoli, May 20, 2010). They also cited members of the security forces who said Coke was "a brilliant mind and not the average Jamaican criminal," "highly sophisticated," and that he "operated his empire with precision and tact." However this was tempered by depiction of his cowardice when he fled Tivoli at the beginning of the incursion (*The Jamaica Observer*, 'Dudus' was very organized, police say, May 20, 2010).

The newspapers painted Coke as a businessman, politician and community leader, which was at times difficult to reconcile with his rumoured criminal and abusive tendencies. There was also an element of awe, mystery and sympathy in the coverage of Coke. With the history of his father's gruesome death¹¹ in the background, there was an elevated fear for Coke's life reflected in the news coverage. *The Gleaner* in one of its *Online Feedback* articles highlighted the comments of Edward Snikle who stated "I am happy that Christopher Coke is now in the hands of the Jamaican authorities, however, I am afraid for him. He is not safe because he knows too much about the corruption taking place among the rich and powerful in Jamaica" (*The*

¹¹ Coke's father, Lester Lloyd Coke, whose alias was 'Jim Brown' died in a fire at the Tower Street Adult Correctional Centre in Kingston, where he was awaiting extradition proceedings (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, 2012).

Jamaica Gleaner, June 24, 2010). Snikle inadvertently also highlighted the reverberations of the class disparities and rampant corruption on the island in his concern for Coke. He affirmed the concerns that were being whispered on the streets of Kingston that Coke's associations with members of the elite and political class could have detrimental ramifications, if he chose to bargain with the American government for a lighter sentence. Coke's perceived insider knowledge had the potential to disrupt the tightly guarded elite power structure on the island.

The news coverage of the Coke extradition could also be viewed as a case study of Jamaican public life; these threads connect different segments of Jamaica's power structure. While Coke may be a powerful businessman and criminal his followers still see and connect with the fragility and humanity in him. Coke's business and political contacts allowed him to straddle the lines of being both "upper class" and "ghetto" simultaneously. Both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* published pictures of his flashy Red Hills mansion and demonstrated their keen awareness of the duality of his roles within the community. The criticism noted in the civic agency chapter by interviewees about the lack of in-depth reporting by the newspapers could be seen as a deliberate tactic by the newspapers to not reveal how expansive Coke's empire truly was because the connections could possibly be linked to the newspaper ownership.

This ideology raises questions about the tensions reflected in the newspapers. There are multiple forces exerting pressure on the newspapers: they need to be relevant to the popular mood, while still serving their public service mandate and remaining profitable. In December 2009, *The Gleaner*

published a letter to the editor, "*Gleaner editorial rebuffed*" where Cottrell Hyatt of London accused the newspaper of being unpatriotic in its journalistic push to question the JLP's motives for delaying the extradition. Hyatt said "Your argument is ridiculous. Your time would be better spent representing the rights of Jamaican citizens, rather than supporting the imperialist bully attitude of the US.... Show some patriotism and let our local judges make their ruling on this case, instead of your ludicrous insinuations." While Jamaicans are proud of their cultural heritage, patriotism on the part of the newspapers would mean that they ignored the news to spare the reputation of the island. In some instances, the newspapers did neglect to frame certain sections of the Coke debate.

Despite his transgressions and the bloodshed associated with his resistance, Coke left the island as a hero and living legend for his supporters. In a very presidential move, he released a final statement and was greeted by crowds at the Norman Manley International Airport. There was also extensive press coverage with both radio and television networks broadcasting his departure live. Gloudon in her column described the scene at the airport, "As he walked to the jet, on what could be his last contact with Jamaican soil for who knows how long, expressions of sympathy were heard. People waved, shouted out wishes for safe travel. Christopher "Dudus" Coke was leaving, a hero. Even as the excitement was going on here, listeners to the BBC and Radio France, among others, were following the event with the concentration accorded a royal occasion." The article captures the tensions and contradictions in the newspaper coverage. Coke was both identified as a criminal and accorded respect., Even though he operated outside the island's

traditional public sphere, he had achieved legitimacy as a leader, not only in his community but nationally.

7.3 NEWSPAPERS AND THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

The reporting of the Coke crisis gives a glimpse into the status of the newspapers, without which it is difficult to understand the interconnected nature of the powerbrokers on the island. Evidence gleaned from the interviewees indicate, the media market on the island is very segmented with radio, particularly talk radio and television playing a dominant role in 21st century media landscape. However, there is still nostalgia surrounding the daily newspapers on the island. While they are still very much thriving modern-day entities, they, especially *The Gleaner*, are a testament to the island's survival, part of the culture and tradition of the island nation. *The Gleaner* remains the more widely read newspaper and is seemingly confined to certain sections of the population. Part of the nostalgia surrounding the newspapers has to do with *The Gleaner's* history which preceded the abolishing of slavery and continued to thrive during colonialism, the post-colonial era into the 21st century explained *Gleaner* journalist, JM004. *The Gleaner* has been an important player in the democratization of the country. JM002 noted that it is an important national symbol because it documents the history of the island. To underscore its importance, JM010 commented: "Years ago, you waited for *The Gleaner*; children at school were given dictation from *The Gleaner*, learned to write sentences from it. My teacher would read from *The Gleaner* editorial. Because media is now spread over a wider area, it does not occupy a sole provision. Despite the multiplicity of media now, it still holds a place of prominence in terms of the Jamaican psyche."

The traditional watchdog role of newspapers requires that they inform, educate and entertain the community about both local and global events. However, Gleaner journalist, JM001, asserted that the newspapers also face the mandate of creating, dispelling, and reinforcing international perceptions of Jamaica. While he admits that *The Gleaner's* editorial position has evolved over the years, he affirms that it does not “hide the news to protect the small island reputation.” Academic and media commentator, JM002 notes that while newspaper readership may cross all sections of the Jamaican social landscape, the coverage in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* targets “the educated elite”. *Gleaner* political reporter, JM004 sees the market segmentation of the newspapers in a different light. He emphasized that *The Observer* is confined to a certain class of people and that this was most evident in the newspaper's social pages. “You tend to look at people with higher hues on *The Observer* page. I think because the history of *The Gleaner*, the tradition [is] that *The Gleaners* still tends to gravitate to everybody,” said JM004.

Such comments reflect the newspapers' position within a highly class-conscious society: that is, even among the newspapers there are stratification and perceptions about their target audience. “Of course they have what you might call down-market papers like the *Star* and *X-News*, which provide outlets for more salacious and simply written content, which again provides for some kind of access by the more literate sections of the lower classes.” The publishing of two separate papers is an example of the gravity of the inequality predicament facing the island, even among *The Gleaner* Company staff; there are disparities between reporting for *The Gleaner* and *The Star*. JM004 noted, “I couldn't be a *Star* reporter, I'm not demeaning *The Star* but we've always had

this debate about whether we're lifting society." These thoughts are representative of the stratification that is pervasive on the island; all facets of life are considered through the lenses of education and class.

7.3.1 THE EDUCATION GAP AND THE COKE DEBATE

The newspaper coverage of the Coke saga underscored the changes and challenges facing Jamaica post-independence. Jamaica's lack of a diversified economy combined with the downturn of the global financial markets have left the island reeling with high unemployment and exacerbated its struggle with poverty. These effects are highlighted not only in the island's crime statistics but also in the diminishing quality of the education and health systems. *The Gleaner* in an April 2011 editorial explained that "nearly a quarter of our [Jamaican] students leave primary school functionally illiterate; one in 10 drops out of high school; only a fifth who complete secondary education do so with certification adequate to matriculate to tertiary education." These statistics are a reflection of the differentiated access to the educational system and are an illustration of the hierarchical social division on the island that has produced a severe system of social inequality as noted in Chapter 2.2.

An analysis of the interview data indicates an acute awareness of the interwoven nature of education and power and its influence on the national debate stage. JM011 asserts, "It's a very audible society, although what gets printed in the newspaper does have influence, but the greatest influence would be among those who are educated, the elite, the commercial business sector and to a lesser degree, the very basic, the perimeter." Journalists as a result are forced to take this into consideration in their reportage. This has led to a differentiation in the news where newspapers like *The Star* and *X-News* are

prepared with very different news agenda than *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* and continually contribute to the widening class stratification and education gap on the island. At the same time, as Gleaner journalist JM004 noted, the self-consciousness of these phenomena leads to his newspaper also trying to move in a direction that is more accommodating to a wider audience.

However, when considering the packaging of the Coke coverage by both daily newspapers, it is clear that the newspapers are limited in their ability to step out of their context. They have largely endorsed the “audience design” (Bell, 1994) paradigm instead of moving toward a more inclusive way of selling the news. The Jamaican newspaper landscape conforms to Carey’s (2009) idea that the news is more about conforming to and maintaining the status quo especially within a heavily stratified community. During the 10-month fight to have Coke extradited, there was a clear demarcation between ‘them and us.’ This was clearly evident in the content analysis where only 6% of the news coverage in both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* focused on the issue of garrisons on the island. The educated elite organized and publicly challenged the Government in the newspapers to be accountable while those ensconced in garrison communities were silenced, ignored or painted as defenders of criminality.

7.3.2 NEWS & CLASS WARFARE

The colonial ties between politics, journalism and elite audiences are evident in the newspaper coverage of Coke. The “establishment” newspaper medium has limited influence on the segment of the Jamaican population with high illiteracy rates and extreme political distrust. However, the newspapers have immense influence on the people in upper echelons of Jamaican society

who fund political parties. Hardt's (2000:209) analysis on U.S. media is still pertinent in the Jamaican context. He asserts newspapers no longer have mass appeal; they fit into a patronage system that caters to "an affluent middle-class clientele with specific information needs." As Manley (1974:61) noted "In Jamaica, the so-called middle-class represents a highly entrenched enclave of privilege, and urban masses are substantially disadvantaged and so not, in fact, feel that they are individually or collectively of equal weight in society." These elites are able to wield their influence in the political realm mainly because of their economic contribution to nation building.

An analysis of the interview data revealed that the delays in the processing of Coke's extradition warrant escalated because the middle-class began asking questions of the Government. *Gleaner* journalist JM001 indicated:

... [It] became a middle-class issue, upper class Jamaica started to protect that. Then there was the reaction to Jamaica's international stage, we're being seen as a rogue state, so the intellectual Jamaica started to take up the issue; then there is the political issue because Coke is a known supporter of the JLP and PNP supporters thought the government was doing all it can to protect one of their own, so that started; then there was a civil issue. The police started to allow no dance permits, no parties were being kept, the city was tense so lower class Jamaica, it became their issue.

Jamaica is known for its deep political divides and its resulting tension. However, from its middle-class base the elite press was able to take on a role of speaking for the nation, because of the way the crisis that Coke represented crossed class and education boundaries. *Gleaner* columnist and academic JM014 saw the Coke extradition as an event that moved past political partisanship and united Jamaicans along class and economic lines. He said both sets of newspaper owners were from the same class and "were only competing

for readership, but not competing politically.” Charles Evans in a May 2010 letter to the editor clamouring for a more equitable Jamaica commented on the classist nature of politics on the island. He said, “A basic summary of our political history is one characterized by successive governments who have consistently brainwashed and exploited the poor and ignorant, who have been systematically kept that way. It is a history that has seen governments colluding with the rich and powerful, while alienating the bourgeoisie.” Evans even extended this classification to the work of civil society on the island who encouraged being more inclusive in their nation-building efforts. He noted, “These bodies need to move away from the elitism and exclusivism that they are known for, and embrace the idea that it will make for a better standard of living in the country” (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, The path of reform for a better Jamaica, May 26, 2010). The arguments arising from the interviews and the newspapers over those 10 months are an example of what Sives (2002:69) sees as the ability of the Jamaican elite to “contain radicalism either by absorbing it, repressing it, or ensuring that it never surfaces.” The evidence gathered shows a valiantly self-interested elite who were willing to use their newspaper platforms to elicit government action toward an extradition resolution.

A consequence of this class-ridden journalism there were some glaring gaps in the news coverage of the extradition and particularly the Tivoli incursion. For example, of the 80 people killed in the Tivoli incursion, we know only the circumstances surrounding the death of Michael Clarke, and the two law enforcement officers. Up until the release of the 2013 Tivoli Incursion report, information about the other 77 people who died in Tivoli and its

environs remained a mystery. JM014 contends “That is also the other story that the media really hasn’t covered. It’s really something that has been pushed back to the margins of the public debate and the post-Tivoli invasion, or incursion period and one or two journalists continue to call for the commission, the autopsies to be public and so on. As a matter of fact, it’s like the others don’t have names, don’t have a face, and don’t have families or histories. It’s like they never existed.”

This is a very clear example of how the class system on the island permeated the news coverage of the Coke extradition. There is elitism to news coverage that is so profound that even in a time of crisis; there is deep dislocation, a separation of “us” from “them”. What JM014 alludes to is a connection between not only politicians and garrison leaders but also members of the elite and the garrisons. Sives (2012) contends that there is also mutually beneficial relationship between the elites and the criminal underbelly of the island that has diluted the ability of the Government to tackle corruption and violence. The news coverage of certain stories became a question of what leads the news media were willing to follow. This led to self-censorship on the part of the newspapers as they choose to regulate what they regarded as permissible aspects of the Tivoli Incursion for the Jamaican public sphere (Cook & Heilmann, 2013). The Coke extradition reiterated the concerns Manley raised in 1981 that press freedom on the island was misused. Manley stated, “It is used by a given class to promote a given class, linking together the interest of multinational corporations, etc. Such freedom is not reflective of others. Jamaica has a tradition of press freedom, and I have had it drilled into me so I believe in it. But freedom of the press for whom? The press is often used to

manipulate” (cited in Lent 1990:78). Some of these same criticisms can be made of the way the newspapers used and maybe misused that press freedom in the coverage of Coke. To examine these class linkages the organizational structures at *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* must be scrutinized.

7.4 THE GLEANER VS. THE OBSERVER

Since *The Observer's* formation in the mid-1990s it has battled with *The Gleaner* to capture significant readership. The interview data revealed that newspapers have to be considered within Jamaica's socio-economic and cultural structure; they now compete in a society that is in flux and very culturally and socially segmented. Interviewees asserted that newspaper readers on the island were savvy, critical and reflective of the information presented to them and consequently, do not take the newspapers' assertions at face value. JM005 said “they [the newspapers] are players in a more complex environment. The environment before, what they stood for would automatically be accepted, that's not the case anymore.” The newspapers in many ways served as mirrors of (a certain segment of) public opinion on the island, they presented politicians with a "looking-glass image" of how they appear to their citizenry (Lang & Lang, 1983, p. 24).

There also seemed to be an element of a power struggle between perceptions and descriptions of the placement of *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* within the national debate about Coke. Civil society activist and academic, JM012 noted that *The Observer's* news coverage was not balanced and tended to focus on the unfavourable aspects of life on the island. He said “If there is anything negative to be publicized, *The Observer* has it front page in a way that encourages the violence because that kind of thing makes it worse.”

There was also criticism of *The Gleaner's* coverage. In a letter to the editor, "*Suspicious editorial push*," Harold Malcolm from the London School of Economics commented on the paper's heightened coverage on the extradition: "I have no difficulty in the media mounting public pressure on anybody and, as the Fourth Estate, it is an integral feature of a democratic state and an important safeguard for good governance. What seems strange, though, is that even when the extradition issue is only tangentially relevant to another news item, *The Gleaner* makes a concerted effort to marry the two." In his column in *The Observer*, Rev Dr Mervin Stoddart, raised the same concerns:

The media campaign being waged by a certain Jamaican media house for the handing over of Christopher "Dudus" Coke to United States authorities in response to an extradition warrant is disgraceful.

In the Michael Manley era that same medium promoted reactionary, anti-Jamaican, pro-American sentiments to turn back the democratic socialist agenda of the PNP which gave ordinary Jamaicans emancipation from mental slavery but which was undermined en route to winning economic freedom for all Jamaicans, not just the elites above Liguanea (*The Jamaica Observer*, Yes, Bruce!, March 5, 2010)

The newspaper evidence also indicates that the newspapers are acutely aware of each other's editorial stance. Columnist Ian Boyne wrote in a Sunday *Gleaner* column "*Dudus' captured; Bruce released?*"

Not since the 1970s has the press played such a pivotal role in influencing political outcomes. Golding almost went home. It was the editorial writers who, almost day after day, kept the Dudus issue before the public; often repeating the same facts ad nauseam but with greater ferocity; influencing the talk shows and the evening news.

People naively assume that because relatively few people read newspapers, the press is not influential. Newspapers influence is what is discussed on the morning shows and on the talk shows. They influence what journalists see as important news for

television. Editorials set the agenda. Reporters, editors, talk-show hosts and columnists generally follow. Television is the most potent in terms of mass impact, but the television editors are influenced by what they read (June 27, 2010).

Columnist, JM011 said *The Observer* was not seen as revolutionary, provocative or as an entity that challenges the status quo, but had become much more mainstream. However, Boyne's *Gleaner* column indicated an alternative view of *The Observer*'s Coke coverage: "When *The Observer* began to take a strident, relentlessly trenchant stand against the Jamaica Labour Party government, and when Clovis turned his acerbic and ruthless wit against the administration, they became impossible to ignore."

Given Jamaica's political landscape and previous tensions between media houses and political parties, and given broad assumptions about their political allegiances one would presume that the newspapers would have taken opposing views on the extradition. However, as noted above, these differences mask a common class interest. Moreover, the analysis of that Coke coverage revealed that the situation was more complicated still. Interviewees seem acutely aware of *The Observer* coverage because of how it is situated politically and within the social structure of the society. Though the coverage between the two newspapers was similar, the significance can be seen in the way each paper negotiated the editorial landscape mainly because *The Observer* was criticizing a party that its ownership had previously funded.

In a March 4, 2010 editorial, "*No man is (worth) an island*" *The Observer* chided the Prime Minister. The editorial argued,

Even if it were not his intention, Mr Golding appears to be suggesting that Mr Coke is more important than the Jamaican nation; more important than our long established bonds of friendship with the United States; more important than the value

of our biggest and most lucrative export market; more important than the fight against the international traffic in firearms and narcotics; more important, even, than the large number of Jamaicans killed by guns or destroyed by drugs.

It appears that a key element here was that the extradition was affecting business interests on the island, which seemingly trumped partisan allegiances over that 10-month period. As indicated in Chapter 7.3.2 class interests on the island were linked to business interests. As seen in Chapter Two, newspaper owners both at *The Gleaner* and at *The Observer* are an integral part of the Jamaican economy. These criticisms raised questions about *The Observer's* commitment to giving its readership a broad perspective on the issues affecting the island at the time as well as holding the JLP accountable for its governance. The content analysis of *The Observer* reporting over the extradition period indicated a mounting campaign against the Government. It exerted immense pressure by placing Coke stories on the front page almost daily for the latter three months of the extradition battle. It becomes clear, therefore, that the newspapers did not simply represent a political polarization, but a more complex alignment of political interests on the island.

7.5 NEWSPAPERS, OWNERSHIP AND QUESTIONS OF CLASS

The questions of how much of the newspapers' editorial line during the extradition were reflections of their owners are difficult to answer. However, this also raises questions about how the newspapers can facilitate good governance while promoting the commercial viability of their businesses. Unlike the threats of closure, mergers and changes in ownership being faced by regional newspapers in the developing world, *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* continue to be majority-owned by the founding families.

Peter Espeut in his 2009 *Gleaner* column, "*History will not absolve us*" wrote:

History will record how politicians in modern Jamaica, while singing that they were out to 'build a new Jamaica', carved up parts of the country into armed camps overseen by warlords with the mandate to deliver political victory at election time. He used this premise to raise questions about accountability in the community. He concluded that the private sector and other community leaders play an integral role in funding and benefiting from the current system (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, September 11, 2009).

This is very similar to the commentary made by interviewees about the role of newspaper owners during the Coke extradition. As discussed in the literature review, members of the ruling elite own newspapers on the island. The section of the Jamaican community who invest in and control the media are also heavily invested in the island's political parties. The newspapers are political tools for their owners and are used as a means of promoting their class interests as well as exerting pressure on threats against those interests. JM002 explained that this is replicated in the Jamaican landscape because, "*The Gleaner*, is owned by the older money and *The Observer* owned by the newer money but both entrenched in segments of the established classes." The social

disparities run so deep on the island that despite Butch Stewart's (owner of *The Observer*) investments in Jamaica's tourism and media industry, he was continually described in the interviews as being new money. JM005 explained, "He's respected but not everything he says people will accept, so his power lies in his money which enables him to provide to the political parties, obviously favouring one side over the other."

JM011 who was a consultant with *The Observer* during its founding period indicates that the owners took the stance that while they are a part of nouveau riche, they were not as entrenched in the fabric of the island as *The Gleaner* ownership. The idea was to have a newspaper that represented the voice for those who were not a part of mainstream Jamaica. However, despite its founding mission, JM011 admits that editorially the newspaper has not lived up to that standard. Instead, interviewee JM012 saw *The Observer's* place in the market as a promoter of its owner, Butch Stewart. However, he acknowledged that their strengths lie in their coverage of environmental issues, mainly because Stewart has been champion of that cause. *The Observer* has been better on foreign affairs but *The Gleaner* is more proactive, they move beyond just informing the community to lobbying the government in what they consider to be a progressive direction, said JM012.

Coke represented an instance in Jamaican history when the interests of the newspaper ownership and the interests of the people in the wider community were aligned. Interviewees agree that the intensity of newspapers reporting during the extradition was a direct result of their owners. JM011 said "Mr. Butch Stewart stood to suffer a lot in terms of tourism, since he's the largest owner of tourist rooms on the island. In terms of *The Gleaner* and the

so-called eight traditional families of Jamaica, they obviously would have concerns about the changing business climate.” While the content analysis showed that there was no overt reporting on how tourism was being affected by the extradition delay, with Stewart’s business interests threatened, they were part of the underlying motivations at play in its resolution.

Newspaper owners also used their allegiances with and financial contributions to the political parties as leverage for the resolution of the conflict. “Most Jamaicans will tell you that the ownership of both newspapers are very politically active. They certainly try to influence who sits in Jamaica House; especially *The Observer*, in this case started to be very critical of the then Prime Minister, then the writing would have been on the wall. He would not have been able to stay without the tacit support of the traditional media, we’re talking about printed media” said consultant and *Observer* columnist, JM011. *The Gleaner* in a December 2009 editorial titled “*If Mr. Golding is to be great*” alluded to the role played by the private sector in party financing and its wider significance in the political arena. The editorial stated “Private-sector firms that provide the bulk of funding for political parties must withdraw that financing in the absence of clear policies and demonstrable action on the part of the Government and the parties to break their links with garrison politics and its hard men. The task is to win back the national territory.” JM014 said it was disingenuous for the media to portray itself as part of the moral high ground and a champion of public morality when their owners and other key media figures were funding parties that in turn uphold the garrison system. Given the political culture of the island the time taken for Jamaicans to revolt over the delay in the execution of the extradition request and hold Golding and

the JLP accountable reinforced the idea that many Jamaicans are bystanders to the political corruption on the island. Businessman, JM008 explained that the possibility of national and social transformation was low because “they [the politicians] cover for each other. They are all friends, they go to parties together and the public accepts it. ... In Jamaica people are consumed with their personal lives, man and woman, their church, they don’t really care about how the country is run, they are grateful that anyone is willing to run the country.”

Ten months after the extradition, *The Gleaner* wrote an editorial, “6-step recovery programme for gangs of Gordon House” where it chronicled the impact corruption at the parliamentary level was having on the island. This campaign by the newspaper was seen by several interviewees as an inappropriate and disingenuous abuse of power and access by the news organization to conduct a smear campaign about elected representatives. JM002 commented, “If they feel that they were elected representatives who were engaged in nefarious activities and criminality, it is the responsibility of the newspapers to investigate to the extent possible and bring those to the attention of the public.”

However, another school of thought is that both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* enter a critical mode when the personal and national interests of their owners are threatened, as was the case with the Coke extradition. The interests of newspaper owners and the government are not remotely similar, they instead they are constantly reacting to changes in each other’s mode of operation. As Seymour-Ure (2000) argues in relation to the United Kingdom, control rotates between each institution and eventually heads of government see themselves as victims of the news machine while the news organizations

feel as if public information officers are manipulating them. The interview analysis indicates this characterization of politicians was a direct representation of the newspaper's ownership: "There is a certain self-righteousness about newspapers and oftentimes they don't look within.... I can see that if you are *The Gleaner*, coming from slave-owning pedigree, where brown and black represented different elements and you from that perch that you have emerged in the independence area are looking at the people's representatives and calling them gang then is still smacks of some of that oligarchy," said JM002.

Similarly *Gleaner* columnist JM014 indicated that while the editorials and columns written during the extradition were very carefully crafted, the 'Gangs of Gordon House' coverage reeked of propaganda. He saw it as the newspapers trying to turn the bigger issue of governance and legitimacy "on the parties, not on the classes and to proportion blame equally, not against one [party] more than the other. So the Gangs of Gordon House summed up the objective of that class of people reflected in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*."

JM002 believes that newspapers have a strident role in the Jamaican community but this can only be achieved if they "play a very decisive role in engaging public debate around misconduct or corruption on the part of leaders but they must do so on the basis of being investigative rather than the accusatory." The reporting as the content analysis showed had very little in-depth investigation. In part this lack of investigation is a result of the difficult path the newspapers had to walk between competing allegiances and relationships as well as between various extremes of criticism, as outlined above. However, the newspaper owners were not the only forces at work in the

newspaper coverage of Coke; the Jamaican culture also played a big role in the delay and ultimate resolution of the extradition.

7.6 THE ETHOS OF JAMAICAN CULTURE

Jamaica is a global cultural icon; *Brand Jamaica* includes an emphasis not only on the island's pristine beaches but also on music, art, religion and sport. However, as discussed in the literature review, Jamaicans at home also accept injustices, social disparities and political corruption as a by-product of their shared heritage and as simply part of the island's culture. The implicit distrust is at the heart of what it means to be Jamaican and is evident in the way the society expresses itself. It is a recurrent theme throughout the analysis of the interviews and the newspaper articles. Jamaicans wear this ideology as a badge of honour as well as a crutch to explain the differences, how they thrive and survive within the parameters of the island's culture. Gleaner columnist, JM008 even used it to explain the crime rate and violence on the island. "The crime is part of us being expressive, we don't compress our emotions, and we face the consequences. We're not willing to give up our emotional freedom at the sacrifice of the lifestyle. Jamaicans are emotionally expressive. They live in the moment," said JM008.

Philip Schlesinger (2000) argued that consciously or unconsciously journalism is an "expression of the cultural geography of the nation state." The importance of culture has to be taken into account when studying the way journalism works as a means of social communication in Jamaica. However because of its proximity to the US and its global Diaspora, Jamaica has also embraced Schlesinger's philosophy of the globalization of a community. The newspaper was acutely aware of its global audience especially during the Coke

extradition; they actively included the opinions of change agents both at home and abroad and regularly published letters to the editor from Jamaicans in the Diaspora. This inclusion was an indication that the newspapers understood the economic, social and cultural ramifications of the extradition in an interconnected global community. The subtle global reflection incorporated into the coverage could also be seen as a strategy to increase Diasporas participation in the debate.

While there are cultural forces and pressures at home, the newspapers also readily published the views of Jamaicans in the Diaspora in their coverage especially in the letters to the editor. As discussed in the chapter on civic agency, the incorporation of the Internet into the news forum has given Jamaicans living abroad a platform to have an impact on political events at home without fear of repercussions and being silenced. The collaborations between journalists, civil society, big business, the educated elite and members of the Diaspora evident in the extradition coverage were a testament to a reawakened and vibrant electorate and newsroom culture at both newspapers.

7.6.1 NEWSROOM CULTURE, EDITORIAL POLICY AND COVERING COKE

In the Coke crisis, there is evidence that the coverage was most strongly shaped by the island's culture, ownership policies and the newsroom culture. The laid-back yet expressive nature of Jamaica's culture is reflected in the culture of the newsroom and it plays a big role in the way news is gathered and transmitted to the public. The idea of a strong and impartial press that has the best interest of its community at heart is a myth; Hardt (2000) notes that the role of the journalist is contained by their organizations. The interviews exposed that Jamaican journalists are not only restrained by the expectations

of their news organizations but also by the distrust that is prevalent in the island's culture. Veteran Gleaner political journalist, JM004 divulged, "Most of the things we get, if we ever name the source, heads will roll. We're confined, it's not the media, it's the culture. We're still backward in a sense, still insular."

For that journalist, the organizational culture was characterized also by limits on independence. "I've never been dictated to as a journalist but that doesn't mean that they don't have any influence in how we make money. They won't infringe on my right, they will ask the editor to ask you to do an interview with that person. The presence [of the owners] is not overwhelming but they closely monitor their product," said JM004 who has worked with *The Gleaner* for over a decade. He further explained that while journalists have minimal contact with the owners, many decisions about news direction are made by upper management at the paper, relayed to editors, who assign stories. However JM004 was adamant that the influence not be characterized as propaganda and more creative recommendations that are aimed at protecting their investment.

As discovered in the content analysis while the stories published in both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*, were deemed to be neutral and informative, many of them were also lacking the industry standard of including at least three sources. In addition, a significant number of articles were simply reworked press releases. This is a testament to both '*churnalism*' and the newsroom culture of the island. *The Gleaner's* reliance on "sure" sources could be a side effect of its "traditional and conservative" approach to reporting the news; JM011 sees this culture as counter-intuitive to what the newspaper's goals and aims should be. As noted in the previous chapter, this was most

evident in the way *The Gleaner* presented the information about the extradition warrant.

Veteran journalist and *Observer* editor, JM013, explained that his newspaper does its best to confirm sources, but says it's a symbiotic relationship where the sources have a vested interest in going on record. He revealed, "We have disclaimers, when we can't confirm something, we say, or when something needs to be double checked due to the restriction of time or access to sources. We say efforts to contact so and so were futile. We do have ways to mitigate against imperfect sources of information." He did note that in times of conflict when movement is restricted, the safety of their staff becomes paramount. JM013 clarified that these are the times they rely on press releases and reports from the security forces, government agencies and citizen groups. However, communication scholar, JM002 noted one of the biggest weaknesses in the fabric of Jamaican print journalism is the cultivation of reliable sources and as a result the coverage appears to be "ordinary reportage." He noted that reporters have a tendency to parrot news releases and hearsay and don't give enough consideration to attribution. However, as previously discussed when considering the civic agency of the newspapers, the journalists also feel constrained in their coverage partly because of the culture on the island and the possibility of censure or retaliation.

During the Coke newspaper coverage, the use of government sources and press releases seemed to protect the interest of the governing party rather than encourage public participation and debate through transparency. The JLP was able to effectively manage the media content around the extradition by remaining almost silent for the first six months of the saga until March 2010.

This led to an increased reliance on the press releases by the news media. This dependence can also be seen as a side effect of The Internet's role in news production, the need for a quick turnover of copy. Veteran journalist JM001 noted, "The 1000-word stories are gone the way of the cassette player. People will read a 1000-word column and opinion piece but when it comes to news, people want to get what's the news and how do we get out of it as quickly as possible. So people want a short snappy, concise reporting of the news."

These constraints are far from unique to Jamaica. They inter-relate with the cultural context of distrust and silence on the island. The strategic coverage by journalists, the reliance on government sources, and the limited in-depth analysis even on the verge of an international crisis can be seen as reflections of the constraints of the society and the culture of people.

There is no template for how journalists can successfully cover socio-political conflicts: the nature of the conflict usually "influences the publicity interests and strategies of contenders, the capacity and desire of the news media to cover that conflict" and the impact the news media has on its resolution (Tiffen, 2000:203). Newspapers use their editorials to publicly express their opinions and ideologies; it helps to build alliances with their readership. When considering the editorial policies of *The Observer*, JM011 noted columns are frequently edited to reflect a position in line with the paper: "To my great consternation, they will say no we don't want to take that position; we have to protect you as well as the paper."

Yet there was also pressure towards open treatment. While *The Gleaner's* editorial policy has evolved over the years, JM001 contends it reports the news as it is occurring because if it did not, another medium would. He

asserts, “There is no hiding the news to protect the small island reputation.” Coke became part of the marketing and sales strategy for *The Gleaner*; it helped to inform its reporting and editorial policy. JM001 asserted that “nothing had sold newspapers as much as Barack Obama and Christopher Coke... once Christopher Coke was on the front page, papers sold. The inclusion of Coke in the same league as a sitting U.S. president is a testament to his place in the island community.

JM001 notes that *The Gleaner’s* persistent coverage of Coke wasn’t only about the extradition order but also a commentary on governance and corruption on the island. This created a domino effect. He said, “I have no doubt that what happened over those nine months is that as the Government reported one aspect, the media would find out that there is more behind it and that snowballed.” As Tiffen (2000:204) emphasizes,

The media’s role in affecting the outcome of disputes should not be exaggerated. These conflicts are determined most of the time by the balance of forces surrounding the issue at state. Nevertheless, given that the frame for most news coverage of conflicts is to accentuate the sharpness of the antagonism it is likely that, to the extent that the antagonists’ views of each other are refracted through the media, the impact on their attitudes will be towards rigidification and escalation rather than towards compromise and conciliation.

The comments of JM001 and other interviewees suggest that the newspapers had apart in staging the crisis. *Gleaner* and *Observer* journalists played an essential role in creating an antagonistic climate on the island especially as they pitted the JLP against the PNP and discussed ideas for national reconciliation.

However, there were also criticisms about the quality of journalism being produced on the island. JM004 noted that “despite the fact that *The*

Gleaner is still community, business, and nation oriented, sometimes the presentation tends to be a little bit off, the standard is lowered.” JM008 who has been a columnist for both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* said journalists were not invested in good journalism because they do not make enough money to make it a good living. There is a shift in the news coverage as newspapers try to entice their readership by merging politics and infotainment, and this has led to a blurring of the boundaries between news and entertainment and lowering of the news standard (Thussu, 2007). JM004 contends that Jamaican newspaper interest seems to be moving away from politics and more into culture and social issues despite the fact that the country is seen as politically hyped. He said “I am considered by my peers a pretty decent political reporter but you find it’s not the politics but its salacious stuff associated with public figures” that sells papers. This is very evident in the reporting of Coke; many of the stories covered sensationalized the extradition. The culture of these newsrooms were central to the way the Coke story was reported, it showed restraints in reporting, a reliance on press releases and government sources were all measures that at times censored the true ramifications of the Coke story.

7.7 GOLDING’S ABUSE OF POWER

Many of the arguments raised by the newspapers during the extradition debate seemed less about Coke and his transgressions and more about the governance of Golding and the JLP. As evidenced from the content analysis, the newspapers’ focus over those 10 months lingered over questions of political corruption, the abuse of power and the lack of national social trust in the governing party. They raised questions about the legitimacy and integrity of

the Jamaican Parliament, Golding found himself in a precarious situation where he was bargaining the national security and diplomacy of the island in exchange for potential votes in the next election. As noted in Chapter two, Golding was seemingly protecting the patronage system on the island. Golding despite his deflection early in the extradition proceedings to his Attorney-General Lightbourne became the face of the extradition primarily due to his connection to Tivoli and Coke. He moved from being framed as a positive character in the 2007 elections debates to the most mistrusted man on the island (Charles, 2012). Based on his framing in the newspapers, Golding failed to anticipate the role of news narratives and how they would influence public opinion.

Communication specialist JM002 argued that with the revelation of the extradition warrant, all awareness shifted to Golding's credibility and authority in handling the matter, especially in the midst of IMF negotiations: "I think a lot of people in the newspaper world didn't as yet see him in the way that he eventually emerged. They didn't see that early on and he was and is and has been a very articulate spokesperson for his point of view and education and articulation play a big role in terms of obfuscation." These comments indicate that there was an impression that Golding because of his stature, his educational and class background should be given the benefit of the doubt. His class affiliations and charisma seemingly outweighed the moral dilemmas surrounding releasing Coke to the Americans. However, this ideology soon evolved as the Government appeared at a stalemate with executing the extradition order.

The bigger question would be why Golding was sacrificing his political career for a man sources say he was not very friendly with despite their power-sharing arrangement in Tivoli Gardens. *The Gleaner* in “*A convenient AFFAIR: Bruce & Dudus*,” attempted to explain Golding’s debt to Coke for helping him secure his parliamentary seat in 2005. However, the bonds of Golding’s power in Tivoli did not extend much beyond the Gordon House parliament. As *The Gleaner* noted, “Word out of the JLP is that Golding has been able to wield more influence over the entire country than he has been able to in the small geographical community that is Tivoli Gardens.” Newspaper reflections about Golding’s inability to effectively lead his own constituency began to raise questions about his ability to lead the country through the Coke crisis.

By March, 2010, all illusions surrounding Golding’s motivations had disappeared and the newspaper coverage in response to his actions was scathing especially after his Manatt, Phelps & Phillips revelation in parliament. “The PM told Jamaica from Parliament that he did not care what we Jamaicans think. And he disingenuously called our frustrations with his behaviour as losing “political capital,” said Michael Franklin in a letter to the editor (*Jamaica Gleaner*, Principles being undermined by politics, March 15, 2010). Another *Gleaner* editorial, “*When fear gains ascendancy*,” pointed out that Coke was going to be Golding’s first big political challenge as Prime Minister and that he faced the dilemma of “ceding of the authority of the state, or parts thereof, to those whose legitimacy is based in muscle; and, the treatment of Jamaica as an untrustworthy partner” (*Jamaica Gleaner*, September 20, 2009). While Claude Robinson in a May 2010 column emphasized the distrust the island now felt for Golding. “Future utterances from Prime Minister Golding will not carry the

requisite weight and trust essential to securing support from the Jamaican people. He has severely wounded his capacity effectively to carry out what he once described accurately as the "awesome power" of the Office of Prime Minister -- a power which he has obviously confused with leadership of the Jamaica," said Robinson (*The Jamaica Observer*, Golding's revelation changes everything... for the worse, May 16, 2010). This revelation was the turning point for the Coke extradition. As Tiffen (2000:205) notes, "The time when news coverage is likely to have the most substantial impact on the outcome of a conflict is when publicity changes the political equations by moving the conflict from a closed arena to a more open and public one." Golding in admitting his complicity in the Manatt affair in parliament lost any support he may have garnered with his cries of citizenship and sovereignty.

Golding's portrayal as a villain in the newspapers included a regurgitation of all of Golding's misdeeds since the beginning of his political career in 1995. *Gleaner* contributor and then PNP Spokesman on Justice, A.J. Nicholson noted Golding's previous role on the island's Joint Select Committee on Constitutional Reform, his resignation from the JLP and formation of the NDM¹², his return to the JLP and his ultimate choice of Tivoli as his constituency were trademarks of Golding's opportunistic temperament. Nicholson said "The use of the 'awesome power of the Prime Minister,' against which he forever railed while in Opposition, was soon put to the test when he came to occupy that office" (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, By any means necessary, Trevor?, June 27,2010).

¹² National Democratic Movement was founded in 1995 and Bruce Golding was its first president after he left the JLP.

When Golding and JLP took over the governance of Jamaica in 2007 after 18 years in opposition, there was a national optimism and sense that change was inevitable and the country was on a new path to prosperity. The day after that election, *The Economist* ran the headline “*Change at last: Signs of an end to garrison politics*” while *The Observer* went with “*JLP triumphs in nail-biting elections*” and *The Gleaner* “*Bruce edges out Portia - 31: JLP 29: PNP.*” However, almost three years later there were cries of disappointment and calls for his resignation. In its May 17, 2010 editorial “*A time for good men and women to stand up,*” *The Observer* criticized Golding’s credibility and suggested he withdraw from being the island’s chief servant. The editorial board stated “The Prime Minister no longer has the moral authority and credibility required to properly govern. That moral authority and credibility, so high when Mr Golding pronounced himself the Chief Servant on taking over the reins two-and-a-half years ago, have disappeared with a speed and to an extent that is unprecedented in the history of modern Jamaica.”

Smith in his “*Casualties of War*” *Observer* column further distinguished that Golding was not upholding his path to ensure Jamaica’s safety and prosperity, instead he was playing party politics. Smith contended that despite his promise Golding “lacked the testicular fortitude to take Jamaica to a higher level. So it is not that Jamaica has become or is becoming a failed state. It is that it has a failed government.” When considering the news coverage, despite the fears about the power Coke had amassed, Golding appeared to be painted as the anti-hero. He missed his golden opportunity to proactively change the stigma of cooperation between politicians and area leaders. The newspapers moved beyond their ownership barriers and launched an attack not only on

Golding's governance but on his character. Businessman and Gleaner columnist, JM008, noted that in response to the questions posed by the media "Golding could have written it all out in a 2000- word piece in the press and a lot of the questions would have been answered. He let people talk about his governance and it affected him the most. He was a pure communicator, he's a technocrat, he doesn't understand people, he has a high IQ but weak on EQ."

Golding's association with Coke was a reflection of the client-patron structure that drove him into a corner where he had to choose between the island's stability and securing votes for the following election. Geddes (1991) described this client-patron relationship as the most important factor in maintaining Caribbean power structures. He noted that to work outside these existing boundaries may "undermine their main source of power" (Geddes cited in Collier, 2005:98). However, not all Jamaicans disagreed with Golding's handling of the extradition, despite the JLP's ties to garrisons; some believed the Government was acting in the best interest of the country by challenging the extradition request. While Golding's support may have dwindled as the months progressed, the newspapers did try to reflect the dissenting views in the community. In a letter to the editor in March 2010, Mark Clarke noted, "The staunch defence of the constitutional rights of a citizen of this country in the extradition matter of Christopher Coke by Bruce Golding is nothing short of commendable. Mr Golding comes across as an astute and intelligent leader who puts the rights of his people at the forefront" (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, A Question for Golding, 2010).

The way a leader is perceived to handle international conflict can have a detrimental effect on his political standing at home (Tiffen, 2000:201). While

the campaign mounted against Golding in the newspapers seemed insurmountable, his party was able to push him through a vote of no confidence in him in parliament and he was able to remain Prime Minister in the aftermath of the extradition. In *"Bruised Golding"*, published on May 13, 2010, then Opposition leader, Simpson-Miller stated "The Prime Minister's behaviour is disgraceful, outrageous, and out of step with the norms of Prime Ministerial behaviour and decorum in any democracy in general, and the Westminster system in particular." She further argued that the "government has lost all credibility" (*The Jamaica Gleaner*). The media pressure and stench of the delay, the body count in Tivoli and the damage to the islands' reputation and its IMF negotiations ultimately tarnished Golding's credibility and his stature on the island.

7.8 JAMAICA'S POWER STRUGGLE WITH THE U.S.

Despite the strong partnership of the media and civic entities, the ultimate decider in the Coke debacle was the U.S. government and the immense pressure it exerted on the Golding administration. The Coke extradition threatened the symbiotic relationship the U.S. had with Jamaica since the Manley intervention of the late 1970s. The crisis raised tensions of long standing where the "Caribbean governing elite find themselves in a quandary – caught between conflicting international and domestic demands for political and economic reform" (Collier, 2005:93). Given the power imbalances between the two countries, questions arise about Golding's and the JLP's motivation for impeding the extradition. Ramsaran (2002:11) argues that part of problem is, "Caribbean governments have been smug and have always taken the world view that the world will wait on them. They have avoided fundamental

decision in the belief that if you leave a problem alone long enough, a solution would somehow come along. They have acted as if failed policies can be ignored without the peril and without cost." This was exemplified in the Coke extradition, as the JLP worked its sources and back channels to indefinitely stall the extradition. The newspapers failed to explore why the government retreated into a code of silence, and instead was fixated on the specifics of Golding's fate. Discussing these tensions threatened the newspapers' business and class interests

The interrelation between international pressures and domestic conflicts in the developing world cannot be neglected. As Golding waded through the national public relations campaign being waged by the newspapers, Jamaica's relationship with Washington rapidly deteriorated. The headlines in both newspapers over that period attested to the rising tension between once cordial neighbours. *The Observer* stated "US firm on 'Dudus' extradition," "US firm on 'Dudus' extradition," "Is the extradition treaty between US, Jamaica fair?" "No to Dudus extradition, no to US demands." *The Gleaner* headlines included, "Was money paid to lobby the US for 'Dudus'?", "US stubborn in 'Dudus' extradition pursuit – Golding," "Dudus vs USA," "The US and 'Dudus'" and "Dudus dollars wanted - US authorities to look to Jamaica in search of \$130 million of Coke's assets."

As the newspaper editorials and columns chronicled the 10-month delay and what they deemed as the sheer inadequacy of Golding's response to the extradition request, Jamaicans began to panic about the possible repercussions from the U.S. government. JM015 said, "what the media did was to indicate that public opinion was not on their [the JLP] side.... the single most

decisive contribution in those 10 months was the cancellation of visas. Once visas started to be cancelled, the government of the day could not match the US. They had touched a nerve.” The loss of visas highlighted the importance of a cordial relationship between the two countries for ordinary Jamaicans. Since colonization, Caribbean states have been “exposed to the mercy of transnational forces, which rendered the claims of sovereignty a farce” (Premdas, 2002: 49). The newspaper coverage highlighted the growing fear among Jamaicans about the U.S. encroaching on their national sovereignty and liberties. Golding’s focus was on protecting a citizen which for him was both nationalistic and personal given his connection to Tivoli. However, the interviewees revealed that his nationalistic discourse was trumped by a collection of personal interests from Jamaicans across the stratosphere which were wrapped up in concerns about access to the U.S.

While the U.S. government rarely commented in the newspapers about the extradition process, it was the consensus of several interviewees that it had the ultimate say in the direction Golding took. JM015 argued it was a 2010 US State Department report that sounded a warning in relation to the island’s standing as a cooperative state where drugs and narcotics were concerned. He said, “It left a sour taste in the mouths and minds of these people. Thereafter the more public interest there was, the more the pressure got the better of the Government.” The newspapers used that report to construct a narrative that focused on the power struggle between the two countries and their fledgling relationship as the extradition debate progressed.

The news coverage reflected an adamant Golding who asserted his constitutional rights to protect a Jamaican citizen and insisted the United

States was at fault for the slow progress in the extradition. Extradition requests must be executed in accordance with the internal laws of the requested state (Jamaica),... We have raised with the US authorities our concern that the request did not comply with the internal laws of the requested state and therefore it is not a matter of whether the minister is inclined to authorise the extradition, it is a question that the minister would be authorising something she knows is in violation of the law (*The Jamaica Observer*, US blamed for 'Dudus' delay, December 09, 2009).

The early reportage in the newspaper portrayed the U.S. as being unreasonable in its request for Coke and because of the silence from the U.S. the newspapers had no alternate point of view. The U.S. government tried to change the national rhetoric by sending Julissa Reynoso, their US deputy assistant secretary of state for Central America and the Caribbean, to address the extradition delay. In a meeting with journalists in January, 2010, Reynoso reiterated that the US had no intention of withdrawing the extradition request and reiterated that the negotiations would not affect the relationship between the two governments. "We are actively engaged in having this thing resolved but it is not the heart and soul of our relationship," said Reynoso (*The Jamaica Observer*, US firm on 'Dudus' extradition, January 13, 2010). This intervention by the U.S. effectively changed the dialogue in the newspapers until March 2010 when *The Observer* reported that the U.S. was becoming impatient with the extradition delay.

In the annual International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, the State Department said,

The Government of Jamaica's unusual handling of the August request for the extradition of a high-profile Jamaican crime lord, with reported ties to the ruling Jamaica Labour Party, which currently holds a majority in Parliament, on alleged drug and firearms trafficking charges marked a dramatic change in

Kingston's previous co-operation on extradition, including a temporary suspension in the processing of all other pending requests and raises serious questions about the Government's commitment to combating transnational crime (*The Jamaica Observer*, 'Dudus' backlash • US blasts JA over extradition delay, March 2, 2010).

By April 2010, *The Observer* reported an increase in American intelligence gathering agents on the island. The island was being used as a pawn in a game that threatened not only its livelihood but also its diplomatic standing in the international arena. Jamaica's sovereignty was being challenged with the Coke extradition. In an *Observer* editorial, Sean Spence commented on the island's dependence on America: "It is a dependency so strong that it encroaches upon the island's self-sufficiency, self-rule, self-government, or - to put it simply - the island's "self". Delaying Mr Coke's extradition is a futile attempt to deny what the rest of the nation seemingly already knows: Jamaica cannot survive while out of favour with the US because the island is not a sovereign nation" (*Jamaica Observer*, We are not sovereign, April 6, 2010).

Added to the conflict of Coke was the use of visas as leverage for the execution of the extradition warrant. A 2011 *Economist* article alluded to the use of visas in Jamaica by the U.S. government as a diplomatic weapon. It said "in the Caribbean being barred from flying to Miami can spell social shame and political oblivion." The newspapers focused on the loss of visas and it became the ultimate weapon for the U.S. government to manipulate public perception and this was the beginning of mass support for a swift resolution to the extradition debate. JM015 said "what the media did was to indicate that public opinion was not on their [the JLP] side.... the single most decisive contribution

in that 10 months was the cancellation of visas. Once visas started to be cancelled, the government of the day could not match the US. They had touched a nerve.”

The newspapers also covered the other spectrum of the extradition where Jamaican citizens saw the United States as being a bully. In a letter to *The Gleaner* editor, Patrick Bailey said “I must applaud any Jamaican government which shows some backbone when it comes to US extradition requests. A pernicious practice had developed where governments treat an extradition request as though it were a *fait accompli*” (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, The ‘Dudus’ extradition, December 9, 2010). While in *The Observer*, Mervin Stoddart commented on the ignorance of the Jamaican government in regards to the tactics being used by the superpower to exert their will. He said,

There is also a guild of pathetic pragmatists who deliberately support US policies that they know to be immoral and evil, simply because it is the "wise" thing to do to remain in US favour so as not to lose business, lose visa, or otherwise suffer recrimination. This camp makes it easy for the US to perpetrate its strategy of using Trojan horse gifts to manipulate and exploit Jamaica. They grab at straw arguments to support extradition for Coke and proffer non sequitur ramblings and biased rancours against PM Golding and the Jamaican government. Some are opportunists who play the Coke conundrum for political points, while others try to curry US favour (*The Jamaica Observer*, No to Dudus extradition, no to US demands, April 21, 2010).

The criticisms printed in the newspapers show that not all Jamaicans were in favour of Jamaica executing the extradition warrant regardless of the possible consequence. However, despite these criticisms newspaper coverage indicates that very few Jamaicans were willing to take the chance to disobey

and ignore the request; mainly because of the implications it would have for their private life. The newspapers constructed a narrative highlighting the power struggle between the two countries but in doing so it became difficult to say definitively if they were acting in a public interest or in their class interests.

7.9 THE POWER OF THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

As Marshall McLuhan (1962) argued, the world has become a global mediated, networked and rapidly evolving village. Within this framework, incidents of political discord and egregious acts of violence are no longer isolated within borders. As the global economy shrinks, and the world becomes increasingly interconnected and interdependent, even developing small island nations have a significant role to play in the international news market. When considering the power forces at work, Jamaica cannot be studied in isolation, but one must also consider the external forces at work. To fully understand the Jamaican newspaper coverage of the extradition, the international news coverage of Coke and its influence on local coverage and readership must also be taken into consideration. Jamaica's proximity to the United States, the nature of the extradition and the influence of the Diaspora globally made the extradition delay and the ensuing violence a compelling story for major global media organizations. Both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* reported in the context of these media. Each chronicled the way the country and the extradition were being reported in the foreign press. The ethnocentric framing of Jamaica on the world stage was a cause of concern for both business interests and ordinary citizens of the island community and contributed to the tensions which the newspapers had to negotiate. This highlighted the globalized political economy of the newspapers. To illustrate the worldwide

impact of the extradition, *The Gleaner* on May 28, 2010 published its own Google survey of Coke and produced 2, 530,000 search results, many of the more prominent from international media houses who were covering the story (*Camera-shy Dudus Turns 'Celeb'*). However, many of these news organizations were practicing '*parachute journalism*'; *The Economist* was the only international publication that had sustained, if intermittent, coverage on the extradition. Otto and Meyer (2012) argue that western media companies no longer have international bureaus and as a result are unable to spot potential crises. With news agencies spread thin and fewer correspondents on the ground, journalists now go from crisis to crisis; as a result they are unable to provide their readers with adequate information and with local context.

The Observer highlighted some of the coverage in the international media with the following articles, "*New York Times joins Dudus debate*," "*JA takes foreign press battering over Dudus*," "*Bruce Legal action over ABC Dudus story*," and "*Dudus' goes global*," where they highlighted the *Miami Herald* and *The Telegraph's* coverage of the extradition. *The Gleaner* however, focused less on the mounting pressure in the international media and more on the Prime Minister's role in the saga. It did, however, publish articles alluding to wider Coke coverage. "*Intl pressure over Dudus, Manatt*," cited *The Washington Post* and "*NYT hones in on extradition case*," highlighted *The New York Times* analysis. These headlines indicate that the newspapers are acutely aware of how the major international papers were covering the Coke story.

Lang & Lang (2000) contend most of the international news available to Americans is a product managed by the gate keeping mainstream media that mainly reflects the policies of their Government. Fredrick Brown in a June 7,

2010 *Observer* letter to the editor stated that the government had lapsed in protecting the island's image and failed to refute misleading media reports because they were so consumed with the extradition. He said, "With the exception of the news reports on the BBC and Al Jazeera, most other reports on the crisis in Kingston failed to distinguish between that city and the rest of the island. The general impression given was that the entire island was engulfed in violence and should therefore be avoided. This impression was reinforced by the US, Canadian and British travel advisories issued for the island" (*Were cancellations necessary*).

These frames are important because the perception of island-wide corruption and violence could have been detrimental to the island's tourism revenue stream. They also contributed to the pressure on Golding and the dilemma for civil society actors. As alluded to in the literature review, Jamaican newspapers are conscious of the importance of tourism to the national economy and how it intertwined with their daily coverage. As seen in the content analysis, there was limited coverage of how the extradition was affecting tourism arrivals on the island. While there was a decline in global tourism in 2009 mainly due to the global financial crisis, The Jamaica Tourist Board statistics reveal that Jamaica saw its stop-over tourists arrivals increase by 3.6% to 1.83 million after a better than expected final quarter in 2009. Despite the concerns that extradition was going to have devastating effects on the island's tourism product, in 2010 the island continued to see an increase in stop-overall arrivals, up 4.9% to 1.92 million. This trend continued into 2011 with modest growth of 1.6% to 1.95 million stopover visitors. These statistics

indicate that despite the negative coverage about the unrest and conflict on the island, tourists continued to flock to the island.

In one of the few articles published about the plight of the tourism industry during the extradition battle, *The Gleaner* examined the international headlines and consulted the Jamaica Hotel and Tourist Association (JHTA) about the possible ramifications on the island and how other tourism destinations had fared in similar situations. Wayne Cummings, the then JHTA president noted, "That type of publicity is unfortunate; it is not the type we look for in the marketplace." He also argued that the readership of the publications should not be underestimated. "Their readers are the same people we consider our clients" (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, 'Dudus' issue forces damage control for tourist industry, May 19, 2010). The political crisis was relatively isolated from the global tourism economy on the island. This suggests that there are some limits on the proposals from McLuhan of a completely globally networked world. While tourism may not have been adversely affected by the international coverage of Coke, Jamaica also had the added pressure of their impending IMF negotiations to stabilize the island's economy.

7.10 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ONLINE NEWS

As noted in the civic agency chapter, online news is changing the cultural geography of newspapers. Findings from a landmark Newspapers Today study in 2010 showed that newspapers are strengthened by their digital editions because they help to enhance the relationship between newspapers and their readership (The Chronicle, Newspapers power ahead in online era, February 16, 2010). During the 10-month extradition negotiations the newspapers online platforms demonstrated an ability to engage Jamaicans at home and those in the Diaspora. They were able to take part in contemporary discussions about recent news in real time. The online newspapers had an impact on the voices that could be heard during the extradition and the force with which they were heard and acknowledged. However, those voices only intensified in the online platform of both *The Jamaica Gleaner* and *Jamaica Observer* during the Tivoli incursion and the eventual capture of Coke.

The incorporation of the online form into the newspaper has changed the routine practice of journalism globally and continues to push journalists beyond their customary reporting boundaries. In Jamaica access to the online newspaper platform has opened a new space for the readership to voice alternating views, share their discontent and rally for political change. However, during the 10-month Coke debacle both daily newspapers appeared to be struggling to navigate and reconfigure online news within the cultural context of their readership, the educational gaps of their journalists and ultimately ensure its profitability. Part of the problem, JM008 asserts, is that “Jamaicans don’t like change. They are very conservative people, it ain’t broke don’t fix it. Any kind of change is very difficult to bring about.” As a result, at

the time of the extradition both journalists and readers were not tapping into the full potential of the online news medium. This problem is not limited to Jamaica, Fuchs (2009:86) argues that the way people adapt to Internet use is heavily influenced by and impacts “societal antagonisms” and as a result growth expectations have not been reached. *Gleaner* online content coordinator, JM018 argues:

The Internet is a niche product; we have to sell to certain companies to amplify the reach. You can get caught up in a bubble that because you’re using it and your friends, it means everyone is using it and that’s just not the case.

I think there is a limited amount of people who understand the importance of the web, how the web helps you to gain access to information, to empower you....the people who are online are engaged, on Facebook and Twitter and on *The Gleaner* online.

However, for others, *Gleaner* journalist, JM001 explained that reading the newspaper was a big part of the Jamaican culture and that the readership liked the permanence and comfort of the print edition of the newspapers. He said, “Persons are still into the coffee and armchair reading. It’s not as comfortable on Sunday morning to sit over your laptop and read your newspaper. When you sit on your veranda with your cup of coffee and lean back in your armchair and read the newspaper that is just so much more comfortable.” He also noted a shift in the way the readership is using the online platform of *The Gleaner*. The newspaper observed that on weekdays readers were dependent on their *Gleaner* updates for their news on their phones but at nights and on weekends during their leisure time, “they still want a broadsheet that they can sit back and relax and read,” said JM001. The reading of the newspaper seems to be its own status symbol, which JM014 attributes to the island’s culture. He said, “The culture of reading, it’s about when you read, where you read and how you

read and sometimes who you read with.” The interviews revealed that the physical newspaper is seen as a status symbol and despite the technological advancements on the island; it is still at the heart of the Jamaican media landscape.

The digital revolution has changed the way news is produced and the media conglomerates involved in those transitions. However, they still remain mainly capitalist entities (Jane Stokes, 2013). To keep up with the global market both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* have continued to pour resources into their online product. Online news is also changing the culture and nature of the newsroom as journalists are expected to be able to handle both the converged print and online platforms. Observer editor, JM013 noted that “our staffs have had to multi-task; now we write bearing in mind the features of the online mechanism, including being more concise and the speed at which, remember it’s a newspaper and it’s not coming out till the day after but the online is today, more immediate. So our people have had to be responding to those new priorities.” New media is shifting the way journalists gather, edit and produce the news and is “transforming the very nature of news content and storytelling” (Pavlik, 2001:24).

JM004 asserts,

The paper [*Gleaner*] has changed considerably because of the advent of online productions. The widening of the media network in Jamaica, the media industry in Jamaica, they are expanding has forced us to look at how we do things. We have to modernize in terms of language and technology and pretty much move with the time. You find that a few years ago, *The Gleaner* would have targeted primarily the business commercial interest, the upper middle-class, you can’t do that again, because you have the focus on sports and culture have heightened over the last 10, 15, 20 years so you’d have to move into that market.

This more rounded coverage by the newspapers is a result of their online trends that indicate what interests their readership. Online news has become a good barometer for what the readership is interested in, said *Gleaner* reporter JM004: “Sometimes big political stories and big current affairs stories and people pass over those. An example, once there was a story about Dudus, whatever was said about Dudus, you see it reflected in newspaper sales and in the online trends.” JM004 noted that while *The Gleaner* Company was still trying to find a way to make its online platform profitable, *The Gleaner’s* online feedback system was necessary to compete in a globalized media environment. He said, “We have systems in which every day we have best trending stories that is computerised, both for local news and international, for both *The Gleaner* and the *Star*.” Online has also created a new competition between the newspapers as they compete to see who can capture and keep their readerships by both breaking stories first online as well as giving readers regular updates. JM013 noted, “The technology has created vast layers of competition in terms of disseminating news and the newspapers have responded to that, which is why, or example, the online newspaper is becoming so prevalent and it’s actually being seen as the future.”

The impact of technology on the newsroom has changed not only the newsroom routines but also the way the readers interact with their news and news providers. Globally journalists, bloggers and citizen journalists are using online platforms to clamour for change and transparency. But in Jamaica where a significant fragment of the population is still illiterate, broadcast mediums are still the main providers of news and entertainment. Even though online

news has been able to act as a bridge for those in the Diaspora, the digital divide in Jamaica has limited access to the online platform to a small segment of people on the island, despite the island's high cell phone penetration rate.

At the time of the Coke extradition Jamaica's computer penetration hovered between 21 and 38 percent (Dunn, 2010). Communication scholar JM002 noted that if Jamaica is to create a generation of global citizens then the island should be upgrading at a faster pace. He noted that although the island's phone penetration had skyrocketed, computers and by extension Internet access was still inaccessible to the masses. There was a consensus among the interviewees that the affordability of technology had created another social barrier on the island between the haves and have-nots.

Interviewees gave numerous reasons why more Jamaicans didn't have access to the newspapers online, the major factor being expense and others that point to the island's public education sector and the national understanding around the necessity of computer literacy in the 21st century. However, despite the strides made in the improvement and accessibility of the websites of both newspapers, Jamaica is a long way from having online only newspapers. The interviews revealed that apart from being creatures of habit, two of the major factors hindering online newspaper use on the island are the lack of Internet penetration and the profitability of the platform. While many of the elite and intelligentsia had open access to the online platforms through their personal computers and BlackBerrys, this wasn't true for a vast number of Jamaicans. Even among those with access, social networking sites like

Facebook and Twitter are a more popular option than the newspapers (Google Analytics).

As JM013 explained, "I'm open to the possibility that the printed paper will eventually become obsolete. I don't think it's happening anytime soon and again, the pace at which that happens will have to do with the part of the world that we live in, because in some parts of the world the penetration of the technology is not as dense. For example Internet penetration in Jamaica is not anywhere near where it would have to be to make the newspaper obsolete." Communication specialist JM002 is more optimistic that with the island's vast mobile phone penetration that, "If access grows, which is what we are advocating and pushing for, if access grows as it has grown in the north, you are going to find a consistently incremental upward movement on online newspaper use." JM011 believes that the interactive nature of the online news will ensure more connectivity between the readership and the newspapers, "As long as they don't sanitize the voice of the people or they don't put up unusual barriers of the entry." Online transformed the reporting of the crisis, especially when combined with the conversations taking part on social media. However it played a less significant a role alongside other aspects of the extradition like civic agency and political corruption. In particular, scholars have reinforced that the Internet has the capacity to transform the communication landscape by allowing more voices in and creating a more networked communication network, but this did not transpire.

7.11 POWER AND SILENCE

Walker (2000:243) writes: "Newspaper power can in theory be caught in a number of dimensions, on politics, public opinion, culture, consumption,

business and economic policy.” Yet practical demonstrations of that power are few in the Coke crisis, perhaps as Jeremy Tunstall (1996) notes because of the secretive way in which the press-politics relationship is conducted. While Golding, Miller, Vaz, Lightbourne and Phillips may have been the faces of the Coke extradition, there were other players who had fleeting but instrumental roles that were never investigated. Despite the efforts of the newspapers, much of the information surrounding the Coke extradition is shrouded in silence. While some revelations have come with the Manatt/Coke Enquiry, its subsequent report and the Tivoli Incursion Report from the Public Defender, Earl Witter, there are still many unanswered questions about the events of those ten months. In many ways the newspapers overall role in the Coke coverage was very limited. While they were able to frame the story the American government and the PNP opposition played a significant part in forcing Golding to execute the warrant.

Since Coke was seen as a threat to Jamaica’s national security, the government was certainly within its rights to remain silent on some of the procedural plans they had implemented to facilitate the extradition. However, their prolonged silence increased the tension on the island. On September 24, 2009, in their article *“Gov’t talks with US over ‘Dudus’ issue,”* *The Gleaner* noted “the Government appeared to be buying time from an impatient public in the high-profile extradition matter.” At that time, Minister of Information, Daryl Vaz refused questions on the matter but indicated that the governments were negotiating. The silences stretched from August 2009 to March 2010 when the media pressure began to mount with Manatt. As noted in the previous chapter

there was silence from the newspapers and silence from the government until the opposition broke through that impenetrable wall.

We must also consider the silence surrounding the aftermath of the Tivoli incursion. Tivoli represented a segment of the island that is isolated, segregated and at times even shunned by the mainstream media. During the incursion and Golding's subsequent tour of the community there was a collapse of the communication networks mainly due to media blackouts, but also because the newspapers were so focused on the Golding/Manatt scandal that Tivoli became secondary to the extradition plot. In many ways, newspaper journalists were practicing parachute journalism at home.

7.11.1 WIKILEAKS COLLABORATIONS

WikiLeaks was able to shine a light on some of the silence that ensued during the 10-month extradition battle. WikiLeaks has created a platform for itself in a "cyberspace, populated by autonomous sources of information, is a fundamental threat to the ability to silence, on which domination has always been based" (Castells, 2011 cited in Fuchs, 2011). As a result, it is able to shed light on gaps of silence in the reportage by mainstream media. On December 22, 2010, six months after Coke had been extradited to the United States; *The Guardian* newspaper published the first of several WikiLeaks cables gleaned from the US Embassy in Kingston. *The Observer's* coverage of *The Guardian* article noted that the cable indicated that Lorna Golding, the Prime Minister's wife, had initiated contact with American diplomats to argue that the Coke extradition was a conspiracy against Golding and his party. The cables also revealed that Kingston Mayor Desmond McKenzie had tried to advise the U.S.

Government against the Coke extradition because there could be violent repercussions that would undo the work of the government to date (Two sides of the WikiLeaks coin, December 23, 2010). These were both powerbrokers that were absent from Jamaica's mainstream media's coverage of the conflict.

In the same December 23, 2010 editorial, *The Observer* debated the merits of the expose through the WikiLeaks revelations. It concluded, "As a newspaper sworn to the fight for and promotion of freedom of expression for all, we are very supportive of any attempts to advance this concept. Yet, we have enough sense to know that some things have to remain private, whether in the family, the community, the government or the world, in order to advance the good" (ibid). *The Observer* in its analysis seemed to be advocating for some amount of silence in public life. It acknowledged that these kinds of leaks can unveil wrongdoing by governments but that there must be some amount of tact and discretion employed when deciding what should be allowed into the public sphere. The revelations by *The Observer* show that there is support for an elite public sphere that operates outside of the prying eyes of the news media. For a newspaper to encourage this, calls into questions their role as a civic agent for their community.

Despite the stance taken by *The Observer*, these initial releases were further compounded in May 2011 when *The Gleaner* announced it had partnered with WikiLeaks to publish additional leaked cables from the US Embassy based on conversations, documents and briefings. *The Gleaner* acquired 1,700 cables from WikiLeaks, dated between 2005 and 2010 but only published a fraction as they tried to navigate national security concerns and

the island's libel laws. *The Gleaner* editor-in-chief in his prelude said, "We took the decision to publish stories from these documents because we feel Jamaicans have the right to this kind of information" (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, WIKILEAKS SECRETS! BUSTED, May 22, 2011). *The Gleaner's* partnership with WikiLeaks strengthened its legitimacy as one of the island's leading cultural institutions.

The WikiLeaks cables revealed the extent of the US involvement in the extradition outside of the local media headlines. They exposed that the US Embassy saw the Golding administration as being two-faced and deceptive as it tried to appease both Washington and the Jamaican people. They also revealed that Golding was briefed on the extradition case in January 2009 and not on August 25 as he'd previously claimed and that the Government of Jamaica requested that the US Government not publicly pressure the administration over what it termed a "politically sensitive issue" (ibid). The cables also indicated that opposition spokesman, Phillips, was also having discussions with the Charge d'Affaires at the Kingston Embassy. In an excerpt from a December 10, 2009 cable the Embassy noted, "Phillips alleged that the GOJ (Government of Jamaica) is 'determined to take the side of the Shower Posse (the criminal organization with which Coke is associated) rather than that of the people of Jamaica,' and that he's not aware of any 'timetable for action' on the part of Golding administration" (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, WIKILEAKS flashback, May 25, 2011). The inconsistencies exposed in the cables raised questions in the newspapers and within the Jamaican public sphere about

Golding's fitness for public life and his ability to lead the country, his party and his constituency.

The Gleaner's disclosures earned the displeasure of Golding and he accused the newspaper of harassing and unfairly targeting the JLP government. "There is a sustained effort being made by the power brokers of North Street [*The Gleaner* headquarters] to harass the Government. It is not surprising. It comes from a mentality that ascribes to itself not just a right, but a duty to assist parties to form government and to take parties out of government" (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, Bruce fires back - PM attacks Gleaner over WikiLeaks cables, May 30, 2011). Golding accused *The Gleaner* and especially its ownership of using what he deemed as 'stolen property' to further their agenda and ultimately oust the JLP from the government. However, *Observer* columnist, Claude Robinson pointed out that the WikiLeaks cables met the "public interest test" threshold as stipulated in the draft Code of Practice of the Press Association of Jamaica (PAJ) (*The Jamaica Observer*, Lessons from the WikiLeaks Secrets, June 12, 2011). According to the PAJ Code the public interest statute is covered by any information "detecting or exposing crime or a serious misdemeanour; protecting public health and safety; and preventing the public being misled by some stated or action of an individual or organization." Robinson also noted that the Prime Minister was being disingenuous given *The Gleaner's* previous allegiance with the JLP in the late 1970s which led to election losses for the Manley-led PNP and when he supported the use of similar documentation in the PNP's Trafigura scandal. He reiterated, "If 'powerbrokers' is a narrow reference to big media, the JLP leader

should remember the events leading up to the 1980 election when *The Gleaner* took sides in what was seen as a contest between socialism and capitalism” (ibid). The WikiLeaks cables added a new dimension and tension to the Coke debate about transparency and garrison culture on the island. This interplay between *The Gleaner* and Golding showed that the Prime Minister was acutely aware of the influence wielded by the newspaper owners in shaping the national social commentary. It also suggests that *The Gleaner* was able to keep this information secret and out of public circulation until WikiLeaks blew open the island’s information structures.

Against the criticism of Golding and other WikiLeaks sceptics that the newspaper was compromising national security and being highly selective in its choice of what was published from the cables, *The Gleaner* editorial board further clarified its motivation. It saw these leaks as part of a public service mission to keep the nation informed. The cables, it said, “help to shine light on important aspects of public policy, some of which have been controversial, and our reporting on which helps to advance Jamaican democracy and the quality of governance” (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, WikiLeaks, transparency and the right to know, May 25, 2011).

The WikiLeaks disclosures gave Jamaicans insight not only into closed-door negotiations of the extradition but also highlighted weaknesses in the island’s Freedom of Information Act, the political manipulation and manoeuvring of both parties in the extradition resolution and raised even more questions about the island’s sovereignty. Beyond this it has wider implications for not only the transparency in local politics but for diplomatic

relations between Jamaica and the U.S., *Gleaner* columnist, Martin Henry asserted, that while he was ambivalent about *The Gleaner's* decision to publish the correspondence, "WikiLeaks has opened up a can of worms about the conduct of diplomacy; about the right of the public to know versus the very obvious need of government to have secrets; about ethical conduct in media and media responsibility; about laws governing use of public domain information which were stolen to get into the public domain; and about the management of the Internet" (*The Jamaica Gleaner, WikiLeaks, Commission of Enquiry and Political Violence*, June 12, 2011).

WikiLeaks was able to fill in some of the gaps that remained unfilled after the extradition request was signed especially those about the US's role in its resolution. WikiLeaks as a watchdog journalism entity and in partnership with a newspaper was able to give Jamaicans a glimpse into the powerbrokers at work during the Coke extradition and give added legitimacy to the reach of *The Gleaner* organization as a globally connected news organization. It represented what Beckett (2013) sees as a "reshaping of the fourth estate," not only the developed world but in developing nations on the fringe of the global economy.

7.12 SUMMARY

The news coverage of the Coke extradition exposed a host of complexities in the power relations at play on the island. It revealed much about the factors shaping Jamaica's intricate political economy especially in terms of how culture, morality and the newspaper medium continue to shape the island. There are contradictions that arise between interview recollections and newspaper accounts of that time period. This occurred because of the

complexity of the extradition. As a result we are able to reach more nuanced conclusions about the actors at play. The coverage of the extradition fight revealed that it was more than just a matter of diplomacy; it gave Jamaicans globally a glimpse at the extent to which money, class and power are shaping the island's political, social and economic agenda. In the news coverage, the readership can see the clear connection between the newspaper mediums as message boards within Jamaican's national political space.

The island's stark class inequalities were magnified during the Coke coverage and exemplified what Hardt (2000) called the redefining of the adversarial function of the press and the resultant partnership between business and industry. As Herman and Chomsky (1988) noted in their development of the 'propaganda model,' the production and dissemination of news is controlled by political elites and media corporations whose sole aim is to turn a profit.

Culture seems to be a recurring theme from both the interviews and the content analysis. The Jamaican culture allows readers and citizens to accept shortcomings in the newspaper reporting, ignore inconsistencies in governmental policies and turn a blind eye to informal economies and the atrocities associated with garrison life. However, over the 10 months that the extradition execution was in limbo all of these topics became matters of public debate. There were newspaper editorials and columns discussing not only the ties between politicians and garrison communities, but also ties between big business and party funding. Attorney Jacqueline Samuels-Brown in a March 9, 2010 *Gleaner* letter explained,

What is needed is an ethos whereby politicians declare and then

rid themselves of affiliations that will forever cloud fundamental issues of principle from which all our citizens stand to benefit and which enhance national pride. What we need are laws and the respect for these laws which will ensure accountability from and insulate our leaders from undue influence from persons whether they be in Cherry Gardens, Liguanea or wherever else inside or outside of Jamaica (Fundamental issues of principle).

The Coke extradition coverage revealed that both Jamaica's politicians and media practitioners are still learning to navigate the glare of the media spotlight in an increasingly technologically mediated world. A survey of news coverage post-Coke indicates willingness by journalists to engage and question the government officials beyond the packaged press releases. As the secrets of the Coke era continue to be revealed five years later, the event appears to have given Jamaican newspaper journalists added motivation to carry out the duties of the fourth estate and increasingly hold politicians accountable.

Boyne summarized the power of the press and its ownership in his "*Dudus' captured; Bruce released?*" column, he said, "When the two morning papers, representing some of the most powerful private sector interests and players in this country, were united almost daily, they were impossible to ignore, and Golding was too sagacious a politician not to realize what he was up against" (*The Jamaica Gleaner*, June 27, 2010). However, despite Boyne's optimism in the role the media played during the extradition, if the media had acted sooner, the time frame for its execution could have been diminished greatly. As in other flawed democracies, there was no mass social uprising or coupe over the handling of the extradition, Golding was able to keep his job, the crime rate decreased dramatically and the island returned to some level of normalcy. The extradition is a testament to the resilience and faith of the

Jamaica people; it also revealed flaws in both the political and media system. Coke demonstrated that even though the island's elite and intelligentsia were willing to ask questions to protect their business interests, they are not willing to dismantle the political structure that ultimately protects those interests.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

"Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery. None but ourselves can free our minds."- Bob Marley

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The local and international controversy surrounding the extradition of Christopher Coke provided a salient background to study newspapers and civil society and how they influence public life in Jamaica. The extradition and its coverage left many unanswered questions about the newspapers' reporting of the Coke debate including the silences associated with the JLP's delay of the extradition, the escalation that led to the Tivoli incursion and civic activism on the island. The biggest question revolved around how the power structures on the island, including civil society factions were able to dictate and frame the coverage given Jamaica's cultural and social background. While *Gleaner* columnist, Ian Boyne, attributed the resolution of the Coke extradition to the concentrated newspaper coverage and the activism of civic organizations, this thesis takes a more nuanced point of view. The thesis shows a confluence of influences acted together to force Golding to facilitate and resolve the extradition. It also showed the beginnings of a reconfiguration of political life and media engagement on the island. Within the cultural context of Jamaica's colonial legacy, Coke emphasised the continued repercussions of colonization on the island both in terms of local attitudes to the extradition, news reportage and Golding's fight to assert its independence regardless of his possible ulterior motives.

This thesis considers the Coke news coverage, news flows, source usage and framing. It argues that the Coke extradition and its newspaper coverage occurred at a critical juncture in the island's history and as the debate progressed the evidence shows a slow revitalization of civic activism on the island. The lengthy extradition debate motivated Jamaicans to engage with their news media and become more involved in the recreation of public life. What was clearly evident was as the Coke newspaper coverage evolved there was an increase in political awareness and participation (Koch, 1994). The island's political climate over those ten months exposed a structure of power where the newspapers were both invigorated and limited in their coverage. The newspapers through their coverage were able to facilitate a renewed civic agency by the Jamaican people both at home and abroad, their advocacy helped to pressure the government into eventually ordering Coke's arrest. However, this study is still limited because it did not consider how this civic agency was replicated in the broadcast media formats, especially considering the roles of radio and television on the island. The role of the newspapers and civic organizations during the Coke extradition are prime examples of how an organized and structured public sphere can be integral to the decision-making process and play a critical role in reviving a democracy.

Although, the newspapers were slow to take on a relatively independent role as civic brokers, they provided a space for the discussion of opinions surrounding not only the extradition but also the way public life was being facilitated on the island. The newspapers, despite their perceived political allegiances, were able to showcase a wide range of views; in addition online social networking sites such as Facebook, provided an alternative platform for

the dissemination of information, marginalized views and perspectives outside of the mainstream media. However, the thesis also shows that many of the voices showcased in the extradition were elite voices within the Jamaican public sphere. The Coke extradition revealed the extent to which elite voices, class and social stratification influence not only the news coverage but also everyday life on the island. It revealed a continued fear and distance between the middle class elite and those on the margins.

While newspapers have the ability to frame stories and push their readership toward a specific frame of thought, the extradition coverage also heightened the tension on the island and in many ways fuelled the fire that would ultimately lead to the Tivoli incursion. As the thesis pointed out, even though the newspapers were slow to mount pressure on the government, their coverage alluded to and foreshadowed a violent resolution from September 2009. As seen in Chapter Seven, several journalists and columnists attributed the capitulation of the JLP to the sustained pressure of the newspapers and civil society. However, this thesis asserts that, although the newspapers were a significant focal point, the pressure on the JLP was multi-faceted and included the newspaper, members of the Diaspora, the PNP opposition, the business elite, some other segments of civil society and the American government.

Yet the mediated calls for accountability were also relatively muted when considered in a global context. In recent years in Venezuela, the Ukraine, Thailand and Egypt vast sections of the population have revolted and taken to the streets to protest and demanded more government transparency and accountability. In Jamaica, the revolution didn't follow. Despite the rising inequality, escalating cost of living and the international uncertainty of the

extradition, there was no mass protest, despite the island's strong history of social uprisings. As JM008 notes,

Clearly the people could rise up, they could riot but they never do. I've never seen demonstrations other than localized road block; we've never had a demonstration on a national issue. I've never seen any large demonstration in Jamaica on any issue, where people say we vex and say we nah tek it any more. It's one of the surprising things about Jamaica, they call the radio talk shows and lambaste government but when it comes to showing your discontent and saying we're fed up with the system... where are the people?

This acquiescent culture and the lack of trust endemic on the island manifested itself both in the way the news was reported and in the resulting news coverage. The examination of the Coke coverage leading up to the extradition shows that the newspaper coverage was not as rigorous as it should have been. Journalists blamed a number of constraints in particular: the Official Secrets Act and the access to sources. Yet the failures could also be seen as arising from too much of a reliance on government sources, the culture of distrust on the island, and a failure to challenge the sources to see beyond the surface of the Coke debate.

The thesis is guided by the research questions outlined in Chapter One and the theoretical framework outlined in Chapters Two and Three. It argues that Jamaican newspapers must be studied within their own socio-cultural, economic and political context in order to understand not only their influence but to position them within the island's civic sphere. The newspapers created a platform for the discussion of the extradition and its wider implications for the island's governance. As the thesis revealed, the Coke extradition didn't only showcase the nexus between crime and politics on the island but highlighted

its threat to the island's democracy. It also exposed the hegemony the United States continues to have in Jamaica and the Caribbean.

8.2 ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this thesis was to examine the role of the daily newspaper in early 21st-century Jamaica, especially how newspaper editorial practices are able to frame a crisis. Three fundamental questions were proposed in Chapter One to get to the heart of this. They were:

- How did the newspapers cover the Coke extradition crisis?
- How did civil society shape or affect the coverage of the Coke extradition crisis?
- How did the ideology of Jamaica shape news coverage of the Coke extradition crisis?

The preceding chapters indicate several key observations about newspapers and civic life in Jamaica. They also show that the island's culture, severe economic and social stratification have led to segmented civic activism and news coverage.

8.2.1 NEWSPAPERS & THE SHAPING OF AN EXTRADITION

The newspapers used a wide range of narratives to shape the extradition and the Tivoli Incursion. While their urgency in doing this was delayed, they did provide a forum for the discussion of the extradition and its ramifications by Jamaicans at home and abroad. By April 2010, the pressure on the JLP was clearly evident in the newspaper reportage as both newspapers elevated the intensity and frequency of their Coke coverage. As Lewis (2006) noted engagement is usually linked to cultural and social ramifications; this was plainly evident in the way the Coke extradition momentum evolved in the

newspapers. A close examination of the coverage revealed that each newspaper had differing agendas: the narratives created by *The Gleaner* focused on good governance and political corruption while in *The Observer*, the narratives focused on international perception/ diplomacy and the economic impact of the extradition. The newspapers and Jamaican public demonstrated their willingness to be a part of the national transformation to push for increased government accountability and a move toward breaking the ties between politicians and garrisons.

Daniel Hallin (1986) asserts journalists tend to stay within the limits of political discussions. Hallin says that journalists don't feel compelled to present an opposing viewpoint to points on which there is consensus within those limits or to remain disinterested observers on viewpoints outside the limits. He concludes that the media's behaviour is closely related to the behaviour of the government and the harmony within any given community (1986:213). Hallin's assertion is exemplified in the overall neutral coverage of the Coke extradition by both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*. This is particularly evident in the first five months of the Coke extradition before the Manatt revelation in the parliament and the question of visa cancellations became part of the public discussion. Both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* highlighted the drama of the Manatt controversy; this was integral to pushing the dialogue of the Coke extradition. Manatt became central to what was understood by reporters and the general public as "interesting" or "newsworthy," and the way it was framed was more salient than the novelty and disruptiveness of the extradition and even the Tivoli incursion (Oliver & Meyer, 1999).

Even though there was an intense focus on the government's handling of its Manatt contract, there was still a lack of investigative journalism in the coverage. In-depth examinations of Coke, garrison politics and US intervention were isolated in the 10 months of coverage under consideration; there was also a climate of silence surrounding aspects of the extradition and how it was reported. Many news reports relied on less than three sources and press releases to tell a very complicated story, especially if the readership didn't understand Jamaica's history of political tribalism.

The newspapers helped to frame the public agenda around the extradition, but the overall coverage was less about Christopher Coke the drug and arms dealer and more about Bruce Golding, political corruption and government accountability. Just as Kopkind (1980) asserted that the newspapers ultimately led to the demise of the Michael Manley government, they eviscerated Golding with the Coke debacle and though he did not immediately relinquish power, the mounting pressure ensured he could not survive another election.

8.2.2 NEWSPAPERS & AN ASSESSMENT OF CIVIC LIFE

The analysis of the newspaper coverage as discussed in Chapters Five & Six showed a varied civic presence in the newspapers but the interviews disclosed a very fragmented civil society. In the thesis, the extradition newspaper coverage was used as a barometer for civic agency on the island and showed varying degrees of activism across civic organizations. The results revealed that many civil society groups lacked the cohesion and the capacity to formulate any real change in the lead up to the execution of the extradition warrant with traditional civic non-governmental organizations and The Church

appearing to be weak actors for the majority of the extradition discussion. The analysis of civic life highlighted some recurrent themes that have been part of the local dialogue in the past two decades including the lack of activism on the part of The Church, especially in a country that prides itself on its religious heritage. However there were some beacons of hope emerging in the civic sphere, including the opposition PNP, members of the Diaspora, traditional civic groups like the PSOJ and the JCC and Christopher Coke himself emerged as activists propelling the civic agency debate forward. The civic revitalization that came with the Coke extradition revealed the cracks in civil society activism sphere and pushed the island to reflect on and move closer to their 2015 Millennium goals.

The civic agency Coke was able to galvanize from those on the margins that led to the incursion, indicate a vibrant network of organizations in these garrison communities. The social power and civic agency of the poor as discussed by Obika Gray (2004) was clearly evident in the way Coke was able to mobilize not only his community but also rival garrisons to work together for a common goal.

The analysis also showed an emergence of civic life online especially on social media networks that haven't before been explored in-depth on the island. It did reveal a propensity for the audience to coalesce around the political circus that Coke became and make its resolution a priority within the public sphere (Dahlgren, 2006). Green (2010: 4) noted that the Jamaican media has perfected covering of violent acts but they needed to accept the activist mandate where the media needs to be more civic-minded and to let go of the mantra of "if it bleeds it leads". The Coke extradition represented a juncture in

the island's media history where the newspapers accepted that mandate and used their pages both in hard copy and online to actively push the political and social issues surrounding the Coke extradition to the forefront of the national agenda. In many ways, the newspapers became the leading civil society activists during the extradition. By showing the role of civic agency in understanding newspapers in Jamaica, it becomes evident that newspapers don't simply create a public space but they are actors within that public space.

In their own report on the role of civil society in Jamaica to the Commonwealth Foundation (2013) civic agents discussed their concerns about the legitimacy of some civic organizations who are mainly motivated by international funding. These concerns were also raised as part of the reason why traditional civic groups weren't actively involved in the Coke extradition. However, in recent years, to tackle their sustainability dilemma due to lack of funding, civic organizations has begun to diversify by taking on entrepreneurial endeavours to supplement their existing funding. They have tapped into their intellectual capital resources by charging for research, education and cultural consultations (ibid: 12). For many of these civic actors and activists the Coke extradition and the ensuing fall out exposed a gap in the civic sphere and created a moment of re-engagement.

By June 2010 the news coverage showed an evolution in civic life on the island as civil society organizations including churches, community groups and even segments of the government acknowledged the need for civic revitalization. With the establishment of the Jamaica Civil Society Coalition, Coke represented the beginning of a social transformation of civic activism on the island. The pressure on the government that led to the signing of the

extradition warrant was determined not by one specific civic group but by a multitude of special interests both at home and abroad.

8.2.3 NEWSPAPERS AS A REFLECTION OF JAMAICA'S POLITICAL ECONOMY

The political economy of the island reflected in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* during the months leading up to Coke's extradition revealed a country struggling with social change but yet desperately in need of a major social transformation. By May 2010, Jamaicans across the island were represented in the newspapers as being seemingly unified and vocal about the need for the government to proceed with the Coke extradition. Despite this unanimity, the extradition coverage also revealed a lot about the power struggles on the island as they navigate socio-economic, political and cultural pressures facing the island. It was a commentary on the island's culture, its democracy and its national struggle with silence, power and social stratification.

However, the extradition shows that the pressure was not only from traditional pressure groups on the island, but, area leaders like Coke, also help to fuel the divisions on the island by separating communities like Tivoli from the mainstream Jamaica and continually fuelling ideas that the government is not part of their developmental path. The allegiances created by Coke and the way they are reported as 'mysterious other' help to perpetuate the stereotypes that have plagued the island's garrison system since the 60's. The newspaper coverage of Coke underscored the reality of Jamaican public life and the weaknesses in the social contract between politicians and citizenry, especially those on the margins. The newspapers focused on questions about the legitimacy of Golding's power especially in relation to Coke's perceived influence. However, despite the intense focus on the government and the

uniformity in the stance of both newspapers, they did leave space for dissenting voices who argued for national sovereignty and citizen rights in light of the US State Department's request.

The analysis revealed that social stratification is so pervasive on the island that it even extends to the readership, civil society activism, news coverage and perceptions of the island's newspapers. It has also led to both newspapers ignoring the plight of those on the margins, except when the conversation is focused on crime.

The elitism that scholars such as Herman and Chomsky talk about in their propaganda model was pervasive in the news coverage. It was so profound that even in a time of crisis there was deep dislocation, a separation of "us" from "them". The evidence gathered shows self-interested elites who were willing to use their newspaper platforms to provoke government action toward resolution. This raised questions about the boundaries of Jamaica's free press. While the newspaper coverage of the Coke extradition could be used to make conclusions about the reporting style used by each newspaper and the extent of ownership control, it could not be used to assess explicit newspaper allegiances with political parties on the island.

The newspaper coverage of the extradition also showed the extent of continued American intervention on the island and their challenges to Jamaican sovereignty as well as Jamaica's dependency on the United States. For years Caribbean governments have had to make significant compromises and have failed to challenge the continued US hegemony in the region mainly because of the persistent threat of sanctions. While there were an absence of US government voices in the newspaper coverage, the pressure they were

putting on the government was a recurrent theme in the reportage. The inclusion of newspaper coverage from large international newspaper conglomerates like *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, particularly in *The Gleaner*, was an indication of the global implications of the extradition as well as evidence of Jamaica's place in a globalized, networked society.

Even though civil society was active in the extradition, the power relations between the neighbours and their possible ramifications were seen as the impetus for the eventual resolution of the crisis and Coke's extradition. It highlighted that even though Golding and the JLP tried to protect both Coke and the sovereignty of the island, the hegemony of the US, the Diasporic ties and intertwined emotional economies of the two countries was too much to withstand. According to the reporting, the US was able to leverage these ties in the form of visas for Jamaicans, the delay in an ambassador and ultimately shift perceptions on the island. The political conversation Kim et.al. (1999) refer to as the core of a deliberative democracy were evident in the Coke extradition, especially as the international implication began to worry ordinary Jamaicans, it connected them to the wider political discussion surrounding Coke, the JLP and the US government.

8.2.4 PROMISE & PROGRESS: ONLINE NEWSPAPERS POST-COKE

Globalization has led to a more networked society. Yet, especially in developing countries such as Jamaica, the networking is far from equitable and there are questions of who has access. Here online newspapers cannot be studied in isolation. In Jamaica where printed newspapers continue to be profitable, online is seen as tangential not as a replacement of the printed paper. There is a very obvious disconnect between social media, the

newspaper's online news platforms and the traditional printed newspapers. However, in many ways, the coverage of the extradition, and the threat of news platforms like OTGN helped to propel the online platforms to a new sphere within the newsroom structure. The online versions of *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* have added a different dimension of interactivity and audience participation to the printed newspapers.

While the news coverage online, which was the version of the text studied in the thesis, was mostly a replica of the news published in the printed newspaper, the content analysis indicated a slight shift in the changing news landscape on the island. The newspapers, particularly, *The Observer*, began to incorporate more breaking news online toward the end of the 10-month period. The Coke crisis in many ways represented a strengthening of Jamaica's digital democracy: it galvanized the community so much that participation not only happened in the online versions of the newspaper but spilled into social media networks. The CIVICUS report (2006) didn't consider the civic agency happening online and especially on social media, the reporting on Coke helped to expand the civic sphere on the island and revealed that new online platforms are bridging the gaps left by traditional news mediums. However, as the interviews revealed, the digital divide continues to plague the island, access to and participating in online news and social networking still remains relegated to certain sections of the society as well as those in the Diaspora.

In the years since the extradition of Coke, the online versions of the newspapers have evolved significantly. Both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* have made a concerted effort to cover breaking news on their websites. They have developed very active social media departments within their

organizational structure. *The Gleaner* with “Team Blue” and *The Observer* with the “OTeam.” In addition, *The Observer* revamped its website in 2014 and has now included a more comprehensive search component in its A-Z section though it still does not include information about the ownership of the company. These changes are in response to a growing digitally mediated global environment and an increase in technological access on the island since the Coke extradition.

8.3 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

The way newspapers work, especially during times of crisis provided a new way to look at how civic agency and political economy are intertwined in a networked Jamaican society. This thesis has contributed to the literature on Jamaican news coverage and politics by showing how political knowledge was produced in the island’s public sphere. It considers the arguments and challenges posed by civil society, journalists and columnists in the newspapers and how they reflected the socio-cultural climate of the island as they framed the Coke extradition.

While there is research being done on Jamaica and the Caribbean, most of it is focused on the political climate (Jaffe, 2013; Sives, 2012; Dunkley, 2011) (Meeks, 2007), on Diaspora relations (Sives, 2012; Johnson, 2012; Premdas, 2002), garrison politics (Jaffe, 2012; Gray, 2004; Price, 2004), homosexuality (Charles, 2011) and the dancehall culture (Stolzoff, 2000; Cooper, 2004). Recent media studies in the Caribbean tend to focus on how radio and television are influencing the island's culture and how it has been used as a stage for civic activism (Johnson, 2008). Additional focus has been placed on broadcast media regulation (Watson, 2011; Dunn, 2012) and health

representations in the media (Hickling, 2013; Whitley & Hickling, 2007). Studies by Christopher Charles (2009) on newspaper representations and on newspaper media economy by Julia Storr (2014) signify a renewed interest in how newspapers are working in these developing island nations but they still don't consider how the newspapers work in times of crisis, how they showcase and reflect their community and how the online platform is changing in the wake of increased access and migration.

The study is in the tradition of Hallin and Mancini (2004), as it examined how media relate to political life in a community. The newspaper doesn't simply operate within well-established theory; it listens closely to its sources and heavily reflects the island's culture. Even though their coverage converged toward a similar non-partisan position, by studying *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* we were able to identify their unique characteristics and decipher patterns in their coverage.

This study looks at a specific moment in Jamaica's press history and examines the way the newspapers recorded the debate but it also took into consideration the socio-cultural and political factors evident on the island. It considered civil society factions on the island as well as the power brokers and how the island's broader cultural and political institutions coalesce in times of crisis. The thesis tries to look at how these relationships interconnected during the extradition debate. The advocacy seen in the newspapers during those initial 10 months propelled the extradition debate to the forefront of public discussion; Dahlgren (2009) argues this type of engagement is integral to promoting a healthy democracy. By looking at the newspaper coverage individually as well as a collective, the reporting of the Coke story could be

used to examine crucial moments in the island's political system, levels of civic engagement and the evolution of news coverage in the online sphere. However, the newspaper coverage also reflected the severe distrust on the island that was reflected in the coverage, especially in terms of political trust.

The thesis shows that we have to study some media institutions in their specificity and not from templates used for developed countries. Traditional theoretical media frameworks from the United States and the United Kingdom cannot simply be adapted to developing countries like Jamaica. As noted in Chapter Three, some characteristics of Siebert et al and Herman and Chomsky's theories can be applied to the Jamaican newspaper system. The analysis chapters and interviews show the influence of concentrated media ownership, a heavy reliance on governmental sources and press releases for information, and threats of defamation that is usually seen as flak. What was not overtly obvious in the exploration of newspapers and the Coke extradition was the structural advertiser power and the anti-communism sentiment. In Jamaica the tension between the normative media theories and the changes that have come with media expansion are apparent and the newspapers fit into overlapping theoretical frameworks (McQuail, 1994). The news coverage of the extradition highlighted the influence of socio-cultural and economic factors as the foundation of Jamaican society and integral to the way the news is reported. The socio-cultural findings are along the lines of research by Robert Pennington (2012) and Hiebert, Ungurait and Bohn's (1979) *The Media Systems Paradigm*. They stressed that culture was central to the understanding of how communication systems function within a specific community.

The thesis shows that to really capture how the political economy of media operates in Jamaica and some other developing countries, the theory has to be expanded to consider concepts like Diaspora, class, patronage and culture. In Jamaica these concepts are integral to understanding the dogma of the island and its media systems. They were also fundamental principles that guided the social and political mobilization witnessed in the resolution of the Coke extradition. The idea of political economy moves past the framework proposed in Herman and Chomsky's ideas of elite and media conglomerate control to a broader approach to include the cultural, economic and class pressure factors. While scholars like Stone (1972; 1980), have examined the repercussions of class stratification, political partisanship and culture, their studies have not extended to an in-depth analysis of the media in reinforcing these ideologies across Jamaican society. While it wasn't overt, it was a subtext the coverage of the Christopher Coke extradition, as Coke straddled the uptown/downtown class divide. The study shows that the newspapers operate within a very segregated public sphere where those on the margins are excluded except in times of extreme crisis. The analysis revealed that even though the Jamaican press is classified as being very free, it still operates within some very strict ownership, governmental and legal constraints. This was evident in the tone of the reporting, the direction of the coverage and the silences in the Coke reportage.

As newspapers diversify their platforms scholars like Allan (2006), Foust (2011) and Ward (2013) have examined online journalism and the rise of online communities and uncovered how they are changing news and have created a space for citizen engagement and expression. However, there are

gaps in the present literature on Caribbean media especially as they confront a more global market that is increasingly moved online and the challenges of the digital divide in the region. This thesis shows a rising activism online, especially on social media.

However, to understand the newspapers' role in places like Jamaica where there is a dependence on their first world neighbours, you have to take into consideration the importance of the Diasporic contributions to the country. The Diaspora's influences in the Coke news coverage reflected Jamaica's place in a transnational world where boundaries are being reimagined as borders are continually blurred. By studying Coke, we understand that members of the Jamaican Diaspora don't only feel connected to 'home' by consuming the newspapers online from a distance. The relationship is a reciprocal one, where they are newsmakers, as they let those left in the homeland know that despite their distance, they too are part of the local community and they too have a stake in the island's democracy.

The analysis from the interviews and the content analysis indicates that the newspapers are still a big part of the island's foundation and a reflection of how Jamaicans, not just the elite, perceive themselves, their island and their place within the global community. The analysis of the Coke extradition and its newspaper coverage showed a shift in the political dynamics on the island as the JLP and Golding moved from saviours post their 2007 elections to villains by mid-2010. Political and civic engagement on the island was also re-imagined over those 10 months and this was mirrored in the coverage as the newspapers moved from mild concern to localized fear.

However, there are limitations to this study. The readership of *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* were not interviewed about their perceptions about the Coke newspaper coverage. These newspapers only show a snapshot of media influence in Jamaica, an analysis of radio and television coverage could have been used to triangulate how Coke was represented and presented across multiple media platforms. These limitations are important because Jamaica remains a very oral society; the newspapers only show a portion of the dialogue and only for a segment of the population who are literate and able to be part of the discussion in that format. In addition, readership perceptions could help to validate the direction taken by the newspapers in their coverage. Civil society's relationship with the newspaper companies and their lack of visible activism in the newspapers could also be clarified.

8. 4 FUTURE RESEARCH

In a networked society where access to news and information has increased rapidly and lead to shortened attention spans and overworked journalists, the Coke extradition story and its continued repercussions remain in the forefront of the Jamaican news cycle and psyche. Since the Coke extradition had such global circulation and Jamaica continues to grapple with the aftereffects, the scope for further research on this topic is endless. Additional research could be done on the initial 10-month period but with additional interviews to include audience perceptions and greater emphasis on the editorial cartoons, letters to the editors and the comments sections of each newspaper to look at the interactivity generated by the Coke debate online.

The maturation of the media in the wake of the Coke crisis has created new questions about the role of newspapers on the island especially as they

move into an increasingly technologically mediated sphere. Areas of particular interest would be to research the Coke newspaper coverage in *The Gleaner* and *The Observer* in the aftermath of his extradition as well as the debates surrounding the news coverage of The Manatt/Coke Inquiry, Coke's influence in the 2011 general election, Golding's resignation, The Tivoli Report, The Tivoli Inquiry.

An additional study could look at the framing of Coke and Jamaica in major global media which influenced events on the island, particularly the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Miami Herald* and the *Economist*. The coverage of Coke in newspapers in countries where there are a high Caribbean or Jamaican Diasporas is important because it will show how the conflict was framed for an international audience, especially in an era where international reporting has been relegated to the back burner. This framing is important especially in light of the way Jamaica was framed in the American press during the Manley era.

Another avenue to be considered for further research is the broadcast coverage of the ensuing conflict on the BBC, Al Jazeera and CNN. This can be analysed in terms of how they presented Jamaica's crime dilemma and how the island's political climate influenced the extradition, especially in light of its tourism revenues.

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APPENDIX 1

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Information Sheet

INFORMATION:

You are invited to participate as a participant in a research study on Online Newspapers and Civil Society and their role in the Jamaican society.

The aim of the project is examine the role the online newspaper during the political and social crisis that ensued as a result of the extradition of Christopher Coke and the impact it had both on newspaper journalism and public life in Jamaica. The information gathered will provide a greater understanding of the role of newspapers in a growing technological era and how they can be used as a medium for social change and political accountability.

Your involvement in this project will be voluntary in an unstructured interview of approximately 1 hour, and you have the right to withdraw from the project at any time, including the withdrawal of any information provided.

The data collected will be stored securely for 10 years and the results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of complete confidentiality of the data gathered. The identity of the participants will not be made public without their consent.

This project is part of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in Media and Communication by Ghislaine Lewis under the supervision of Dr. Donald Matheson and Professor Jim Tully, who can be contacted at Donald.matheson@canterbury.ac.nz and jim.tully@canterbury.ac.nz. They will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project.

The project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

Thank you for your time and participation.

Ghislaine Lewis

APPENDIX 2

Ghislaine Lewis
Media and Communication
1st Floor English Building
University of Canterbury
Christchurch, NZ
Ghislaine.lewis@pg.canterbury.ac.nz
Ghislaine.Lewis@yahoo.com

Date:

CONSENT FORM

Online News and Civil Society: Jamaica on the Cusp of Change

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate and be recorded as a subject in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that confidentiality will be preserved.

I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

I note that the project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

NAME (please print): _____

SIGNATURE: _____

DATE: _____

APPENDIX 3

Interview Questions

1. How long have you worked with your organization?
2. In 1980 Kopkind, called the Gleaner Jamaica's leading cultural institution, does this fact still remain the same and what do you think newspapers play in 21st century Jamaica?
3. How has the role of newspapers changed in Jamaica in the past 10 years?
4. Did the newspapers inflate the Coke extradition out of proportion and in return create the violent crisis?
5. How were you able to cover the Coke extradition? Use of sources?
6. What do you make of the criticism that the newspapers weren't covering the unrest in May 2010 as well as social media had covered it?
7. What role do you think newspapers played in forcing the Prime Minister to act?
8. What role did international perception play in the way the Coke extradition was reported?
9. What role did party affiliation have to do with the coverage of Coke and the JLP's role in the extradition?
10. What role do you think civil society played in the Coke extradition?
11. Do you see the newspaper as a patron of the people or a civic agent of change?
12. How do you think the Coke extradition has impacted the long-standing co-partnership between crime and politics in Jamaica?
13. Do you think the way news is covered has shifted since the Coke debacle

and in what way?

14. How has the technological shift changed your news practices and professional identity?

15. What part is online news playing in this shift?

16. In a traditionally radio and long form newspaper market, what role is the new online media forum playing in Jamaica?

17. Is online news is creating, dispelling or reinforcing international perceptions of Jamaica?

18. Given the digital divide on the island, can the online news be used as a tool for development or to incite social change on the island?

APPENDIX 4

List of Interview Participants

- JM001: Jamaica Gleaner Senior Staff Writer
- JM002: Academic and Communication Specialist
- JM003: Armed Forces Specialist and Academic
- JM004: Jamaica Gleaner Senior Staff Writer
- JM005: Academic
- JM006: Academic and Communication Specialist
- JM007: Jamaica Observer Senior Staff Writer
- JM008: Jamaica Gleaner Columnist and Businessman
- JM009: Jamaica Observer Columnist and Academic
- JM010: Jamaica Observer Columnist and Radio Personality
- JM011: Consultant and Social Entrepreneur
- JM012: Civic Activist and Academic
- JM013: Jamaica Observer Executive Editor
- JM014: Jamaica Gleaner Columnist and Academic
- JM015: Theologian and Academic
- JM016: Academic
- JM017: Jamaica Gleaner Columnist and Civic Activist
- JM018: Jamaica Gleaner Staff Writer and Internet Guru
- JM019: Jamaica Observer Senior Staff Writer
- JM020: Sunday Herald Journalist
- JM021: Jamaica Gleaner Columnist and Civic Activist

APPENDIX 5

Coding Sheet for Newspapers

Newspapers

1. The Jamaica Gleaner
2. The Jamaica Observer

Production Date

Article Type

1. **News or News Analysis**
 - Straight news story or news analysis.
2. **Editorial**
 - Editorial written by the newspaper editorial team, representing the voice and ideas of the newspaper company.
3. **Letter**
 - Letter written to the newspaper to by a private citizen to express a personal opinion on the Coke or the extradition proceedings.
4. **Opinion or Commentary**
 - Opinion and/or commentary written on behalf of a surrogate for the newspaper.

Article Tone

1. Positive
2. Neutral
3. Negative
4. Undetermined

Direction of Article

1. **Argumentative**
 - Statement or fact of reason for or against a particular position
2. **Informative**
 - Giving of information, devoid of opinion
3. **Critical**
 - Severe criticism of or finding of fault with the Coke extradition process
4. **Miscellaneous**

Byline/ Signature

1. Yes
2. No

Photo Inclusion

1. Yes
2. No

Type of Photo

1. **Coke Photo**
 - Photo of Christopher Coke

2. **Political Photo**
 - Photo of government official
3. **Civil unrest Photo**
 - Photo of army or police personnel
 - Photo of conflict in Kingston
4. **Civic Agent Photo**
 - Photos of civic agents
5. **Photos of Protests**
 - Photos of protests and Tivoli residents and the streets of Kingston
6. **Other Photo**
 - Photo of lawyers associated with Coke defense
 - Photos of persons associated with previous extraditions
 - Cartoon
 - Miscellaneous Photo
7. **Multiple Photos**
 - Photos of Coke, political figures, military or other categories
8. **No Photo**

Number of Sources

Attribution of Sources

1. **Named Sources**
 - Clearly identified source with a name and/or identified affiliation
2. **Anonymous Sources**
 - Unattributed sources
 - Off the record sources
3. **Implied sources**
 - Sources alluded to in articles but not directly quoted

Type of Sources

1. Document
2. Police/Military
3. Layman
4. Media
5. Civic
6. Academic
7. Government
8. Other

Type of Government Source

1. US Government
2. Leader of JLP
3. Leader of PNP
4. Member of PNP
5. Member of JLP
6. Jamaican Government Lawyers/ Attorney General
7. US Government Lawyers
8. Other
9. No Government source

Type of Civic Source

1. Organization
2. Church
3. Individual
4. Other
5. No Civic Source

Primary Source

1. Document
2. Police/ Military
3. Ordinary Citizen
4. Media
5. Civic Organization
6. Church
7. Academic
8. US Government
9. Leader of JLP
10. Leader of PNP
11. Member of PNP
12. Member of JLP
13. Other
14. No Primary Source

Direction of Primary Source

1. Favourable to the extradition process
2. Favourable to the JLP/ PM Golding
3. Favourable to Security Forces
4. Neutral
5. Critical of the extradition process
6. Critical of the JLP/PM Golding
7. Critical of Security Forces
8. Other
9. No Clear Direction
10. No Primary Source

Primary Theme

1. **Crime and Violence**
 - Discussion of Drug trafficking
 - Discussion of Gun trafficking
 - Discussion of Jamaica's crime crisis
 - Discussion of the capture of Coke
 - Ideas for curbing violence on the island
2. **Civil Unrest in Kingston**
 - Discussions of possible riots and violent protests
 - Sense of fear among Jamaican citizens
 - Discussions of civil unrest and the repercussions of its aftermath
3. **Political Corruption**
 - Linkages between Coke and political life
 - Linkages between garrisons and political life
 - Corruption Index Ratings

- Linkages between JLP and Manatt, Phelps and Phillips
4. **Civic Responsibility**
 - Discussions of the community and civic leaders becoming involved in the Coke extradition discussion.
 - Coke's civic responsibility to the Jamaican people
 - Governments' civic responsibility to Tivoli and the Jamaican people
 5. **Government Accountability**
 - Articles holding the Jamaica Labour Party responsible for stalling the extradition
 - Discussions on lack of government leadership
 - Discussions on the legal culpability of the JLP
 6. **Economic Impact**
 - Trade agreements with United States
 - Trade agreements with World Bank/IMF
 - Visa implications between the US and Jamaica
 - Seizure of Coke assets
 - Economic impact of the Tivoli incursion
 7. **International Perception/Diplomacy**
 - Perception of Jamaica by US government
 - Diplomatic efforts by the US to resolve extradition
 - Perception of Jamaica by the international community
 8. **Garrison Culture**
 - Discussions of Coke extradition leading to the breakdown of the garrison culture.
 - Legitimacy of garrisons in Jamaica
 - Value system of the Jamaican garrisons
 9. **Criticism of the PNP Opposition**
 - Criticism of the opposition handling of the Coke extradition
 10. **Media Critique**
 - Discussions about the role of the media in the extradition process and how the newspapers were covering the story
 11. None

Secondary Themes

1. **Crime and Violence**
 - Discussion of Drug trafficking
 - Discussion of Gun trafficking
 - Discussion of Jamaica's crime crisis
 - Discussion of the capture of Coke
 - Ideas for curbing violence on the island
2. **Civil Unrest in Kingston**
 - Discussions of possible riots and violent protests
 - Sense of fear among Jamaican citizens
 - Discussions of civil unrest and the repercussions of its aftermath

3. **Political Corruption**
 - Linkages between Coke and political life
 - Linkages between garrisons and political life
 - Linkages between JLP and Manatt, Phelps and Phillips
4. **Civic Responsibility**
 - Discussions of the community and civic leaders becoming involved in the Coke extradition discussion.
 - Coke's civic responsibility to the Jamaican people
 - Governments' civic responsibility to Tivoli and the Jamaican people
5. **Government Accountability**
 - Articles holding the Jamaica Labour Party responsible for stalling the extradition
 - Discussions on lack of government leadership
 - Discussions on the legal culpability of the JLP
6. **Economic Impact**
 - Trade agreements with United States
 - Trade agreements with World Bank/IMF
 - Visa implications between the US and Jamaica
 - Seizure of Coke assets
 - Economic impact of the Tivoli incursion
7. **International Perception/Diplomacy**
 - Perception of Jamaica by US government
 - Diplomatic efforts by the US to resolve extradition
 - Perception of Jamaica by the international community
8. **Tourism Impact**
 - Crime reportage influence on tourism
 - US government tourism warnings
9. **Class Warfare**
 - Discussions of Jamaica's Class Disparities (uptown vs. downtown)
10. **Previous Extraditions**
 - Discussions of previous extraditions
 - Importance of following the extradition law and treaties with the US
11. **Garrison Culture**
 - Discussions of Coke extradition leading to the breakdown of the garrison culture.
 - Legitimacy of garrisons in Jamaica
 - Value system of the Jamaican garrisons
12. **Police Corruption**
 - Linkages between Coke and security forces
 - Excessive use of force and abuse of police and military power
13. None

Ancillary Themes

1. **Crime and Violence**
 - Discussion of Drug trafficking
 - Discussion of Gun trafficking
 - Discussion of Jamaica's crime crisis
 - Discussion of the capture of Coke
 - Ideas for curbing violence on the island

2. **Political Corruption**
 - Linkages between Coke and political life
 - Linkages between garrisons and political life
 - Linkages between JLP and Manatt, Phelps and Phillips
3. **Civic Responsibility**
 - Discussions of the community and civic leaders becoming involved in the Coke extradition discussion.
 - Coke's civic responsibility to the Jamaican people
 - Governments' civic responsibility to Tivoli and the Jamaican people

4. **Government Accountability**
 - Articles holding the Jamaica Labour Party responsible for stalling the extradition
 - Discussions on lack of government leadership
 - Discussions on the legal culpability of the JLP

5. **Economic Impact**
 - Trade agreements with United States
 - Trade agreements with World Bank/IMF
 - Visa implications between the US and Jamaica
 - Seizure of Coke assets
 - Economic impact of the Tivoli incursion

6. **International Perception/Diplomacy**
 - Perception of Jamaica by US government
 - Diplomatic efforts by the US to resolve extradition
 - Perception of Jamaica by the international community

7. **Tourism Impact**
 - Crime reportage influence on tourism
 - US government tourism warnings

8. **Class Warfare**
 - Discussions of Jamaica's Class Disparities (uptown vs. downtown)

9. **Previous Extraditions**
 - Discussions of previous extraditions
 - Importance of following the extradition law and treaties with the US

10. **Garrison Culture**
 - Discussions of Coke extradition leading to the breakdown of the garrison culture.
 - Legitimacy of garrisons in Jamaica
 - Value system of the Jamaican garrisons

11. Police Corruption

- Linkages between Coke and security forces
- Excessive use of force abuse of police and military power

12. None

News Voice

1. Active Presence of newspaper's opinion
2. Passive Presence of newspaper's opinion
3. No presence of newspaper's opinion

Media Mentions

1. **Mentions of other media outlets**
 - Radio stations, local and international newspapers or television coverage pertaining to the Coke extradition
 - Criticism of the media by ordinary citizens, members of civic society
2. **No mention of media outlets**

APPENDIX 6

Coding Manual for Newspapers

Deciphering Categories:

- **Paper and Production Date:** A code of 1 was given to represent *The Gleaner* and 2 for *The Observer* while production date indicated the day the paper was printed.
- **Lead, Editorial, Letter or Commentary/Opinion:** Stories were classified as lead based on if they were tagged as Lead by the newspapers and if it did not fall into the category of editorial or letter. Editorials were classified based on editorial pieces written by newspaper staff, whereas letters were classified by their formal salutation of Dear Editor. Commentary/ Opinion pieces were written by surrogates of the newspaper companies.
- **Positive, Negative, Neutral or Undetermined:** Newspaper articles were identified as positive if they took a pro-government or pro-resolution tone, negative if it disparaged the government and hinted at a possible Coke conflict and neutral if it tried to give a balanced view of the Coke crisis from all parties involved in executing the extradition. Stories where the tone could not be identified were deemed to be undetermined.
- **Argumentative, Informative, Critical or Miscellaneous:** This type of content revolved around if the articles took an attacking role, if they just gave the readers the facts, was overly critical or if the article could be

placed in neither category.

- **Byline:** This category was used to see if newspapers identified journalists who wrote or contributed to specific articles during the Coke Crisis.
- **Photo included & Type of Photo:** These categories look at the incorporation of visuals in the news coverage. They were classified according to if it was a Coke photo, political photo, civil unrest photo, civic agent photo, other photo, miscellaneous photo, multiple photos or no photo. Coke photo denotes a photograph of Christopher Coke, political photo, a photo of a politician, civil unrest photos included photos of the conflict and armed forces, while photos featuring civic agents and protests in the city had their own categories. The other photo category included photos featuring Coke lawyers, persons associated with previous extraditions, and miscellaneous photos. Articles with multiple photos were classified as such as well as articles with no photos.
- **Named, Anonymous or Implied Sources:** Naming sources are a vital part of preserving the credibility of newspaper production. These categories will look at the types of sources the newspapers named, implied and those left anonymous and the possible reasons for this stylistic decision.

Explanation of Themes:

The themes in the articles were divided into primary, secondary and ancillary themes. The following themes play a role in everyday Jamaican society but were heightened with the Coke extradition case. These themes will be used to identify the trends and ideas used to cover the Coke crisis by the newspapers

- **Civic Responsibility**, this theme focuses on newspaper discussions about more civic activism in the Coke discussions as well as Coke's civic responsibility to his community and overall governmental responsibility to the island.
- **Civil Unrest in Kingston:** Jamaica has had a history of violence, protests and civil unrest. This theme explores how the newspapers represented the violence and civil unrest associated with the extradition in the newspapers.
- **Class warfare:** Jamaica is a very class stratified society; this category will examine blatant distinctions made in articles between the educated middle and upper classes verses the poorer people in Tivoli Gardens and in the garrisons and its implications for the Coke extradition. These distinctions can be made by either sources or the framing of the article.
- **Crime and Violence:** Considers the crime and violence represented in the newspapers in the lead up the Tivoli incursion.
- **Economic implications:** When the Coke extradition process began in August 2009, Jamaica was feeling the implications of the global economic downturn and on the verge of renegotiating their IMF loan. On-going negative news coverage about social instability and civil unrest could send their financial markets crashing and jeopardize the IMF discussions. This theme will gauge the extent of economic discussions in both *The Gleaner* and *The Observer*. It also looks at other economic implications associated with the seizure of Coke's assets and the loss of visas.
- **Garrison Culture:** This theme will evaluate comments on the role of

Tivoli gardens as a model garrison and the impact the extradition of Coke would have on other garrison communities in Jamaica. In addition it also looks at discussions about dismantling of the garrison system on the island.

- **Government accountability:** This category will look at the discussions about governmental honesty and accountability especially in terms of resolving the Coke extradition. It was operationalized by examining whether sources or the newspaper itself taking a critical stance against the government.
- **International perception/diplomacy:** Jamaica has signed several treaties not only with its immediate neighbour, The United States but also with its Caribbean partners and other entities globally. It would play negatively on the global stage if it were viewed that Jamaica did not honour her commitments. This theme examined discussions about international perception in the media and how the extradition was affecting Jamaica's international diplomacy efforts.
- **Media Critique:** This theme looks at criticisms of the newspaper's Coke coverage published in the newspapers.
- **Media mentions:** Will look at the number of times the newspapers referenced both itself and other news organizations in news articles.
- **News voice:** Will scrutinize if the newspapers chose to insert its editorial point of view into their news articles by using their active voice verses excluding their views and giving readers hard facts (passive voice).
- **Opposition criticism** will look at critics who indicate that the opposition party (PNP) was being unfair and using the extradition for their own

political gain by not giving the government the time to resolve the issue.

- **Police Corruption** considers incidences of police corruption by the police either through connections with Coke or excessive use of force by the Jamaican armed forces.
- **Political Corruption:** Focuses on linkages between garrisons and political life on the island as well as the connection JLP and Manatt as well as past instances of corruption and how they would impact on the Coke extradition.
- **Previous extraditions:** Extraditions are quite common in Jamaica but none garnered as much public scrutiny as the Coke extraditions. This category will look at how much the newspapers alluded to previous extraditions in their coverage o
- **Tourism Impact:** Jamaica makes the majority of its revenue from tourism. This topic will examine if the newspapers considered how the Coke extradition would affect tourist arrivals to the island.

APPENDIX 7

The Jamaica Gleaner

'Dudus' nightmare. Published on September 8, 2009. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20090908/lead/lead1.html>

6-step recovery programme for gangs of Gordon House. Published on April 26, 2011. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20110426/cleisure/cleisure1.html>

A convenient AFFAIR: Bruce & Dudus- the constituency power-share. Published on May 23, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100523/news/news1.html>

A convenient AFFAIR: Bruce & Dudus. Published on May 23, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100523/news/news1.html>

A question for Golding. Published on March 4, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100304/letters/letters2.html>

A Taste of Freedom. Published on June 9, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100609/letters/letters5.html>

All Hail Al Miller. Published on June 29, 2010. Retrieved from <http://gleaner-ja.com/gleaner/20100629/letters/letters4.html>

At long last - Public defender delivers interim Tivoli report, recommends enquiry. Published on May 2, 2013. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20130502/lead/lead1.html>

Bruce fires back - PM attacks Gleaner over WikiLeaks cables. Published on May 30, 2011. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20110530/lead/lead1.html>

Bruised Golding. Published on May 13, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20110525/cleisure/cleisure1.html>

Buckley Report- Dudus Affair- Civil Society Win Round One. Published on May 18, 2010. Retrieved from <http://gleanerblogs.com/thebuckleyreport/?p=29>

Building an ethical Jamaica. Published on January 20, 2008. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20080120/focus/focus2.html>

By any means necessary, Trevor? Published on June 27, 2010. Retrieved from: <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100627/focus/focus6.html>

Camera-shy Dudus Turns 'Celeb'. Published on May 28, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100528/news/news1.html>

Clergy should shut up. Published on June 7, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-Gleaner.com/Gleaner/20100607/letters/letters4.html>

Communication specialist blasts local journalists. Published on April 23, 2012. Retrieved from <http://jamaicagleaner.com/gleaner/20120423/news/news1.html>

Dons rule our 'failed state.' Published on September 9, 2009. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20090909/letters/letters2.html>

Dudus captured, Bruce released? Published on June 27, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-Gleaner.com/Gleaner/20100627/focus/focus1.html>

Dudus' irks PSOJ. Published on March 11, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100311/lead/lead1.html>

'Dudus' issue forces damage control for tourist industry. Published on May 19, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100519/lead/lead8.html>

Dudus Supporters Target Phillips, 'I am not afraid'. Published on April 11, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100411/lead/lead1.html>

Dudus Vs. USA. Published on June 25, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-Gleaner.com/Gleaner/20100625/lead/lead1.html>

FLIP-FLOP: Golding admits sanctioning contract with Manatt. Published on May 12, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100512/lead/lead1.html>

Fundamental issues of principle. Published on March 9, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100309/letters/letters1.html>

Getting tough on crime. Published on May 2, 2010. Retrieved from <http://gleaner-ja.com/gleaner/20100502/focus/focus1.html>

Gleaner editorial rebuffed. Published on December 9, 2009. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20091209/letters/letters5.html>

Go after gangs, goons and garrisons. Published on June 7, 2010. Retrieved from <http://m.jamaica-Gleaner.com/Gleaner/20100607/letters/letters1.php>

Golding will not discuss 'Dudus'. Published on December 9, 2009. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20091209/lead/lead5.html>

Golding's dance with destiny. Published on September 9, 2007. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20070909/focus/focus2.html>

Golding's 'Dudus' dilemma. Published on November 29, 2009. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-Gleaner.com/Gleaner/20091129/cleisure/cleisure5.html>

Gov't talks with US over 'Dudus' issue. Published on September 24, 2009. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20090924/lead/lead2.html>

Government and civil society. Published on June 13, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100613/focus/focus7.html>

History will not absolve us. Published on September 11, 2009. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20090911/cleisure/cleisure2.html>

Hold special parliamentary sessions on gangs. Published on June 4, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100604/cleisure/cleisure1.html>

Hypocrisy epidemic. Published on June 8, 2010. Retrieved from <http://gleaner-ja.com/gleaner/20100608/letters/letters4.html>

If Mr. Golding is to be great. Published on December 14, 2009. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20091214/cleisure/cleisure1.html>

Karl Samuda's Disingenuous Observation. Published on April 12, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-Gleaner.com/Gleaner/20100412/cleisure/cleisure1.html>

Manatt Mystery Deepens. Published on May 30, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100530/auto/auto1.html>

Manatt scandal irks diaspora. Published on May 22, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100522/lead/lead4.html>

Miller stands alone - 'Dudus' divides Church. Published on March 14, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100314/lead/lead2.html>

Network Navigation. Published on May 30, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100530/auto/auto1.html>

Obama vs. Golding: Jamaica loses. Published on March 11, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100311/cleisure/cleisure2.html>

One D and four Gs: Dudus, garrisons, Golding, good governance? <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100528/business/business4.html>

Online feedback. Published on June 24, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100624/cleisure/cleisure4.html>

Opposition walkout was justified. Published on May 24, 2010. Retrieved from <http://mobile.jamaicagleaner.com/gleaner/20100524/news/news2.php>

Principles being undermined by politics. Published on March 15, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100315/letters/letters6.html>

Suspicious editorial push. Published on January 19, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100119/letters/letters4.html>

The 'Dudus' extradition. Published on December 8, 2009. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20091208/letters/letters8.html>

The path of reform for a better Jamaica. Published on May 26, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100526/letters/letters1.html>

Tivoli's month of great sorrow. Published on February 15, 2012. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20120215/lead/lead5.html>

Torn loyalties - One Tivoli resident tells of her broken trust. Published on June 6, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100606/cleisure/cleisure2.html>

Tourism Sector Nervous. Published on May 21, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100521/lead/lead7.html>

When fear gains ascendancy. Published on September 20, 2009. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20090920/cleisure/cleisure1.html>

When politicians go naked. Published on March 7, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100307/news/news1.html>

Where is the Dudus Coke Case. Published on February 28, 2010. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100228/cleisure/cleisure1.html>

WIKILEAKS flashback. Published on May 25, 2011. Retrieved from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20110525/lead/lead4.html>

WikiLeaks revelations more than 'suss'. Published on June 17, 2011. Retrieved from:

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